Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

The Awakeaing of the Negroes Hands Across the Sea

West Africa Seeks Commercial Co-Operation With Their Com-Patriots in America.

The Clarion interviews Duse Mohamed Ali, Effendi,

St. Louis Clarion

We called upon Duse Mohamed Ali, Effendi, the Egyptian Historian and Publicist, who is now in our midst, to obtain information from him in regard to his trading plan and the mission which brought him to the United States of America.

St. Louis Mo.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, not only received us courteously but offered us every facility for investigating and familiarize ourselves with the organization which he has set up in the United States of America to do business with the planters and traders of West Africa.

"You ask me", he said, what is the special message that I bring to the colored people of the United States from the people of West Africa?" 10-19-23

"The people of West Africa, who regard the colored people of the United States as their close blood relations desire me to say that they have formed themselves into a trading group pooling their resources of palm oil, cocoa, timber, rubber and coffee so as to put these raw materials at the disposal of the colored people of the United States in order that they might be marketed in the United States.

"It must be understood that 50 percent of the cocoa used in the United States is grown by natives of the West Coast of Africa and that 75 percent of the palm oil used in the manufacture of soap is brought from West Africa also 30 percent of the mahogany and 25 percent of the rubber consumed in this country comes from West Africa.

"Now, the manufacturers in the United States are demanding these commodities which at the present are handled by English Brokers and then by New York Brokers before reaching the manufacturer. This creates a double cost to the consumer which it is our intention to eliminate, in as much as we shall be transporting the West African products from the farm direct to the factory. It is for this reason that the United States government thru its New York Branch of the Bureau of Domestic and Foreign Traffic is anxious that this trade should be brought to the United States for the benefit of its nationals

"The Consul General in London realizing the importance of this trade to the United States supplied me with letters of introduction to such important industrial associations in America as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the New York Chamber of Commerce and the American Importers and Importers Association.

"Not only shall we be dealing with the raw materials from West Africa but we shall also export manufactured goods from America to West Africa; and when it is considered that West Africans (who are not the 'savages' they are represented to be) are using all of the apurtenances of the civilized people, except fur coats and motor cars, it will be readily understood that we have a comprehensive as well as a highly renumerative proposition.

"The trade which I have to offer represents that which was done in West Africa, by the Germans, prior to the war and it is estimated at $150,000,000 annually.

Of course it would be impossible to expect the colored people of the United States to invest sufficient money at this juncture to cover this enormous commercial proposition for the heason that they understand nothing about foreign trade and are unaccustomed to large trading combinations. It was for this reason that our Company has been capitalized at $600,000 so that the capital might be quickly subscribed to enable us to get on with the business and show results.

"After we have done this and the shareholders have received the first year's dividends, I presume there will be no difficulty then in obtaining the remainder of the required capital to take up the whole of the trade.

"You ask how the money is to be controlled? The Stockholders in each section nominate and appoint their own directors to represent them on the Board and see to the spending of their money. This representation will of necessity give the stockholders control of their own finances.

"I might mention that the interest of the stockholders is being safeguarded in every way as I have here in St. Louis securities valued $498,000, which almost covers the preferred stock ($500,000) which we are placing upon the market.

"In West Africa Mr. Cudjoe our representative and a man who in conjunction with myself is holding the farmers together, has the complete organization ready to do business. Trading posts and warehouses have been established for the sale of manufactured goods and the reception and storing of the raw materials where they are collected before being brought to the coast for shipment to New York.

The New York office is in charge of Captain Leighton Bertie, who is an European naturalized American and is familiar with this trade. This gentleman has been placed in charge of the New York office because of his familiarity with manufacturing houses which are purchasing and contracting for our products. Furthermore it must be understood that a staff of colored help will be operating under Captain Bertie who will teach them the business in order that they might function after he has retired.

"No great undertaking can be devoid of disappointment and during my two (2) years of effort in this country I have had many disappointments.

"But I have never been discouraged because the word **failure** has been eliminated from my vocabulary and this present month we mean to get on with the business in hand. several contracts being already entered into with important manufacturers in St Louis. as well as New York."

"The sale of stock is going well but we cannot have too much assistance and I feel certain that those have been holding back have only done so because of lack of information. Our office is at 209 North Jefferson avenue and I am staying at the **Grand Central Hotel, Room 6 Telephone, Bomont 2570,** where I can be seen by appointment."

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

PETROLEUM IN MOZAMBIQUE.

The African World

Much interest is aroused in Beira, writes a correspondent, in anticipation of definite steps being taken to prove by boring whether or not the Inyaminga-Antek line is to yield gusher oil. Against street corner scepticism regarding the possibility of a great discovery, there is expert evidence that there is every hope of oil being found in large quantities.

The fact that a well-known and highly reputable Rhodesian geologist and mining man headed an exploring party which thoroughly examined the country, part of the concession covering 42,000 square miles, from the alignment of Beira to the Rhodesian border, and northwards to the Zambesi.

The precise object was to obtain what verification was possible of the reputed evidence of the existence of coal and oil within the area. 12-1-23

The detailed examination made satisfied the mission that coal should be found at a comparatively shallow depth, and that close prospecting would probably result in an outcrop being located, while the existence of an anticlan similar in every respect geologically to the Persian oilfields was proved beyond doubt.

Oil in a Cavern.

The definite theory advanced was that boring would, in all probability, disclose the existence of huge quantities of petroleum, held in a great cavern, at a point almost immediately West of Inyaminga railway station, 117 miles from Beira.

A check examination of the oil theory was made by another engineer, who agreed with the correctness of the geology of the original mission, and there the matter rests pending boring operations.

It may be added that it is also held that if a large volume of oil is not found at Onyaminga it will not be discovered elsewhere in Africa.

These, briefly, are the grounds put forward for the existence of an oilfield, and it is hoped that, in view of the tremendous importance of the question, boring may be proceeded with at all cost. Apart from oil, the location of payable coal so near to Beira would in itself denote a fact of outstanding importance.

The temporary operating is under bonafide auspices, the chairman being Mr. Alfred Lawley of Mc Pauling and Co., the well-known railway contractors.

Successes at Rio de Janeiro.

The Mozambique company scored some emphatic successes at the International Exhibition at Rio de Janeiro, among them being the grand prix for cereals, vegetables, coffee, oil seeds and plants, and textile plants in two of the classes, for wood rubber and gums in two others, and for tobacco in another. Gold medals were awarded the company for ivory, cotton fabrics, jewellery, and basket work.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

HARBOUR DEVELOPMENTS.

Deep Sea Wharves and Other Improvements Early Next Year.

("African World" Correspondent.)

The African World

BEIRA, October 27.

The port continues to be exceedingly busy, twelve to fifteen large steamers being the average number in harbour during the last two months or so. 11-24-23

Mr. Luiz Straus, the well-known Portuguese harbour expert, has completed a most comprehensive study of the projected scheme for deep sea wharves, and I hear he is of opinion that the proposition is absolutely essential to the development of Beira and its vast hinterland.

No doubt things will shortly begin to move, and the long-suffering public are looking forward to seeing a commencement of the port works early in 1924.

Mr. Straus, in the course of his investigations into port matters, took a flying trip to Rhodesia and visited the chrome mines at Selukwe, with which he was considerably impressed.

Traffic from Rhodesia.

The traffic from Rhodesia through the port of Beira is steadily increasing, and port matters are therefore of some interest to them.

As I informed you a fortnight ago, the Hon. Mr. Moffat, Minister of Mines and Industries for Rhodesia, has already been down to Beira to see how Rhodesia's goods are dealt with, and there is quite a possibility of the Premier himself paying us an unofficial visit in the near future.

The importance of up-to-date and completely adequate means of handling cargo at their natural port is appreciated by the new Administration of Rhodesia, and the interest displayed by Sir Charles Coghlan in contemplating a visit to see for himself is most welcome, and a happy augury for continuance of friendly co-operation on progressive lines.

Mr. Straus is leaving by the "Durham Castle" next Tuesday to connect with the mail steamer from Cape Town on November 9 and on his arrival in England no doubt some very interesting information on local port matters will be available.

Unwieldy Stamp Act.

The new Stamp Act, which came into operation last week, has caused considerable comment, as it is maintained by the business community that the Act is unwieldy in application and unnecessarily complicated.

It is based on the regulation in force at Lourenço Marques, where the escudo exchange stands at about 100,000 to the pound whereas here a gold standard prevails.

Take one item for instance: all invoices presented at Customs for clearance of goods must bear stamps to the value of 120 reis.

All these stamps have to be separately cancelled, and it is held that this sort of thing entails a lot of unnecessary work, and should be simplified. It is not the duty that is objected to as much as the way in which it is levied.

Mr. Lawley's Return.

Mr. A. L. Lawley returned to Beira last week by the s.s. "Durham Castle," after an absence of eight months in England. Mr Lawley looks more like his old self again, having been considerably benefitted by the change.

Summer and Water Supply.

The last few days have given no uncertain indication that summer is upon us, as the temperature on Thursday topped the century, no less than 104° in the shade being registered at midday.

There were signs of an impending storm of some violence, and vessels in the anchorage had steam up and two anchors down. Tugs stood by through the night, but the gale did not materialise. Yesterday it was still very oppressive, but during last night some very welcome showers of rain fell, and to-day is quite agreeable.

The rain was badly needed, as many tanks were almost empty.

A good water supply is absolutely essential, and it is hoped the scheme to supply the town from the Savanne River will be pushed ahead with as little delay as possible.

French West Africa.

THE CAMEROONS.

A Possible White Man's Country.

Mr. F. W. H. Migeod, just back from another extended trip in Central Africa, gave some of his impressions to a representative of the "Morning Post." "I spent," he said, "eight months travelling through the Cameroons, starting from Victoria, at the foot of the Cameroon Mountains, then traversing the tropical forest country, emerging afterwards on to the grasslands, and so down to the Benue River. I found the country everywhere perfectly safe, and, on the whole, quite healthy. Tropical Africa is no longer the hotbed of diseases it used to be. When I compare even the unhealthiest spots with what they used to be twenty-five years ago, when I first knew them, the change is extraordinary. Sanitation and segregation—the removal of the white men's quarters from proximity with the natives—have worked wonders.

"In the Cameroon highlands there exists a possible white man's country, hardly inferior to East Africa. There is, perhaps, more rain. Big game is not particularly plentiful. It is disappearing fast before the extensive importation of cattle which the natives practise. A valuable crop grown in the Cameroons by the natives is cocoa, though this cannot compare with what the Portuguese produce. Economically, the country has gone back since 1914. The Germans did well in the Cameroons with their very thorough system of plantations, and the country is the poorer for their departure."

European Administrations Compared.

Speaking of the present administration of this vast tract of Africa, Mr. Migeod said that the British were going slowly on the traditional lines of Colonial development. He found the Belgian rule in the Congo good, though rather too easy-going to be altogether successful. The French, in their part of the Cameroons, avoided this fault, but, on the other hand, were more inclined than our officials to pass from leniency to severity or *vice versa*. "The French," he added, "are recruiting largely from the native tribes, and are generally said to send considerable numbers north to Morocco and Algeria. In Gaboon two years ago there was talk of the introduction of compulsory military service being introduced, as it has been in North Africa, but as yet that has not been done." Mr. Migeod added that the brilliant French feat of crossing the Sahara in Citroën cars has not been properly appreciated in this country.

Mr. Migeod laughingly denied that he had been in any part of Africa hitherto unvisited by a white man, observing that he knew Africa as well as most men and considered it to-day the best-known continent after Europe. He added that, in his opinion, West Africa had turned the corner and could look forward to a prosperous time. In particular, the Gold Coast had a great future, and when the harbour works now in progress at Takoradi were finished would develop by leaps and bounds.

KENYA COLONY (B.E.A.)

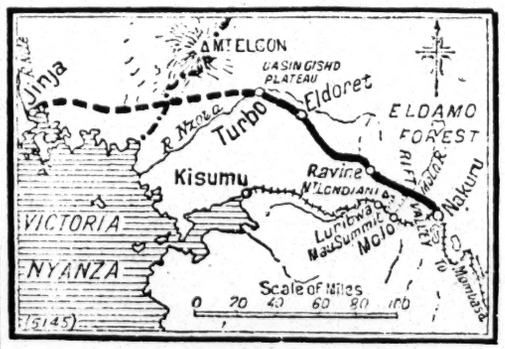
UASIN GISHU RAILWAY.

Proposed Extension to the Nile.

Projects for railway extension are always received with acclamation by the public in the countries concerned, who are too often apt to consider the benefit of the facilities such extensions confer rather than the burden the cost may impose. Such projects in new countries therefore require very careful examination as to their traffic prospects before a decision is made.

The Uasin Gishu Railway, now being built, was a bold adventure, for enthusiastic advocates admitted that probably seven years would elapse before the volume of traffic returned a profit which would pay the interest on its cost. The new proposal (which, according to the "Times" of the 21st inst., has been approved) has, however, much to recommend it. It is mainly a realisation of the original Macdonald survey of some thirty years ago, except that it is to terminate on the Nile near Jinja, instead of at the deep-water harbour of Port Victoria, which is at the north-east corner of Lake Victoria.

The conception is one of vision, for the Uasin Gishu Railway, while admirably suited for the needs of several hundred European



Reproduced from "The Times."

colonists on the Plateau, stopped short of fertile Northern Kavirondo, inhabited by about a quarter of a million of energetic native cultivators, all keen to grow produce for export, and now doing so under great difficulties.

We note that the new Governor of Uganda enthusiastically states that the cotton possibilities of the portion of his domain to be opened up by the extension are enormous. In time this will probably come true, for there is ample land to the north of the proposed line suitable for cotton, but the population of Busoga has been greatly reduced by sleeping sickness, and will take time to recover.

A very considerable amount of traffic will, however, be immediately available from the Kavirondo country along about 70 miles of the route, maize, simsim, and other products. Cotton has also been introduced in the great plain which stretches northwards from the north-east corner of Lake Victoria, and with transport facilities at hand a considerable volume may be expected in the near future.

This new railway will, if it includes a bridge over the Nile near Jinja, bring Uganda into direct rail communication with the coast, and thus alter the whole of the economic outlook of that Protectorate, and further, it will obtain from the native reserves an amount of traffic which will justify the construction of the Uasin Gishu section, and within a few years make the whole system pay. With the arrival of this extension in Uganda, the main line from the interior will be from Jinja, via Nakuru to Mombasa, and the portion of the Uganda Railway from Naburu to Kisumu will become a branch line. To what extent the steamer service on Lake Victoria will suffer remains to be seen, but it cannot fail to be adversely affected for a considerable period by the alteration of the line of development.

EAST AFRICA AT WEMBLEY.

There is to be shown at the British Empire Exhibition some very beautiful timber, from innermost Africa, which is practically unknown in this country. This exhibit will be shown by the East African Group of Colonies and Protectorates which stretch from the desert Nile to the Great Lakes.

The East African Group has decided to erect an Arab building in which to show the game, the products and the scenery of the Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Mauritius, and other places.

Their pavilion will occupy 15,000 square feet and will be a copy of an actual Arab house. The entrance door will be a reproduction of a beautiful old carved door in Zanzibar, and will give access to a central court filled with big game trophies and having a model of a wild African scene.

Opening from this central court will be smaller ones for the colonies in the group, each of which will show what life in its own particular country is like. This object will be accomplished by means of samples, pictures, photographs, and demonstrations of productive work, materials, and native curios from Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Seychelles, and the other areas.

Kenya cedar is coming to the forefront. Before the war, the British Empire imported millions of pencils from Bavaria and America, but to-day our dependence on foreign supplies can gradually cease, as in Kenya Colony we have cedar wood enough for a century. This will dispel the fear that much of the trade must remain in foreign hands or that inferior substitute woods might have to be used owing to the approaching exhaustion of American cedar supplies.

A wholly British pencil can now be made up from Kenya cedar wood, graphite mined in Canada and Ceylon, fats and waxes produced in India and Australasia, gums from Egypt, India, and the new mandated territories, and British dyestuffs.

English should be written with a British pencil every time, and the supply of the Empire's requirements and foreign export can, if the public wills it, make employment for ten thousand more persons who would draw in wages two millions sterling per annum.

The pencils to be shown at the British Empire Exhibition will be one hundred per cent. British in relation to raw material, and its labour, rail, and sea transportation, dock handling, home labour, skilled and unskilled, machinery, capital, and sales staff.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

Pioneer Epic of an Illiterate African Tribe

The Yorubas of Nigeria Who Have Never Had a Written Language



A Ceremonial Dance. Yoruba Women at Ilorin Dancing After the Installation of the Minor Chiefs.

A Review by
VAN BUREN THORNE

THE HISTORY OF THE YORUBAS. *From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate. By the Rev. Samuel Johnson, Pastor of Oyo. Edited by Dr. O. Johnson. Lagos. 680 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.*

IT is by no means apparent that this tragic history, this pioneer epic of a people, represents the aspiration of a collection of tribes in part only removed from savagery to render itself vocative and audible to the world. The very opposite seems to be the case, for the author faced his prodigious task deprived of the support of written records; his compatriots were without a written language. He relied, then, on legendary and mythological data as narrated by Homeric bards for the past, and on the testimony of two or three aged contemporaries for correct accounts of such events of the nineteenth century as were retained in their recollections. The resultant historical work is one of the strangest ever penned; it proceeds for half its length of nearly 700 pages with scarcely a date to mark its progress. But the most marvelous thing of all about this remarkable book is that it was written by a native of Yoruba—a black man dominated by a combination of the missionary spirit and innate patriotism. His native name appears to be Anla Ogun, and one could wish that he had no other; but he is to be known to the world as the Rev. Samuel Johnson, pastor of Oyo, and as such doubtless monuments to his memory will rise in Africa. He has been dead more than twenty years; his efforts to preserve the story of his people, although finished in 1897, are just beginning to be recognized.

Who are the Yorubas and where are they to be found? The present writer asked these questions of various learned persons. One thought them a disease; another searched his memory and expressed as his opinion that they were a species of fish; still another conceived them to be one of the newer forms of crop pests. Residents of the Western Hemisphere, unless they are interested in ethnological studies, give little heed to the primitive peoples of Africa.

Yoruba, then, is now a part of Nigeria, but was formerly a kingdom of Western Equatorial Africa. It is bounded by the sixth and ninth parallels of north latitude and by the degrees of longitude numbered two and a half and six and a half east. It adjoins Dahomey on the west and Nupé on the northeast, and lies southwest of the Niger River. The Bight of Benin is its southern boundary. An estimated population of 2,000,000 dwells within these somewhat narrow confines, with Lagos as their chief seaport, and Oyo, the capital, called the metropolis by the author, lying inland 120 miles northnortheast from Lagos. At one time it was estimated that Oyo contained 40,000 inhabitants.

Throughout most of its area Yoruba is a high and fertile plateau, mainly given over to agricultural pursuits. But for the last hundred years at least, and no one knows how much longer, the yield of this rich land has consisted chiefly of warriors. These preyed upon one another to such an extent in the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century that the inevitable happened: His Supernal Highness Adeyemi, King of the Yorubas, was obliged to appeal to the English for protection; and present-day Yoruba is now within the British Protectorate of Lagos.

The Pastor of Oyo, supremely conscious of the deficiency of his people in national records, imposed upon himself the task of gathering them into written form. "Educated natives of Yoruba," he writes, "are well acquainted with the history of England and with that of Rome and Greece, but of the history of their own country they know nothing whatever! This reproach it is one of the author's objects to remove."

And so he discusses the alleged origin of the nation from high forbears in Mecca; but he shows that the Mecca described by the royal bards of the metropolis is a vast stretch of country in no wise to be confounded with the sacred city of pilgrimage. The origin of the Yorubas appears in fact to be as nebulous and obscure as mythology renders that of Rome itself. But the greater part of the history is devoted to a description of the visitation of interminable wars that tormented the country from 1830 on.

Consider a population of 2,000,000 made up of tribes innumerable and dissentious; a nation ruled by a King who rejoices in the title of Supernal Highness (and demands to be treated accordingly), but who has tributory to him as vassal or provincial kings and ruling princes 1,060 individuals. There was—and obviously must be—national unrest, tribal turbulence and individual truculence. The insolence of arrogant princelings and petty potentates expressed in manifestations of the grossest vulgarities reacted on the tribal and national spirits. Turmoil resulted and threatened endless strife. It is of these fratricidal wars, raids of petty chiefs and attacks from without that the historian chiefly tells, glossing nothing.

The Pastor of Oyo follows no model in his narratives, yet they are here and there illuminated by minute details that suggest the pen of a Caesar or a Xenophon. His accounts bristle with thousands of fantastic names that would delight the soul of a Sienkiewicz. And it may be stated parenthetically that the missionary-historian has uncovered a rich field of comedy and tragedy for the needs of future fictionists.

As one turns page after page one expects momentarily to come upon rare bursts of eloquence from native lips. Haggard's gifted Zulus and Cooper's Indian orators naturally prepare one for the fulfillment of such expectations. But no such thing happens. The Pastor of Oyo is all for the truth. Often he finds it necessary to deprecate it, but none other than the truth will serve in carrying out his lofty purpose. At times anarchy reigns supreme, but without vocal eloquence.

But there is a pathetic and wistful eloquence in the appeals of his Supernal Highness Adeyemi for aid in his desperate emergencies. Here is an example which reveals the exigencies of the national turmoil:

The Palace, Oyo.

To His Excellency,
Lieut. Gov. W. B. Griffiths.

Sir: I hereby approach your Excellency and through you to the Imperial Government of England, with this humble request: (1) My country has long been disturbed by a desultory war, which your Excellency well knows, and which has put a stop to all trade and impoverished the country, and thousands of lives have perished by death of hopeless slavery.

I have several times undertaken to bring about the long-desired peace, but my efforts have from time to time been frustrated. Instead of terminating, the war is extending, to threaten the utter extinction of the Yoruba race.

The Dahomians have taken advantage of this to ruin my kingdom. A few months ago seven towns have fallen a victim to their rapacities and Iseyin is now threatened. The next turn might be my own royal city.

With all possible speed I beg for the Imperial Government—for which I have always a great respect—to come to my help. I crave your assistance both to come to settle this unfortunate war between the belligerent powers and to stop the Dahomians, who have made an inroad into my kingdom.

To assure your Excellency of my great anxiety I pledge myself to undergo any expenses if only peace be effected as the issue.

All my frontier towns are in great panic now, and if I make no stir to protect them they will all scatter and so I will undertake this in the coming dry season.

I mention this lest you may say after asking your help I make a movement. I beg to remain,

ADEYEMI,
King of the Yorubas.

Appeals of this character continued to be made by Adeyemi during a period of some years, and were ably seconded by the author himself, before the British intervened. And the Yorubas by no means had smooth sailing after the establishment of the protectorate.

Of course, Britain was naturally the power to which an appeal should be made; but there is also a peculiar significance in the fact that his Supernal Highness recognized that fact. For elsewhere the author tells us that

> as far as it is possible for one race to be characteristically like another, from which it differs in every physical respect, the Yorubas—it has been noted—are not unlike the English in many of their characteristics. It would appear that what the one is among the whites the other is among the blacks. Love of independence, a feeling of superiority over all others, a keen commercial spirit and of indefatigable enterprise, that quality of being never able to admit or consent to a defeat as finally settling a question upon which their mind is bent, are some of those qualities peculiar to them, and no matter under what circumstances they are placed, Yorubas will display them.

The Government of Yoruba is an absolute monarchy; the King is more feared than the gods. The title de-

...one away with, because in the eminence in umbrellas by the size ...kless state of war into which the and quality of those which they ...ntry had degenerated it was mag- affect.

...nimously thought that the warrior The Yorubas have a forceful man- ...s should be allowed to amuse ner of harassing an incorrigible ...mselves in their own way before debtor. An individual called an ogo ...molating themselves on the bat- goes to the house of the debtor and ...field—so if they wished to dissipate stays there till the debt is paid. He ...h an orgy of umbrella-carrying it must be a man of equable temper ...s not for their elders to say them wants, abuses his unwilling host and ...were introduced and the prohibition ...es a general nuisance of himself.

...scends in the same family, but not himself a long reign, had it made a ...necessarily from father to son. If law that the Aremo should die with ...there is a son as Crown Prince (he him. This law had the effect of ...is called the Aremo), and if he checking parricides, which were too ...reigns with his father, a wise mon- common.

...arch of old, in order to insure for The umbrella attains its most glo- ...rious use among the Yorubas, for it ...is part of the State paraphernalia. Formerly private individuals did not dare own one. Cheap foreign ones

...day! But the chiefs maintain pre-

Not the least interesting part of this history are the prefaces of the author and of the editor, a brother of the former. The editor's note especially indicates that never did a history have harder work breaking into print than this.

Samuel Johnson set his hand and seal to the work at Oyo in 1897. He had labored at it faithfully for twenty years. It was a great work, well done. But the book before the present writer is not from the hand of Samuel Johnson, but from that of his brother, Dr. O. Johnson of Lagos, who describes himself as its editor.

In 1899, two years after the Pastor of Oyo had completed his task, the manuscripts were sent to an English publisher and nothing more was heard of them. Dr. Johnson visited England in 1900 and called on the publisher, who told him that the manuscripts had been misplaced and could not be found; but he offered to pay for them. Dr. Johnson evidently believes that there was more than mere mischance in all this; there seemed to him to be something mysterious about the affair.

The author died in 1901, and Dr. Johnson, who had been in collaboration with him, undertook from the rough drafts and notes remaining to rewrite the book. In time he accomplished it; his photograph shows him to be a man of determination. At the same time he was busy with a large medical practice, so that in reality it was a herculean labor he carried out.

The second completed manuscript left Lagos for England on Jan. 2, 1916, by the steamship Appam. The ship disappeared and was supposed to have been lost, but was found later in this country, having been captured by the raider Moewe. Nothing was heard of the manuscripts for two years, when they were delivered at last to the printers.

The book contains, in addition to the historical narratives, a sketch of the Yoruba grammar, a map of Yoruba and a frontispiece of Dr. Johnson.

A Great Disappointment.

Among the alterations introduced by the Select Committee of the Native Urban Areas Bill, we learn, is one that substitutes the lease of land for ownership.

Accordingly to this drastic amendment, our people will no longer be entitled to purchase the site on which their improved house stands. This is a concession by the Government to the Dutch of the Orange Free State, but we do not see why the anti-Native malice of the ex Dutch republic should be brought to bear upon that of the Cape Province and Natal and Transvaal. An exception might have been made here in favour of the other provinces where Natives have always been privileged to buy land. As the Land Act by the Thompson v. Tama decision, does not apply to the Cape Province it is a moot point whether this restriction will hold good everywhere. In the 1920 Municipal Congress where our friend F. A. Saunders stirred the country in favour of improved conditions for Natives, the strongest argument used was that the Native inhabitants of locations such as for instance the one at East London, cannot take interest in beautifying their homes and environments when they are there unattached to their sites, because they are liable to be evicted any day when their rent becomes overdue; whereas if they owned the land they would be able to take a pride in their habitation by reason of their security of tenure. Where is this security now under this amendment? It is gone, and we are left exactly where we were before the project of an Urban Areas Bill was introduced. The new handsome buildings in the Bloemfontein Native Township were purchased by their owners under the promise of this security of tenure. This security was the real attraction of all Natives to this bill. Now that it is gone our Native fellowmen everywhere will feel a real disappointment and justifiable disgust at the vacillating policy of the Government who have thus violated their faith and sold their cause to the Free State Dutchmen.

"Black Peril"

To judge from the volume of disprobation and shocked exclamations that arise in the South African white press whenever a wretched member of the submerged tenth of the five million aborigines commits an outrage against a European woman in Johannesburg or Cape Town, an outsider reading the account, say, from Japan, would conclude that all the blacks of South Africa must be a degraded lot of carnal beasts. That is the effect created, and possibly aimed at, by our megaphonic contemporaries. Those of us, however, who live in South Africa with an inside knowledge of the temptations daily faced by black ignorant "houseboys" in our big towns who have to do every kind of menial work for white mistresses from the kitchen to the private bedroom, can well realise the unblessed position of these servants for they are "more sinned against than sinning" in the majority of such cases. Why Reuter should publish punctiliously, it seems, the revolting details of such unsavoury "copy" passes our comprehension unless it be explained by the fact of the standard of morality in this land being such that newspaper readers themselves do not take offence at the publication of such topics. The reading public is apparently eager to know, but unfortunately it rarely gets to know the unalloyed truth; for the white press seems to uphold the honour of its womenfolk, and that naturally, even at the risk of libelling the African races whose press is outvied in the competition.

The noisy advertisement of "black peril" cases reached an alarming stage of fanfaronade fourteen years ago when it was unexpectedly suppressed by the arrival in the Rand of black lawyers who, in case after case, proved to the dismay of the public that in the majority of this type of cases the houseboys were pure victims of temptation and that a false hue and cry arose only when the guilty party was accidently discovered, the cry being made to hide the true guilt. Recently a "white peril" case was reported from the Cape when a white man committed an offence against a coloured woman who had the courage and intelligence to bring the wretch before the courts of justice. Cases of the latter sort otherwise never come to light, nevertheless the result of illicit miscegenation may be seen in the increase of mulattoes in the Native reserves, not excluding the Cape Proper, where invariably the fathers are white and the mothers black.

In view of some correspondence in the Cape press anent this, it is interesting to note that the truth has been put in book form by a white man W. C. Scully in a novel on Native life called "Daniel Vananda" (220 pages, 5/ post free, Juta & Co.).

Mr Scully has no superior among whites as an authority on Native life. He is an author of high standing and his last public service was his work as chairman of a Lands Act commission five years ago. He devotes the last two chapters of a well written and engaging book to a typical "Black Peril" case the details of which confirm, from an actual case, the contention just outlined. It will astound many who know little of the underworld of the big South African towns. Some critics have been offended by Mr Scully's audacity in speaking the unpalatable truth, but as we aboriginal Africans have but few white advocates ready to defend us at the cost of the moral reputation of their own race, we owe a deep debt of gratitude to him for putting in indestructible form a piece of history reliably explaining what would otherwise permanently remain as a gross libel of the black race.

The book is well worth getting and reading and we feel sure many of our readers will not lose time in securing it.

CHIEF SANDILE.

(Letter to the Editor, Imvo).

Sir,—We have all learn. It was a revelation to me to learn from Professor Key's speech on the occasion of the opening of the Wesleyan Hostel at Fort Hare that "Less than seventy years ago Sandile could have taken a child off its mother's back and dashed its brains out against the ground."

As this is so un-Sandile-like, will the Professor please condescend to give chapter and verse in support of this (as I believe) unjust attack on the memory of an inoffensive Chief who was as innocent of such damnable atrocities as a child unborn?

A. E. NAZO.

Cofimvaba,
Ascension Day, 1923.

AFRICA

Cure for Sleeping Sickness

DR. SIMON FLEXNER, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, is quoted in the New York *Times* as stating that a new drug tryparsamide, an arsenic compound, which has been used with considerable success in treating paresis, has also been found to be the best cure for African sleeping sickness, the disease which has done so much to hinder the economic development of Africa. The African sleeping sickness is not similar to the malady of a similar name known in America. It is caused usually by the bite of the tstse fly, which spreads the trypanosomes, as the irritant germs that cause the disease are called.

DUSE MOHAMED ALI EFFENDI TO APPEAR IN ST. LOUIS

Duse Mohamed Ali Effendi, historian, writer and musician, will appear at Ulmer Memorial Church, corner Leffingwell and Pine, Monday evening, May 21st at eight o'clock in a leuture on the subject, "Egypt Under Tut-Ankh-Amen."

He will tell of the race and lineage of this celebrated king, whose tomb was recently discovered and explain many of the secrets concerning same as wll as the mysteries of ancient Egypt.

Mr. Mohamed Ali is the outhor of a celebrated history of Egypt under the title of "The Rule of the Pharoahs." He was educated in the leading universities of England and has traveled all over the world, contributing to newspapers and publications, one of his articles appearing in the current number of the "Atlantic Monthly."

The historian has been heard by thousands in many places. To the citizens of St. Louis, it will be a great opportunity to hear a man from Egypt who knows of its mysteries.

Race Problem – 1923
Africa

DALLAS PASTORS START GIGANTIC MOVEMENT TO FINANCE LIBERIAN LOAN. RESOLUTION ENDORSED BY A. M. E. BISHOPS' COUNCIL.

(A. N. P.)

Dallas, Texas, March 16.—Colored American interest in Liberia seems to be growing apace. Even here in Texas a very definite stand has been taken the African Republic to the extent that the recent Bishops' Council held in Columbia, S. C., was memorialized by the local Ministerial Alliance and the Ministers' Union through a set of resolutions which embodied a rather comprehensive survey of the conditions now affecting what these two bodies affect to believe threaten the future of that far off land of our forbears.

The resolutions treat of the failure of the American Liberian Loan; of the duty of the American Negro to maintain a lively interest in the Republic of Liberia; the threatening attitudes of the British Empire and the Republic of France as well as the gradual reducing of the territorial tabulation of the square miles now under the domination of the great European powers in Africa; at large, which runs into millions as against the 741,000 square miles of independent territory divided among Egypt, Abyssinia, and Liberia. The resolutions are special appeal to the African Methodist Episcopal church to use its great offices and powers to lessen the chances of a final and complete dismemberment of Liberia by the great European powers. They read in part as follows:

Dallas, Texas, February, 1923.
To the Council of Bishops of
the African Methodist Episcopal
Church in Columbus,
S. C.

Dear Fathers in God:

You have had brought to your attention, through the columns of the public press, the fact that the United States Congress failed to pass favorably on the Liberian loan, which the Hon. C. D. B. King, President of that nation, and his associates, were given the assurance would be granted at the close of their extended negotiations with American officials during their recent visit to this country. The more critically we have studied conditions in Africa, and especially the prerequisites attaching to the Liberian loan, the more stubbornly the conviction has been forced upon us that this unfavorable action of Congress was truly providential, and forces upon the leaders of the Negro race in this country the imperative duty of taking well planned and definite steps to render the Liberian Nation the assistance necessary to guarantee its continued existence as an independent state, owned and exclusively governed by Negroes.

Needless it is to say, despite the centuries which have passed since we were transported from the shores of Africa, and the thousands of miles of ocean which separate us from its golden strands—we can not, if we so desired, stiffle that fellow feeling which bind peoples of the same blood in bonds of sympathetic concern which neither time nor distance can permanently suppress or destroy.

We beg your indulgence for a moment that we may bring to your attention as a basis of this petition the present geographical divisions of Africa among the European nations. The Dark Continent second in size only to that of Asia, has a land area of approximately 11,800,000 square miles of which the latest geographical survey gives the following interesting and impressive facts descriptive of the territorial holdings in Africa resulting from the mandate adjustments incident to the world war:

France has 4,474,000 square miles—more than thirty times the size of the home country; Great Britian has 3,854,600 square miles—more than thirty times the size of the British Isles; Belgium has 928,900 square miles—more than eighty times the area of the governing country; Portugal in Europe; Italy has 219,200 square miles—more than four times the area of the home country; and Spain has 128,100 square miles—about two-thirds the size of the governing country.

It is not less impressive to note that only three states or countries in all the continent of Africa comprising about 741,000 square miles are independent—they are: Liberia, Egypt and Abyssinia, the remaining millions of our fatherland, totaling one-fifth of the earths land surface, are under European control. We mention Egypt as independent, but it must be remembered that while it is independent of European sovereignty it is governed by Turks, leaving only Liberia and Abyssinia under Negro rulership—shall these be surrendered?

We desire further to press upon your busy attention the strictly closed door policy that is being practiced by many of these foreign powers—that is to say, workers of our race group are prohibited by law from carrying even the light of Christian civilization to our brethren in heathen darkness who do not know their right hand from their left.

The little Republic of Liberia has been sliced down from its original size by Great Britian and France to an area of between forty and fifty thousand square miles, and its present condition should concern every thoughtful American Negro. Its condition should concern every thoughtful American Negro. Its commerce was destroyed during the world war, and it must have assistance from some source or its existence as an independent nation is seriously threatened. The Liberians are our close kin and no greater calamity could come to the entire race than its dismemberment. It seems the plain duty of the American Negro, whom God has most signally blessed, to render that assistance and preserve to the race one little spot on earth where black supremacy may be maintained.

Since the Christian Church has been the leader in, or very closely allied with, all great movements for human betterment among the various peoples of the earth, more especially is this true of leaders of the Negro churches of America to concern themselves in this larger way for the relief of the present distress of Liberia and thus guarantee its permanency as an independent Negro state.

Keenly alive to the conditions set for above, we, the members of the Ministers Union and the Ministerial Alliance — embracing all evangelical denominations of the City of Dallas, Texas,—urged to action by current events but especially impelled by the series of articles appearing in the Dallas Express as well as the public addresses on African conditions, by one of your members, the Rev. Chas. W. Abington, who has recently returned from a visit to several countries of Africa, have resolved to bring this matter in this way to the attention of the great religious bodies of Negro leaders in America.

We do not take this step unmindful of the many perplexing questions and intricate problems which will naturally arise in considering a movement of so great scope and far reaching consequences, but we are confident we have in our several ranks both ministers and laymen of high purpose, possessing the mental and spiritual fitness coupled with keen financial ability to whom the evolution of workable plan might be committed.

In view of the facts herein set forth, we respectfully ask that the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal church sitting in Columbia, South Carolina, give its endorsement to the appointment of an Interdenominational Commission comprising all race church organizations in the United States of America to make a detailed study of Liberian conditions and needs, evolve and submit a workable plan by which the Liberian nation may be furnished by the American Negroes the finance necessary for its development as a Negro state.

Since your great church has, from the days of Richard Allen, stood for Negro independence—we further ask that this endorsement be further impressed upon the other religious bodies by naming, at your present sitting, at least a few persons on the commission which may form a nucleus of the work.

It is our purpose to bring this matter urgently to the attention of all controlling bodies among the Negro race in this country, religious fraternal, commercial and other racial groups.

Yours for Liberian independence,
Ministerial Alliance:
L. R. May, Sec'y.
Ministers' Union:
JAMES R. STARKS, President.
L. R. MAYE, Sec'y.

The resolutions drawn up by the Dallas Ministers was presented by Dr. C. W. Abington, recently returned from an extensive tour of that country. He studied conditions at close range and he now is recognized as the church's most able student of missionary affairs.

The N. A. Commission in Herschel.

Emile Zahavtrand
The Native Affairs Commission

2/12/23

fulfilled its long delayed visit by spending just five hours with a huge audience of Herschel Natives for the purpose of announcing the new Native Education Tax. Those who know the bitter facts know that the average salary of a qualified Native teacher is about £5 a month. A correspondent of the Aliwal North paper makes the absurd statement that this is good pay for "many an educated European would like to get a salary of £8 or £10 per month for the same work that some of the Natives get that pay for"!

This stranger in Jerusalem delivers himself thus:—

"Some very good speeches were made by some of the leading natives and such important matters as railways, district Councils, bridges, etc., were brought up but, of course, there was no time for any discussion.

There is naturally strong objection to fresh taxation for any object, as the natives of Herschel have had a succession of bad seasons and there is great privation in parts. The authorities have never before experienced such difficulty in recovering the usual taxes and to increase taxation now will only augment arrears. Native teachers have always been, from my experience, well enough paid for their merits and many an educated European would like to get a salary of £8 or £10 per month for the same work that some of the natives get that pay for.

It is hoped that the N.A. Commission will take an early opportunity of spending some days in this district and acquainting themselves with the wants of the native residents. This district being bordered by Basutoland and the Free State there are a number of questions and points often arising which do not occur in any other native area.

The long delayed, and then hurried visit of the Native Affairs Commission has caused a feeling of great disappointment, and it is farcical for a party of six to come out especially in hired taxis to tell the natives that the sole object of their visit was to announce that next year they will have to pay 10s. more tax.

We have a resident magistrate here and as representing the Government, the unpleasant information of a tax could have been conveyed by him without extra expense to the country.

Now a local Native, Mr S. T. Nongogo writes us anent this and remarks:—

The Natives had previously been notified of the day and object of the meeting by the R. M., through their several headmen. So no sane native expected a general discussion of many matters other than the Native Education Taxation. Secondly, the Natives of Herschel did not bring up any matters for discussion, for they fully knew the occasion was to be devoted to nothing but means whereby Native Education could be promoted from its present deplorable stagnancy. What the Natives brought up to the Commission to carry to the Government were but motions re railways and bridges, and the Commission willingly accepted these and promised to present them to the Government. The meeting expressed its greatest thirst for education and so, it would be a pure absurdity were Natives to be led to confound matters that lead to their general uplift with the result of the seasons which is none of their concern but God's will. Thirdly, to say Native teachers have been well enough paid and also to say many educated Europeans would like to get a salary of £8 or £10 per month shows pure prejudice and selfishness. That educated Europeans would one day like to get what poor Native teachers now get for their pay may perhaps happen when humanity will have inhabited Plato's Republic. Fourthly, sure enough we have magistrates who represent the Government in many different parts of the Union, but this does not debar the Commission nor minimize their obligation to visit Native areas simply because the information they carry is unpleasant or otherwise to someone.

THE MOZAMBIQUE COMPANY'S TERRITORY.

The African World 2/3/23

Special to "The African World."

Port of Beira.

Attention is being attracted to the possibilities of Beira as a port of outlet for the rapidly increasing meat resources of Rhodesia. That country cannot hope to depend on the export of its surplus stock to the Union, seeing that the latter country already has a surplus of its own, and in a leading article which appeared in the "Beira News" in mail week, Dr. Eric Nobbs, the well-known Director of Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia, is quoted as a strong advocate of the view that the Rhodesian pastoral industry must look abroad for its market. In Dr. Nobbs's opinion, the only way to develop the export trade is to lay down cold storage works in Rhodesia with connecting works on the coast. "We believe we are correct in saying," states the "Beira News," "that Dr. Nobbs's view is that Beira offers the most suitable port for the purpose. . . . That there is a great deal going on both here and in London affecting the trading future of this port we have no doubt whatever. Before very long, perhaps, we shall be let into the secret of what is going on with the object of making this a first-class harbour capable of dealing with all the immense tonnage of produce and ores and coal that will be offering for export at Beira. . . . It is quite unlikely that the eminently favourable position of the port of Beira for dealing with all Rhodesian exports will be lightly passed by when the decision regarding the meat trade is finally taken."

The Zambesi Floods.

According to private cabled advices, the recent floods on the Zambesi have not been so serious as at first seemed likely. In a telegram dated February 19, tremendous rains were reported, and it was feared that there would be a repetition of the disastrous floods of 1918. Fortunately, later advices discount the earlier reports. There have been very heavy rains, and some of the crops along the margin of the river have suffered damage. But the worst fears have not been realised. The plantations lying back from the river are in splendid condition, and even where the crops have been injured by the floods it is hoped in some cases to repair the loss by replanting.

Coal on the Zambesi.

M. André Eric Gérard, managing director of the Société Minière and Géologique du Zambèze, left London on Wednesday of last week for Egypt, where he will join the "Guildford Castle," en route for East Africa. The Société Minière holds a concession to work the coalfields on the Zambesi in the Tête area, and the first colliery is being opened not far from that town. M. Delhaye, who has been appointed local manager, left Europe in the middle of January to take up his post, and M. Gérard is going out to join him. Together they will supervise the opening up of the colliery and the installation of the line of light railway, about twelve miles in length, which is being built to connect the colliery with the river port of Benga, a little below Tete. M. Gérard is well acquainted with the local conditions, having travelled over the country two or three years ago in connection with the preliminary investigations which proved the existence of the coal and established its value for commercial purposes. The colliery is on the north side of the river, outside the Mozambique company's territory, but the exploitation of the coal is a development of the greatest interest and importance to the territory, inasmuch as the coal will provide fuel for the Trans-Zambesia Railway as well as for the Nyasaland railways, and will also, as supplies increase, be exported from Beira, which promises to become one of the great coaling ports on the East Coast of Africa.

Dr. Loram on Natives.

Zabantsundu.

2/6/23.

(Continued)

It is not the "labour reservior" type of native reserve as exemplified in the Transvaal which is wanted, but the Basutoland (11,716 square miles and 497,178 people) and the Transkeian territories (16,344 square miles and 919,781 people) which are advised. This should not be difficult in Northern Rhodesia, where there is Barotseland Native Reserve already in existence and where from the tribal map it would appear that large homogeneous reserves could be set aside for exclusive native occupation. Let it not be thought that this policy will retard the development of the country. By no means all the natives will live on those reserves. Some will at once become town dwellers, for whom the urban authorities should provide accommodation in the native village which should be attached to each town, others will live on the farms on say, the Scotch crofter system of land tenancy to provide the continuous and periodical labour needed for the development of the chief industry of Rhodesia. The number of both of these groups should be restricted to the genuine needs of the Europeans in these white areas. The mass of the natives would live in their own reserves engaged in agriculture, stock raising, village industries and coming out periodically in their hundreds and thousands to provide labour for the mines and large industries of their own and other countries.

Having once determined on segregation as the basal principle, and having statutorily confirmed the natives in the use and occupation of their areas we are in a position to pass to the next question of method of government. It will be found convenient to speak of direct and indirect rule. By direct rule we mean the placing of the administration in the hands of Europeans with natives in subordinate positions. It is the system in vogue in the Transkeian territories in South Africa where the powers of native chiefs have been abolished or curtailed and the direction of affairs is in the hands of European Magistrates. Given good magistrates as we have in the Transkei, the system apparently works well. The efficiency, energy and official integrity of European officers has developed the country amazingly, so that to-day Transkei is the most progressive and one of the most satisfied native districts in our country. Yet the effect of the system is to Europeanise the native, which is possibly an inevitable result in the Union where white and black are more equal in numbers and more intermingled in distribution than they are in Northern Rhodesia, unless the native chiefs show themselves incapable of developing as fast as their people, and there is always a tendency for an autocracy to be unprogressive even reactionary, one would prefer for that country a system of indirect rule where the native chieftanship and other machinery of government is retained with the European magistrate or political officer keeping himself in the background, but ready and willing to advise here and to exert a restraining influence there. The keynote of this policy is to allow the native to develop his own civilisation. The nearest approach to indirect government in Africa South of the Zambesi is in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, where Linchwe governs the Bakgathla and Khama rules the Bamangwato as a benevolent despot. Here the chief is chief indeed, and using the native machinery of his Khothla (council), and his policemen, carries on government with a minimum of interference from the European resident. Khama is said to be worth five hundred policemen to the British Government, so that from motives of economy as well as from political and sociological motives the system of indirect rule would appear to be the best. Indeed, in so sparsely populated and so money-poor a country as Northern Rhodesia, no other policy would appear to be possible.

For a financial policy it seems best to postulate a few axioms, the lack of which in South Africa has led to confusion and bitter misunderstanding. Whatever be the form of rule, the native must be taxed. A portion of his tax should be his contribution towards the general administration and development of the country, the remainder should be used for the direct benefit of those who pay it. The amount contributed to the central government must needs at first be uniform throught the country, but the amount raised by the natives for their own requirements, such as education, stud stock, dipping tanks, irrigation, etc., would vary with the needs and aspirations of particular tribes or native areas. This taxation for the natives' special needs might be collected by the people themselves in the form of tribal levies, as is the custom in the Transvaal, or by means of a rate on persons, cattle or land as is done in the more advanced Transkei. In any case, let it be possible to demonstrate clearly to the native taxpayers themselves how much money is raised and exactly how it is spent. A separate revenue account for native moneys is required. Native administration in the Union to-day is seriously hampered because of the lack of a sound theory of native taxation. Neither the amount contributed by natives in indirect taxation nor the amount spent on their government can be estimated, so that an attempt to obtain money from general revenue for natives is met by the protest of the European that the the native is a ready getting more benefits than he pays for, while the natives, when pressed for further taxation for his increasing needs, complains that he does not get enough for what he already pays. It will take the Union decades to co-ordinate and simplify its native financial system.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Native Farmers.

(Concluded)

Imvo 1-30-23

The Minister of Agriculture in a recent speech at Alice made a surprising but welcome tribute to the work of Dr J. E. East and his demonstration methods adding that Dr East's departure from the country was a real calamity and that it behoved Government to arrange to induce him to return. Sir Thomas declared himself as anxious to see among Natives better stock, better produce, irrigation, and eradication of scab with even heavier penalties than now obtaining! After the Secretary had read out the memorial presented before the Minister on Agriculture among Natives the meeting passed a resolution to petition the Government to grant ten special scholarships at £20 each per annum for Native students at the Fort Hare College

The meeting was thankful to learn that Mr N. A. Mazwai, Secretary of the Kentani Native Agricultural Union was in the process of compiling a simple Xosa handbook on Agriculture specially adopted for the immediate needs of small Native farmers. It would be published in due course along with some of Dr East's notes under the supervision of Mr Jabavu when all the existing associations would be asked to subscribe towards the expense of its publication. Later on in the proceedings it was resolved that this association should grant a loan of £5 towards this fund. The Secretary gave an account of the meeting of a combined Lovedale and Fort Hare deputation that had held an interview with Sir Thomas Smartt before whom it presented what may be termed the Native Agricultural Charter for the future policy of Government towards advancing Native Agriculture in this land. This had already been given wide advertisement in "Imvo" and the rest of the Native press and several European journals who had graciously espoused the valuable cause.

The meeting stood aghast when Mr Jabavu divulged the astounding fact that the Government was to day spending £100,0000 a year on five European agricultural schools with £4,800 in scholarships for white boys when it did absolutely nothing equivalent for Natives! Many exclaimed "we did not know that, Mr Jabavu!" There was a Land and Agricultural Bank with a capital of six millions *available* only for "a white man with a white wife," to help whites to buy land and farms, Natives being barred by the obnoxious colour line. The Government Department of Agriculture headed by Sir Thomas disbursed funds amounting to £620,000 a year for the benefit of Dutch and English land occupiers while it did nothing for Native peasants except to mulct them in abnormal dipping and scab fines at the courts of Magistrates. Mr Jabavu concluded his address amidst acclamations. Mr Stanford Sonjica, the Demonstrator, then gave an exhilarating lecture on the study of capillary water, the choice of seeds and the general necessity for industrious labour in the fields. He based his remarks on two Biblical texts: Proverbs 28: 19 and Leviticus 19 19 to the agreeable amazement of the four clergymen members who were present. A high standard of discussion was maintained and it was agreed on all hands that this was the most interesting meeting in the whole career of the association Those who were prominent in discussion were Messrs Stephen Sonjica, W. Djaba, R. Mampunye, F. Cweba, Rev. V. Kwatsha, D. Time, S. Mzimba, B. Mtusanto, S. Tontsi, E. Shosha, A. Kwatsha, Miss Mala, Rev. H. Payne, D. Bongoza and J. Makubalo. Subscriptions amounted to £1 4s. making the total at bank £17 17s. 9d. Next meeting was fixed for Zanyokwe (Rabula) for Saturday, 24th February, 1923.

Mr. Loram on Natives.

Imvo 1-30-23

What Dr Loram has to say on Native policy is worth more than passing attention because he is not only a supreme counsellor of the Government, but a thinker, a man who bases his opinion on tangible facts, as man of his own conviction and one with a courage to adhere to it no matter who thinks otherwise. He has recently contributed an article on "A Native Policy for Northern Rhodesia" to a Rhodesian journal, from which we make the following excerpt:—

"To the student of Native affairs from the Union of South Africa Northern Rodesia has a peculiar fascination, inasmuch as in her youthfulness and vitality she seems to offer unique opportunities for the development of a native policy, which would not only be a satisfaction to herself but might serve as a model for other parts of the British Colonial Empire. In that great country we have a native population practically untouched by the so-called European civilisation, a high type of settler, conscious or able to be made conscious, of the tremendous effect of his mere example upon the imitative African; an earnest co operating and not yet disillusioned corps of missionaries, and a set of officials imbued with those characteristics of justice and fairplay, which in our egoism we call British, and who are at the same time shrewd men of affairs looking at the welfare of natives as their duty and their profession. No wonder that the would-be reformer from the South, with its legacy of race suspicion if not race hatred, springing from Kafir wars and the traditions of slavery, its native policy varying from the hot of Cape theoretical equalism to the cold of practical repressionism of the northern provinces, with long periods of rudderless drifting in place of a vigorous native policy, and its series of native administrators ranging from giants like Brownlee, Shepstone, Stanford and other administrators "by the grace of God" to the untrained and inexperienced pygmies whom the natives know so well,—no wonder that such a man looks with envy upon the simpler issues in the North, and wishes that he, too, could work on virgin soil. Since that is not possible he willingly sits down and out of his experience and his failures attempts to weave a policy for his more fortunately placed brethren in the North.

In the first place we would ask Rhodesians to appreciate the problem of race adjustment in their land, not only as it is to-day, but as it will be when shoals of settlers are attracted to Northern Rhodesia by the potentialities of the country. With us familiarity with the problem sometimes produces a dangerous contempt, "Ek is moeg vir de Kaffers," said one of our legislators to the writer with a fine disregard of the fact that his tiredness was not going to affect South Africa's vital problem. Some of those who do not think grimly pat their rifles when asked for a remedy for our native troubles, as if powder and lead were a possible solution. Others again believe that there is a place for both races in our great land, and that with study and thought, if not with prayer and fasting, the relative position of each race may be found. But while the mass of our people do not think seriously about the matter we have some cases in our mental wilderness. There are courses in African studies in three of our universities, we have a permanent Native Affairs Commission giving the whole of its time to the study of this question and in many of our cities there are bodies of Europeans who either alone or more frequently associated with native groups of equal size sit down and attempt to come to an understanding on the difficult matter of race adjustment. May we urge Rhodesia to do the same? Let us in the South have some of her young officials and missionaries at our colleges and universities, and let those who remain at home form their African Associations or Native Welfare Societies and inform themselves of the language, habits, customs and mentality of the people among whom they live. There is nothing harder, but there is nothing more fascinating, than the study is nothing more fascinating, than the study of the Native Question, and it is only on the hard facts gathered by experts and the principles hammered out from discussion of these that a safe native policy can be built.

A question that will dog Rhodesians' foot-steps all through her deliberations on native policy is whether or not she is going to keep separate the social, political and territorial domains of white and black. Our experience in the Union would make us advise Rhodesia to accept the "segregation policy" to the fullest possible extent. The gap in evolutionary history between the two people, with the marked differences in disease resisting power, economic needs and ethical ideas, call for separate territorial areas and different systems of government, administration and social development. This does not mean that the country is to be arbitrarily divided into two portions, into one of which the natives are to be thrust "to stew in their own juice," as some of our doctrinaire segregationists hold, but that now early in Northern Rhodesia's history, before scattered settlement by Europeans reduces the size of the areas available for native occupation, large territories be set aside where the natives may proceed on their political, social and economic evolution under the stimulus of their own needs, and the guidance of wise and sympathetic officials and missionaries.

French Africa in London

The African World 3/3/23

(From our Resident Paris Correspondent.)

French West Africa is preparing to invade London. That immense colony of four million square kilometres, with its population of some twelve million inhabitants, this 1923 has discovered that London is the axis of Trade and Commerce! French West Africa consequently has decided to be officially represented in London, E.C., where Britishers interested in the boundless wealth of French West Africa will find competent persons to afford reliable and prompt information, also have under their eyes specimens of the leading natural resources and products of Senegal, Mauritania, French Sudan, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, French Guinea, Dahomey and the French Niger Territory which are comprised in the ... known as French West Africa.

It is not my intention to afford the lengthy list of natural resources of these regions: as a matter of fact readers of *The African World* are certainly better posted on the matter than the writer who, to tell the plain truth, while being fairly well posted as to the natural resources and possibilities of the Ivory Coast is in complete ignorance of what is collected or what can be done in the seven other regions. West Africa is a pretty big place.

This interesting move on the part of French West Africa to enter into closer

relations with the world's greatest mart will become effective within the next two months. Despite the fact that the French West African government, like most governments local or otherwise, is very poor in shekels, it is confidently expected in colonial circles that the venture will prove a success. The idea originated, I believe, with that very gallant colonial officer Major Bonnaud, whose services in Africa and on the front in France are second to none. Bonnaud disclaims the honour of levelling the difficulties encountered in bringing this venture to a head. The man who actually clinched the deal with the Ministère des Colonies in Paris is Mons. Sarraut, Minister of Colonies, whose friendship for Great Britain, to say the least, is lukewarm. When M. Sarraut learns the success attending the F.W.A. permanent exhibition in London—for such it will be—he may deign smile on the best of traders who since bygone days, when the Oil Rivers Protectorate was flourishing, ever gave a glad hand to Frenchmen on the Coast.

Yet qualms seize one upon learning that the permanent French West African information Bureau in London with exhibits of the rarest woods from the Ivory Coast; of Palm nuts of dimensions almost unbelievable coming from Dahomey and Senegal; species of groundnuts which, sad to say, too often serve in the making of Dutch cheese instead of *...honi soit qui mal y pense*; exhibits from the Niger, the Dahomey, where France hopes to raise cotton in sufficient quantities to be able to ignore the Southern States of America, besides samples of wool, mohair, skins and pelts, wattle bark, maize, etc—indeed everything one can think of—from radium, gold, diamond, gorilla and wondrous butterfly—has a budget of £1,000 per annum.

Will all these samples be exhibited in some big building worthy of a region ten times bigger than France? Will these be exhibited with that particular *chic* inherent to Frenchmen and thereby impress the visitor? Even good wine needs push this 1923—every one needs advertising. Churches indeed have chimes and ring bells to attract attention. Well, sad to say, the French West African permanent exhibit in London is to have its headquarters in the offices of the French Chamber of Commerce in London whereas a worthy site would be a well situated, spacious building—"Africa House" for example!

Per contra the wide field of possibilities offered to the British in French West Africa—not overlooking the fact that many vexatious French fences must be removed—it is certain this new venture must prove beneficial to both countries. The Bank of British West Africa, the Banque de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise certainly will benefit thereby for let it not be overlooked that French West Africa is no small factor in Commerce even now-a-days when one is accustomed to deal in millions, billions, and trillions.

French West Africa in the early Eighties had trade figures dealing in thousands, now-a-days in billions:—for instance, during 1904 and 1908 the average annual trade figures for French West Africa totalled 168 million francs; between 1909 and 1913, 261 million francs; from 1914 to 1918, 359 million francs; for 1919, 640 million francs; for 1921, 800 million francs and for 1922, 900 million francs. Her trade figures for 1923, I am informed, will overlap the billion mark.

Yet another fact which will interest a number of our readers: French West Africa in 1913 imported 100 million francs worth of cotton goods whereof two-thirds were from England; in 1921, the total reached 184 million francs.

Yet another turn of the film to prove to my readers that French West Africa is not as badly connected by roadway, waterway, railway, airway, telegraph, telephone, wireless as certain other lands—Ireland for example. French West Africa boasts of 4,000 kilometres of really good roads whereon lorries meet with no obstacle; there are 22,000 kilometres of telegraph and telephone wires; 265 postal and telegraph and telephone offices; 29 wireless radio stations and 10 aero stations.

All is not gold that glitters but verily French West Africa offers much to the British. Shortly this statement will be amply proven when the French West Africa "House" is opened.

Victor Frank.

Dr. Loram on Natives

If the policy of indirect rule, as advocated above is adopted, there will be in the native areas as little interference as possible with native habits and customs so long as these are not opposed to the dictates of justice and humanity. The feudal system of land ownership common to most African tribes will probably continue in Northern Rhodesia for many years but it may happen in certain thickly populated districts, for example, in a rich irrigated area, or in the native village attached to a town, that some more individual form of land tenure is required. The experience of the Union is that for the large majority of natives the freehold title system is at present unsuitable. The readiness of the native to part with his precious morsel of land for some specious trifle, such as a wagon, some cattle, a few guns or bottle of brandy, or to mortgage it on unfavourable terms, has led to the pasing of whole blocks of native farms into the hands of the Europeans with its consequent landlessness of natives and the growing feeling of resentment against the white man. If more than leasehold tenure is required (and the native will press for some form of ownership) probably the soundest and safest forms of land ownership are the ivestment of tribally-owned land in a trust, of which the Administrator or the Minister of Native Affairs are managers and the perpetual quitrent system in the case of individual natives. All titles should be forfeitable in case of rebellion, and sale or hypothecation without the consent of the administration should be illegal. Considerable trouble will be saved in all financial dealings with natives if payments due and owing are made on the dates specified. Only by such a practice shall we be able in the course of time to combat the procrastination of the native people.

As the European settlement of Northern Rhodesia advances there will be an increasing need for native labour of both a permanent and of occasional nature, and it may become necessary for farmers to keep a small supply of native labour on their farms. To meet the need, to prevent the evils of "Kafir farming," and to avoid the necessity of removing natives when land comes under European occupation, the Private Locations legislation of the Cape (Act No. 32 of 1909) is interesting. Natives residing on European-owned farms are ordinary tenants or exempted natives. Servants are natives continuously in the owners employment; labour tenants are those not continuously at work but are bona fide workers from time to time; ordinary tenants are neither servants nor labour tenants, and exempted natives are teachers and preachers and the like. A private location consists of the huts on a private property occupied by adult male natives who are not servants. To establish such a location the owner of the property must apply to the magistrate who, after consultation with the District Council in the case of labour tenants, and reference to the Governor General in the case of ordinary tenants, followed by advertisement in the Press so that objections may be urged, may issue an annual Private Location Licence, the fee for which is ten shillings for each labour tenant and forty shillings for each ordinary tenant. The policy under legislation is that generally it is best for natives other than servants to live in reserves, but where this would involve hardship on employer or native a modification may be possible. The weaknesses of the system are that it does not secure any permanent tenancy; it makes possible the evils of ploughing on shares, a great obstacle to land development; it makes stock theft less easy of control, and it has certain social dangers. A crofter system which would permit a limited number of natives to enjoy quitrent title to defined allotments on European-owned farms, subject to beneficial occupation and forfeitable for conviction for stock theft, would encourage natives to use the land, would enable them to profit from European example and would be a source of supply of labour for the farmer.

A further result of the contact of Europeans and natives is the necessity for some form of registration for natives. However much we may object to a system which requires the indigenous occupant of the country to carry an identification certificate in his own land, we are compelled to advocate this as essential when he comes into relationship with the European, who is usually ignorant of the native language and native ways. A good registration system, and no other should be tolerated, is of benefit to the Government, e.g., evidence of payment of taxes: to the European, e.g., as protection against desertion or theft, and to the native, e.g., as proof of identity. Probably the best form of certificate, and the one to which the natives in the Union would have least objection would be the tax receipt.

Islam Stronger In Africa Says Belloc

(By The Associated Negro Press)

TORONTO, Can., March 16.—Hilaire Belloc, British novelist and journalist, who appeared in Massey Hall last night, gave an informative sketch of conditions in Europe, discoursing at length upon the new "Rise of Islam."

He declared that it was useless for any nation, or group of nations to attempt to "tame" Islam, and pointed out that the sons of Mohammed are becoming less and less governed by non-Islamic nations, and he felt that that condition is bound to go on.

"In Africa," said Mr. Belloc, "Islam is getting a much firmer grip among the Negroes than is commonly understood; and I insist that the nation which admits that Islam cannot be governed by force, and which starts out to make of Islam a friend, will be the great and powerful nation of the future."

Race Problem—1923
Africa

THE POWER OF ORGANISATION.

The Gold Coast Leader
Cape Coast
Gold Coast

THE news that comes to us from the Western Province as to the raising of a National Fund is of a gratifying nature. It appears that a series of meetings had been held at Sekondi under the auspices of the local Committee of the National Congress of British West Africa, warmly supported by the Ahintu, their Elders and Councillors, and other prominent citizens. The first representative meeting was held at the local School Chapel by the kind permission of the Rev. James Reynolds, subsequent meetings being held at the new commodious Tribunal Court of the Ohin Segu Wiwah of Dutch Sekondi. The resolutions arrived at indicated that in the opinion of the community the time had arrived for taking steps to procure a permanent National Fund. This was considered a more business-like method than the one by which monies were raised haphazardly upon an emergency. That result having been arrived at, the Chiefs appear to have caused further consideration to be postponed until they had had the opportunity of consulting with their people generally in the customary way. The course proposed having received the sanction of the community, the final meeting resolved upon raising contributions from each male person of one shilling, sixpence female, and children threepence. Probably heads of families will be held responsible to make suitable returns and thereby ensure continuity. These contributions will be called for twice a year.

This fund may perhaps be better described as a National Provident Fund. Its aim is to make provision for national emergencies, as has been explained. The monies collected will be banked in the name of a Committee representing both the Congress and the Chiefs, and will be used for national purposes as approved and decided by the Committee. As such, it is not a tax on the people. It is the willing contribution of the people. Different centres in the Western Province are expected to adopt the scheme, and it can be easily seen what a foundation this will be in the true building up of our nationality.

1/20/13

We see no reason why the same course should not be adopted by the Central and Eastern Provinces. Our people are sufficiently enlightened, and all that will be necessary will be for the leaders to explain the scheme to them. It requires organisation, and organisation means sacrifice on the part of some one. There has been considerable spade work done already throughout the country by leading volunteers and they hardly need being spurred on by us. In these days of intercommunication and frequent travelling a good deal can be done in the course of a few months. We would suggest a start being made also at such centres as Cape Coast, Accra, Axim, Winnebah and Saltpond, and gradually let the good work spread. For, you may believe us or not, unless and until we have a National Fund all our work is in vain. Do you know that in England every political organisation has its own special fund to support its work? How can we here hope to make headway in the haphazard fashion that has been adopted heretofore? Another reason that must appeal to us is that money is scarce in these days. In our former agitations to right political wrongs, we had many wealthy men among us who could support a given deputation and well afford for the money to be raised subsequently and paid in. These times are different and pockets are low. Therefore, it will be our wisdom to put our house in order before the evil day comes.

The business developments that may emerge from this scheme are enormous, and it will take time to think them out, and that will be the task of our business men. But there will be no harm in indicating here clearly that one prime object would be to so contrive that the country will not be drained of all its capital. It is a bad thing for individuals, as for nations, to live on capital, let alone being perpetually drained of it. But that is just what has been going on all these years, and, like happy-go-lucky folk, we have not stayed to consider where it all leads to. It certainly leads to national pauperism, unless we wake up to the situation and apply the necessary remedy. And that remedy is for every sensible West African to see that his money circulates in the country and among the people as far as it is practicable. For where is the sense for us, generation after generation, to help build others up in affluence and luxury, and we ourselves go almost empty away, sowing despair for our posterity?

Therefore, we say to our people, build up your own industries; run up co-operative stores; buy and sell among yourselves as much as possible; live and let live in your communities. Surely, there can be no harm in self-help, and this is national self-help of the first order. Our curse, our trouble, hitherto has been isolated efforts, ending in disastrous collapse. Unless and until we have learnt to organise economically, as we have done politically, there is no salvation for us. Why should we not in time command our own transport, shipping and banking systems, as Africans in other parts of the world have done and are doing? Are we doomed for ever to depend upon others for the ordinary conveniences of civilisation? If so, the sooner we cease from vain striving the better. But we are not likely to. We are too virile a people to go under. Therefore, our appeal is, organise, organise, organise.

And in this enterprise the leader who will inspire confidence and successfully work for his community will deserve as good a place in the hearts of his people as the political emancipator. Nay, more. For he will have set the people upon the only path that will really lead to power; for in this material age political power without a financial basis is but a vain hope. We trust these lines will attract the attention of the thinking lot among us, and lead to suggestions from our financial genuises, for right persuaded are we that, even in this sphere, the African is quite capable of giving a good account of himself.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Cape Coast
West Africa

WE do not believe in mincing matters when great issues are at stake, and we would go straight to the point and say that the terminus of the proposed Central Province Railway must on no account be permitted to be at Takoradi since it will seriously disturb permanent interests by deflecting trade in this Province from its natural channels; and all who have studied the subject closely have come to the same conclusion.

The Gold Coast Leader

The Governor has disavowed the suggestion that the Central Province Railway is indispensable to his Takoradi harbour scheme in order to make it a paying concern, but in spite of this disavowal any one can see that the proposal to disturb the trade conditions in the Central Province has its origin in the Takoradi scheme and that had there been no Takoradi scheme it would follow as a matter of course that the Central Province Railway would have its terminus at Cape Coast. Governor Guggisberg knows that Cape Coast has occupied the position as the central port of the Gold Coast during the last four hundred years and that it was on account of its position and natural inlet to the hinterland of the country that it was made to serve as the base for military expeditions to Ashanti and the Northern Territories which brought about the extension of territory under the British flag. If we were merely dwelling on the sentimental aspect of the matter we should be quite entitled to appeal to the sense of gratitude of the Englishman as regards the conspicuous part Cape Coast as a port had played in the extension of British power on the Gold Coast. But this would not be necessary here since we are living in an age in which sheer materialism rather than sentiment is the dominating factor in the affairs of men.

The Governor is fully aware of the fact that Cape Coast had been the entrepôt of the Ashanti trade up to the period of the construction of the Sekondi-Kumasi Railway when it lost the trade. His Excellency cannot be ignorant of the fact that after the opening of the Sekondi-Kumasi line, with the consequent loss of trade to Cape Coast, the town has had to depend on what trade there is to be had in the district which is bounded on the north by the River Prah. Yet with this knowledge as to the reduced volume of trade now existing in this port the Governor seriously introduces the proposition that if the existing trade were further reduced by

A Lecture Tour.

Imuo Jabavu
2/13

The "*Methodist Churchman*" says:—Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., has had a very successful tour in the Transkei, where he has addressed crowded gatherings in connection with our Church and various societies. His sound advice to the Native agriculturalists to improve their methods and to give more attention to intensive cultivation, has been much appreciated. His services and addresses in connection with the Centenary Campaign have been as helpful as they have been impressive. By devoting his holiday to useful labours of this kind, Mr Jabavu has rendered good service to the Church and the country.

French West Africa.

The African World
3/3/23

M. Carde and the Marriage Code.

Before leaving Cameroon to assume the Governor-Generalship of French West Africa, M. Carde will have accomplished a great reform in the old German colony. He has established a marriage code. With attentive regard for the customs and religion of those over whom he administers he has prescribed polygamy to some, monogamy to others, and to all the greatest conjugal fidelity. He has also regulated the system of the "dot" which the fiancé—note *fiancé*—paid to his future parents. While this "dot" was restored to the husband in case of a rupture in the marriage, henceforth the money will only be returned to the husband provided the divorce is decided in his favour. Finally, the most beautiful idea of M. Carde (says "Le Journal") is to have decreed that the native marriage can only be valid by the consent of the spouse.

Trade at Dakar.

The port of Dakar, from December 1 to 31, received 191 vessels: 140 French, which landed 9,191 tons and loaded 6,971 tons of various goods; 18 English, with 453 tons of diverse merchandise and 15,319 tons of coal landed and 1,421 tons shipped; 14 Italians, with 1,772 tons of various goods and 5,085 tons of coal landed; the rest of the freight being divided between Dutch, Belgian, American, German, and Norwegian vessels.

building a railway across the Central Province to carry a large portion of its remaining trade to Takoradi, the trade of Cape Coast would not be ruined. The people have sufficient intelligence not to be misled by this sophistry, and they will take all necessary steps to safeguard their interests and to get the proposal abandoned.

The arguments adduced by Governor Guggisberg against making Cape Coast the terminus of the proposed railway are various. They are chiefly (1) that there are thousands of tons of cocoa from existing plantations in the north of the Province which are wasted for lack of transportation and which do not reach the coast ports under the circumstance; (2) that even if good roads existed the cost of motor haulage would be so prohibitive as to make business in cocoa unprofitable; (3) that a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast would render necessary the building of workshops, the landing of heavy machinery and the building of a breakwater.

A cursory examination of these points will make it clear to the average intelligent man that the Governor first made up his mind to force his views, as to the expediency of having the terminus of the Central Province Railway at Takoradi, on the people and then designed these arguments to support his theory. The point as to the large tonnage of cocoa wasting in the north of Cape Coast for want of transport facilities to bring it to the port, and also the reference to the fact that even motor haulage, provided the roads existed, would be prohibitive, are the strongest arguments in favour of making Cape Coast the terminus of the proposed railway. If thousands of tons of cocoa are wasting and are lost to the trade of Cape Coast because there is wanting a cheap system of transportation to make the industry pay, is it not the more reason why a sympathetic Government should come to the rescue by easing the position for the suffering port in providing it with a railway to enable it to recover the lost trade? If Governor Guggisberg's sole aim is to cheapen transportation and to save the cocoa trade, as he professes, why in the name of goodness cheapen transportation by building a railway to Takoradi instead of cheapening transportation by building a railway to Cape Coast? Is the tract to be traversed by a railway from Cape Coast to Prasu not shorter than the one between Takoradi and Prasu, or between Nsuaem and Takoradi? Is Takoradi more entitled to thrive on the industry of the district lying behind Cape Coast than Cape Coast itself which for centuries has been the natural outlet of this district? Regarded from every point of view the arguments of the Governor are untenable in all respects, and his Excellency is not entitled to sacrifice the vital interests of the Fanti tribes in the Central Province in favour of his Takoradi harbour. The people will resist and the people will be right.

The point as to a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast requiring the erection of large workshops has been effectively disposed of by our able contributor ANOKWALEFO in an article which we published last week, and we counsel our readers to give that contribution a diligent study. The writer pointed out that the duplicating of workshops and management staffs could be easily avoided by constructing one large central depôt for effecting repairs, assembling engines and building rolling stock as in England. This is a practicable suggestion which should weigh with the authorities, and the solution of the problem in the manner suggested by ANOKWALEFO will remove what seems to be the unsurmountable difficulty in the path of the Government in making Cape Coast the terminus for the Central Province Railway. The question of a breakwater as an adjunct to a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast does not worry us because we do not think the necessity for it will arise for many years to come, if ever. All that Cape Coast will need is a handy pier such as the one Sekondi was able to do with for years before the present breakwater was planned and carried out.

To plan a railway system for the Gold Coast with Cape Coast out of it would be like contemplating a railway system for Great Britain with Liverpool, Plymouth, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow or other of the large towns cut out of it which would be regarded as anomalous. In addition to the incessant demand of the inhabitants for a railway to the hinterland, there is also a unanimity of opinion among the local Chamber of Commerce, the Natural Rulers in the Cape Coast district and elsewhere and other interests all for a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast. A large body of public opinion in England is also favourable to the proposition of a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast. Writing in a recent issue of the *African World* a correspondent said: "From the point of view of Cape Coast, the case is, we admit, a hard one. The railway from Sekondi to Kumasi took away a great deal of its trade, and whilst railways run inland from Sekondi and Accra, Cape Coast (which was formerly the entrepôt of the Ashanti trade) has none. As a matter of fact, as long ago as 1907 the Governor promised that one should later be built. Under the Takoradi harbour scheme several new railways have to be constructed to "feed" it, and one of these will traverse the Central Province from east to west, and consequently take away most of the rest of the interior trade of Cape Coast that remains, for the benefit of Takoradi."

It is clear, therefore, that every interest represented here is strongly in favour of the proposition for the construction of a railway with a terminus at Cape Coast. There is only one exception and he is no less a personage than Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg. His Excellency the Governor has protested vehemently to a suspicious people that he has no personal grudge against the inhabitants of Cape Coast and that he is not prejudiced against them; but judging from his whole attitude in the matter we shudder to think what the position would be if the Governor were dead against Cape Coast. For his Excellency to say: "I quite admit that a railway to Cape Coast would greatly improve this port," but to refuse to do what will improve the port and bring prosperity to its inhabitants is hardly the way to convince Cape Coast people of the reality of his sympathy for them. What the people here need to preserve their economic life is a railway running inland on the same lines as at Accra and Sekondi, and such a line will benefit both Cape Coast and the tribal States in the neighbourhood. The matter, therefore, requires reconsideration by the Governor and we hope ultimately he will yield to the large body of public opinion which is favourable to the proposal. In the meantime we must ask our people not to let the grass grow under their feet but to get to work persistently for the realisation of the Cape Coast-Prasu Railway.

WHEN KHAMA CAME TO LONDON.

The African World

The passing of Khama, Chief of the Bamangwato, received very sympathetic treatment in the English Press. The London "Sunday Times" points out that Khama visited England in 1895, and adds that he achieved the political ends which he sought. His country, which the Rhodesian Company was seeking, he kept under its direct covenant with the Crown, and he was supported by the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, in his prohibition of the liquor traffic in his country. He was greatly feted; once Dr. Joseph Parker remarked that it was a good thing Khama was black, so that no one could see his blushes. His speeches were remarkably brief; one of the things which surprised him was that 'the women learnt as well as the men, and were wise like even to the men.' Once a speech of his ended after about forty words. 'These are all my words!' he added. Even in the Khotla, the Parliament of his own people, his words were few; the longest recorded speech in his fifty years' rule lasted ten minutes. The Chief impressed those who knew the African best by his remarkable sagacity and insight.

3/3/23



A RECENT PHOTO OF KHAMA AND HIS SON SEGOMEE.

Sir Frederick Lugard speaks strongly of his intellectual ability; and to his character a host of travellers have borne witness. It is curious to note that Serpa Pinto, the Portuguese traveller, was speculating in 1878 what would happen when Khama died!"

Earl Buxton's Eulogy.

Earl Buxton contributed a eulogy of the departed chief in the "Times," in the course of which he observed that the death of the chief "marks the passing away of the last of the powerful native chiefs who were so closely associated with the history of South Africa—Moshesh of Basutoland, Cetewayo of Zululand, Lobengula of Matabeleland, Lewanika of Barotseland.

"During the period that I was High Commissioner and Governor-General of South Africa—1914 to 1920—(he adds) I knew him well. I looked upon him as a personal friend, and had for him a sincere admiration.

'My first impression of Khama was of a dying man. The hut in which he lay was a larger and better building than the others in Serowe, and stood somewhat apart by itself, but was, nevertheless, of the nature of a native rondavel with a mud floor.

"I told him that the King and His Majesty's Government, in recognition of his loyalty and steadfastness, proposed to increase the annual allowance paid him by £500 a year.

"An expressionless face, no immediate response, then a guttural 'Ugh'—a favourite expression of Khama's.

"The last time I saw him was in August, 1920, a very few days before I left South Africa. He was a great age, and I was much touched by his insisting on making the three days' journey from Serowe to Cape Town to say good-bye."

SLAVES SOLD IN ABYSSINIA AT $24

New York News

GENEVA, March 17.—Slaves are sold on the block in Abyssinia at prices ranging from $24 down, according to information reaching the League of Nations today. 3/17/23

Quotations on natives caught in the open, chained, grouped and sold into slavery for rich Mussulmans living in the interior of Asia Minor—this in the year 1923—are given as follows, in official reports:

Able-bodied male slaves, $6 to $24 each, according to age, strength and productive ability.

Female slaves, demand slight, $6 downward.

Child slaves, absolute drug on the market.

The League will consider the problem at the next annual assembly in September. As Abyssinia is not a member of the League and consequently under no obligation to accept its interference in domestic affairs, the situation is complicated. France, Italy and England, possessing colonies or mandates in territory surrounding Abyssinia, hope to bring pressure to bear to abolish the slave traffic.

Race Problem—1922—
Africa.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES.
NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL, 1922.

The Gold Coast Leader

7-7-23

(continued from our last issue.)

This Bill seems to adopt the general name "Head Chiefs" and promiscuously places the Amanhin and Akinfu in one category.

I submit this practically gives power to Government to grade our Kings and Chiefs although it may not appear so. In other words, if it is in the power of Government to alter this schedule and put under the head of "Head Chief" any Omanhin or Ohin, it practically makes an Ohin and Omanhin equal, and that is against our constitution. Our Amanhin have been constituted from time immemorial for particular services, and I must say that I do not agree with the last speaker who moved this amendment that all our Kings and Chiefs are equal. I say no. The head of the state is the Omanhin. After the state we have the division whose head is the Head Chief. After that the important towns controlled by the Chiefs and then the Odikros who look after the villages. You can take an example from any state you will.

Take an example from Wassaw state. There you have the Omanhin who controls several divisions, then you have got the Head Chiefs who have Chiefs under them, namely, the Chiefs of towns, and under them you have the Odikrofu. This schedule would tend to shake our constitution and impose ministerial control. I submit further that this Bill does this, also, although it may not appear on the face of it. I said yesterday that the original jurisdiction of the British Government in this country was, not using the word offensively, derived from the Kings and Chiefs of this country. Now the tendency throughout this Bill is to make the juridical function of the Kings and Chiefs entirely dependable upon Government. To begin with, the Provincial Commissioner has got the power of transferring cases from his court to another court; may stop the hearing of cases; has got the power of hearing appeals; in fact the whole manipulation of their judicial jurisdiction is in the hands of the Provincial Commissioner. He can sit with them when he likes. The Honourable the Secretary for Native Affairs said yesterday he sits there for his own information and did not take part in the proceedings. It was pointed out by Counsel that this sitting might fetter the proceedings of the tribunal.

Now we come to the question of appeals and transfers. Here also we find that the power that transfers cases is the Provincial Commissioner, and the Provincial Commissioner is unable to form a court by himself, therefore a new court is established by this Bill, *viz.*, the Provincial Commissioner's court. I cannot personally see why Government should go out of its way, when there is an established Supreme Court with a judiciary competent in every detail to deal with cases, to establish specially another court presided over by executive officers. I fail to understand the reason. The Secretary for Native Affairs suggested yesterday that the Provincial Commissioner has got an opportunity of going to the land and inspecting it and to take evidence on the spot and to go down and give his judgment, and he quoted in support of this Bill certain rules that had been furnished by the late Chief Justice Chalmers and others. I am going to ask to be allowed also to refer to certain reports that were put in by a no less judicial personage than the late Chief Justice Griffith, a man of very great experience, who knew all about our customs and who was helpful in interpreting our institutions and customary law. It seems to me that there is no real reason why the judges of our courts should not be competent to deal with all land cases. The judiciary, I submit, is part and parcel of the general Government. They represent the King's justice, and to my mind it is a reflection of some sort upon them that certain particular cases should be removed from their jurisdiction, these cases being the most important cases that are triable in this country, *viz.*, land cases. And that lends itself to the suggestion that there must be some reason in the mind of Government why of all other cases land cases are specially selected to be dealt with executively by the native heads and Chiefs with appeal to the Provincial Commissioner's court, and from there in some cases to the Chief Justice's court. I am submitting that there is nothing that justifies this course being taken.

As regards this particular matter I may be allowed to refer to the view of the late Chief Justice Griffith, which is quoted in *Gazette* No. 78 of the 20th August, 1910. He was a member of this Council and this was his view with respect to those clauses of the Bill which referred to the transfer of cases:—

"With reference to clause 9 of the Bill, he draws attention to the hardship that would be imposed in a case which, after all preliminary steps have been taken and Counsel engaged for hearing, is transferred by a Judge or a District Commissioner to a Native Court. He should like to know what procedure is to obtain in such cases and who will pay the costs at the Native Tribunal and the expenses incurred prior to the transfer? Whether the witnesses are to be summoned again, and whether the police are to prosecute in the Native Court. He instances the example, of an indifferent Magistrate who may consider every case between two Natives as cognisable by a Native Court and remit it accordingly. He thinks that some urther explanation of this great change in the Judicial administration of the Colony is necessary".

"The majority of land cases before the Supreme Court are with respect to land held by Native tenure and as to which there would be no satisfactory reason why they should not be heard by a native tribunal except that our Courts are supposed to give superior justice and that the Plaintiff has preferred the King's Court, but, unless the Court is to ignore the express intention of the legislature, that would not be 'satisfactory reason' to withhold the transfer".

"Let us see how it would work out in practice. A plaintiff brings his suit to the Supreme Court; by doing he incurs some odium as the Chiefs do not like

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES.

(continued from our last issue.)

The Gold Coast Leader

their Courts neglected. He pays his fees, possibly retains Counsel, the defendant is served, witnesses are subpoenaed, the case comes on for hearing before the Court, a District Commissioner's Court or a Divisional Court. The case proceeds. The first point to be ascertained is whether both parties are 'natives' within the meaning of the Ordinance; then will follow in question whether the case is properly cognizable by a native tribunal. The case will have to progress some distance before that is ascertained and the section contemplates that as it directs the Court 'to stop the further progress' of the case. The defendant in most cases will press to have the case transferred, not only to gain time but because the fact of the case being brought in the King's Court connotes the idea that the plaintiff feared the native court where the defendant was concerned".

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"The plaintiff will object to the transfer and will adduce evidence to show that the case should not be transferred; this evidence will often be directed to show that the native tribunal is not impartial in or will not be impartial in this case. Then the defendant will be entitled to call evidence in rebutter and the first issue in most land cases will be whether or no good reason has been shown for retaining the case in the King's Court."

Gold Coast Weekly

"To justify this extraordinary expenditure of time and money upon issues absolutely foreign to the real matter of controversy needs very stong reason."

It continues with reference to clause 15 of the Bill:—

"With reference to clause 15 of the Bill, he states that he echoes the remarks of the Attorney-General on the subject of appeals. He points out, however, that District Commissioners with only one exception have no jurisdiction in land cases; and he does not think that it is fair to throw any further burden on their shoulders. He feels sure that the provisions of this clause will be most unpopular with the public in general, as in nine land cases out of ten, appeals will doubtless be made from the District Commissioners' decisions to the Divisional Court. He thinks that the clause is neither fair to the District Commissioners who, with their multifarious duties, cannot go properly into intricate land cases, nor to litigants, who, if their cases are not fully gone into by the District Commissioners, will still have to go to the expense of appealing to the Divisional Court. He agrees with Mr. Sarbah that in land cases appeals should lie direct from a Headchief's Court to the Divisional Court".

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

African World

7-7-23

Forestry in the Gold Coast.

Very excellent work is being done in the Gold Coast for the dissemination amongst chiefs and peoples of the Government forestry policy. It strikes the right keynote of co-operation between the natural rulers and the Forestry branch of the Agricultural Department of the Colony. Injudicious legislation in the past has engendered considerable suspicion, and not without cause, that anything which tends to the restriction of tillage means ultimately land alienation, for the people are rightly extremely tenacious of their rights to their own lands. That wasteful denudation of forests for the purposes of tilth is harmful to the present and succeeding generations is being slowly realised by a people, whose sole welfare depends upon agriculture; and the patient attitude of the Government in bringing this home to them is admirable. Following upon the Conservator of Forests' admirable address to native leaders, upon which I have already commented, the local Press reports an equally encouraging conference and "palaver" held on this subject by the Commissioner of the Western Province. Concrete examples of waste and infertile land due to forest denudation are in evidence before the eyes of the people sufficient to demonstrate to them the verities of forest conservation as laid down by Government. The results of this judicious activity will, we expect, be most encouraging. The idea is that the chiefs themselves shall create forest reserves, and work them economically on scientific lines with the help of the forestry officers.

7-7-23

Parliament and West Africa.

Curiosity—and laudable curiosity—into West African affairs continues to be displayed in Parliament. The Ude Colliery West African railway rates, the cost of railway construction departmentally, the ex-enemy properties in the Cameroons—all these have come in for some Parliamentary comment recently. Administration will be kept up to the mark if the interest shown by the home Parliament in West African matters is maintained. As to railway construction and its costs—a very debatable subject—I note, with pleasure, the fine tribute which was paid to Sir Percy Girouard, under whom I served in Nigeria.

The W.A.F.F. Dinner.

The last of the West African Services' dinners was held on 27th ult., and was also a great success. The speeches by Sir James Willcocks and Lord Selborne were to the point. The old W.A.F.F. ranks were sadly thinned by the war, but a new generation is carrying on the fine traditions of its predecessors.

Education in Africa.

The annual conference of British missionary societies at Swanwick was this year distinguished by the presence and speaking of Dr. Jesse Jones, the author of "Education in Africa." Dr. Jones was emphatic in his commendation of the personality and work of the British officials with whom he came into contact during the tour of investigation of the Phelps-Stokes Committee. Appreciative references were made to the Gold Coast Governor's activities towards the expansion of education in general. The defects of present systems of education in West Africa were seriously recognised and debated, and it was cheering to note that one speaker emphasised that "the test of success in education is service to the community and communal efficiency." If this ideal be reached, there is hope for African education indeed. It was interesting to note that not only was co-operation between Governments and missionary societies advocated, but co-operation with the "thinking native" as well. The latter is left out of calculation as a rule.

The Ross Institute.

Both the London and Liverpool Schools of Tropical Medicine send disclaimers to the "Times" against the implication in the original letter, urging the foundation of the Ross Institute, that they do not actively pursue research work. This, of course, is not a fact, as witness, for one single example, the research laboratory of the Liverpool School at Sierra Leone. Still, for all this, it does not indicate that the foundation of a Ross Institute would not be an Imperial achievement of the first importance. Many problems of tropical disease await solution. Hygiene in Africa makes unending demands on scientific investigation and skill, and an institute on the lines of the Pasteur Institute would be as becoming to an Empire with vast tropical possessions as was the foundation of a centre for Oriental study. We went to Berlin in pre-war days to study Oriental language and life. Let us have in London, by all means, an institution devoted solely to tropical research.

The Empire Exhibition.

The cutting of the first sod of the Gold Coast building by Sir Gordon Guggisberg drew a large company to Wembley on June 13. Sir Travers Clarke referred to the fact that the Gold Coast was one of the first of the Crown Colonies to begin its building, and was therefore evidence of the alertness which distinguished that dependency—a graceful tribute to the Governor's great energy. A similar function for Nigeria will be expected shortly.

Gold Coast Surveys.

Attention is drawn very usefully in a locally-published pamphlet to the good work done by the cadastral department of the Survey Department of the Gold Coast. The work of this department is of a very varied character, comprising land and boundary surveys, town-planning, etc. Amongst the useful maps published are plans of Accra and of the environment of Takoradi. The activities and achievements of this department are of a solid kind, and remarkably beneficial for all concerned.

Murder and Magic.

Sir Hugh Clifford continues his interesting account of pagan superstitions in Nigeria in this month's "Blackwood's Magazine." He gives instances from his own experience which all who know pagan West Africa can cap, of the long survival of fraudulent imposture due to the "measureless credulity" inherent in primitive peoples. He bears witness also to the great prevalence amongst the lower races of Southern Nigeria of child

murder, due to the instinct of security—" the striving to maintain the virility and efficiency of the tribe at a high level." The conflict of British law and these practices which have become a firmly established public opinion, is well brought out in these articles of Sir Hugh's. They are a demonstration of the wide tolerance with which he who has to judge them must look upo nthem. How often have we, in similar case, been called to task for exercising such tolerance by some *hukum wallah* at headquarters, who could see no further than the four corners of the penal laws! The customary methods of infanticide at the birth of twins also receive illustration. The great difficulties which surround the discouragement of infanticide are vividly depicted. "Murder and Magic" does not need the artful aid of its alliterative title to make it attractive to others besides Nigerians, to whom the episodes it describes are matters of more or less daily occurrence and corresponding perplexity. To serve under such a wise administrator as Sir Hugh shows himself to be in these papers must be a delight.

J. W.-G.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE naked truth about the Kenya controversy is stated in an article in the London "Outlook", which we reproduce below for our readers to mark and digest.

"Of all the thousand racial squabbles now proceeding in every part of the inhabited globe, the struggle of ten thousand white men in East Africa to maintain the supremacy of their race seems at first sight personal, interesting and important, no doubt, to the ten thousand, but scarcely worthy to claim serious attention from administrators in London who stagger under the burdens of a quarter of the human race.

"Petty Disputes?

"Mighty and earth-shaking problems have, however, often in human history, focused themselves in distant wildernesses, and dramas in which the fate of humanity was staked have played themselves out before rude and sparse audiences, unnoticed by indifferent or ignorant rulers in the centres of power of their ages. In sacred history, we have the record of those few years in Palestine. No immediate echo reached Rome of the works and death of an itinerant Judean preacher in the reign of Tiberius. In secular history, the march of the ten thousand, a change in military tactics in the levies of a barbarian and insignificant State called Macedon, petty disputes overing stamp tax and tea duties in New England, were at the outset ignored by, or unknown to, contemporaries.

"The Country and people.

"The North-Eastern provinces of Africa constitute a country greater than the United States of America, where the native population is just under ten millions, about the number of persons who live in Canada. These vast territories include a tract of 277,000 square miles lying at an elevation of more than 4,000 feet. This fertile, potentially healthy upland, equivalent to a belt of ninety miles wide stretching across the American Continent from Montreal to Vancouver, can grow two crops a year of wheat, corn, and almost all staples of foodstuffs that the Empire so sorely needs to make us indepedent of foreign supplies. The climate of these highlands is more [illegible] than that of France.

"We must visualise a vast rolling plain, seamed with rivers and dotted with lakes, with here and there great mountains jutting up. The plateau itself is very like an English park, and is populated by myriads of animals. Except for the nomadic savage, it lies empty of mankind, as did the Western prairies of America fifty years ago. It is a virgin land, awaiting the coming of the white man, ready to nurture and breed a great race, to rival in wealth and population the Mississippi Valley. This is our heritage, the refuge of our teeming millions whom it is doubtful whether our industrial system at home can much longer support. It is the 'last white-man's country' yet undeveloped and suitable for Englishmen to conquer.

"Kenya—White or Brown?

"If we know what East Africa offers, as most Englishmen unhappily do not, we see at once that the dispute now in progress between ten thousand white pioneers in Kenya, and the forty thousand Indian immigrants, for the control of Kenya, *involves a principle and issues perhaps no less important to the men of future generations than the dispute with our North American Colonies five generations ago.*

"*Is Kenya to be white or brown?* The Governor of the Colony, Sir Robert Coryndon, surrounded by his leading citizens, is in London to plead the cause of the ten thousand. Arrayed against him in conference he will find the Agha Khan and envoys from India, as well as representatives of Kenya's Indian population.

"The issue is clear-cut. *Are the Indian immigrants now in the Colony to be given equal voting rights with the whites?* If they are, Kenya apparently passes from the white man to the brown. The immigration laws will be at once let down, and not Kenya only, but the whole of East Africa, Tanganyika, later Uganda and perhaps Zanzibar, become Indian.

"Claims to be Withstood.

"It is easy to sit comfortably in London and spin plausible and attractive theories about racial equality. Why should not our Indian fellow-subjects be granted the same rights and facilities anywhere in the Empire as we ourselves? We lack space in this article to go into the complicated arguments that will be brought forward, but we most earnestly believe that the claim of the Indians must be withstood, without compromise, in the interests of the stability of the Empire itself, and of the whole white race. We know that a formidable agitation has aroused deep feeling in India itself in favour of equality with the white man in Africa. This explains the attitude of the Government of India.

"By Force?

"But however embarrassing it may be to give the Kenya white men what they want, our statesmen must look to the future and stand firm. Weakness or compromise will not imperil the future of the white race in East Africa, but it may result in secession from the Empire itself. Let there be no mistake here. The British Government has not the power, if it had the will, to impose Indian equality upon those brave ten thousand white pioneers. The class of Indians now in Kenya are, to put it mildly, not fighters. The rule of a few men of one race over many thousands of another must always, whether we like it or not, depend in the last resort on force. We govern India by force, and we govern the natives of East Africa by force.

"Racial equality may be advocated from armchairs in London clubs, or from the sanctum of Fleet street editors. But to suggest equality between brown and white, in a country where the population is overwhelmingly black, is as absurd as to place the black man on a level with the white. Which last proposal the advocates of Indian supremacy in Kenya must, were they logical, adopt."

"Kenya a Problem.

"The Duke of Devonshire has a very thorny problem to deal with in the question of the status of Indians in Kenya Colony", says the *Sunday Times* "It is well known that native opinion in India regards it as a test question of the right of its countrymen to British citizenship, but the European inhabitants of the colony are determinately opposed to a concession which, alike on imperial, social, and hygienic grounds, would create conditions intolerable to the white man. At the invitation of the Duke a delegation headed by Lord Delamere, has arrived in this country to state their case, and an Indian delegation is shortly to follow, while the Governor of the colony, is also in London for consultation.

"The problem is very serious, for it is obvious that the claim of the Indians is the thin end of the wedge. If they acquire equal rights in Kenya, they cannot logically be refused the same concession in other Crown Colonies, and, thereafter they will clamour for equality in the self-governing Dominions."

The White Races in South Africa.

If the white race is to continue to be predominant in South Africa it must rid itself of the notion that manual employment is derogatory. Nature has no use for a population which has become largely parasitic. A race can only maintain its virility by labour, and a class that works is certain in the long run to replace one that only supervises. The penalty of non-productiveness is sterility. The respective increases in the numbers of the white and coloured populations of the Union are therefore not without significance. In spite of persistent immigration, the white population of the Union has only increased from 1,116,806 in 1904 to 1,503,904 in 1920, while the coloured races have advanced in numbers from 4,059,018 to 5,801,473 during the same period. General Smuts is, therefore, on sure ground when he insists that the white race must reverse its policy, and consent to become workers. There are abundant opportunities. Not all of the land is suitable for cultivation, but a more intensive system of farming, and greater use of fertilisers, would allow of a greatly increased agricultural population, which is the backbone of any country. Much of the present fault lies in the educational policy of the country, which turns out students utterly unfitted to support themselves, because the ability of the country to absorb the professional classes is taxed to its utmost capacity. The cheapness of coloured labour is a fallacy. Native labour is not cheap when efficiency is taken into consideration. This has already been proved in railway construction in the Union, although the achievement of the "poor whites" is scarcely a fair standard of comparison. It is also probable that the tendency being displayed by the natives to demand more pay and better accommodation will assist in the dispersal of the theory of cheap labour. With regard to the argument frequently advanced that whites cannot work under certain conditions, I do not suppose there are many parts more unfavourable for white labour than the sugar territory of Queensland. The plantations there were at one time worked exclusively by coloured labour, and when "black birding" was prohibited it was freely contended that the production of sugar would be stopped. A great change, it is true, has occurred, the large plantations have been split up into small farms of some 10 to 20 acres, and the canes are crushed by co-operative mills; but the result is that, instead of production having fallen, it has been materially increased by the abolition of coloured labour. With regard to the mines in the Transvaal, underground developments have been planned for using coloured people for all the manual work, and in the majority of instances it would be out of question to replace native labour by white miners, but in the case of the newer properties that possibility should be considered. If General Smuts can bring the white man in the Union to see the advisability of doing actual work he will have accomplished a task far greater in ultimate importance to the country than any other South African has yet accomplished.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

The Position of Agriculture in South Africa.

Lord Selborne, presiding at the annual meeting of the Standard Bank of South Africa, gave the following interesting information respecting farming conditions in South Africa:—

"The year 1922 opened under most inauspicious circumstances for the farming community. In addition to depression, the country for several months was in the grip of a devastating drought, which took a heavy toll of stock, and restricted the activities of the farmers. Crops were ruined, cattle and dairy farmers suffered severely, and the lambing season in many districts was a complete failure. The breaking of the drought in June afforded great relief, and since then farming conditions have much improved, although the price of cattle remains very low.

"In Rhodesia the rainfall in the early part of 1922 was very limited, and the rest of the year witnessed a drought of extreme severity. The industry in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, essentially cattle-ranching countries, also suffered from lack of rain and depressed market conditions. The seasonal rains, which commenced in December, were, however, abnormal, and up to February of this year the season had been ideal for the growing of crops of every description, but heavy and unexpected rains in March caused damage to maize and tobacco.

"The South-West Africa Protectorate also experienced a severe drought, which was not finally broken until February of this year. The rainfall in the Protectorate since then has been excessive. This has been responsible for considerable damage to property, but pasturage is now plentiful.

"In Nyasaland weather conditions have been generally favourable, although an unusually heavy rainfall during the early months of this year has had deleterious effects on the tobacco crop. The conditions for the cotton crop, however, have been good.

"The rains in East Africa have on the whole been satisfactory, and the season generally has been a good one, with crops well up to the average."

From other information I have received I gather that trade conditions at the Cape are fairly satisfactory, while Natal is doing fairly well owing to the boom in coal and sugar, but that the state of things in the Transvaal is discouraging. A surplus of about 5,000,000 bags of maize is expected, but prices are low, barely covering the cost of production, while the value of cattle is little more than the price of the hide. Rhodesia expects to be able to export some 700,000 bags of maize, although I have not heard anything of an organisation capable of disposing of anything like this quantity. The reports of abundant harvests throughout the world have brought about nearly a slump in all cereals, and there appears to be little prospect of any immediate improvement.

THE CROWN COLONIES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir Edward Davson read an interesting paper on the Economic Conference and the Crown Colonies, at the Society of Arts on Tuesday, and special interest was lent to the occasion because of the presence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the three West African Governors now in London.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire, took the chair, and, referring to the forthcoming West African visit of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, his Under-Secretary, said he wished he were himself able to visit all the different parts of the Empire overseas, although the British Government had every confidence in the "man on the spot."

Sir Edward Davson said in his paper that the Crown Colonies had an area of two million square miles, a population of nearly 47 millions, an annual trade of £550 millions, and a public debt of only £61 millions. Their trade with the United Kingdom import and export might be taken roughly as £100 millions a year. Sir Edward urged that, where development propositions in the Crown Colonies could not tempt the private capitalist owing to the reward being too remote and the Colony itself could not raise the money, the Imperial Government might "well consider the advisability of advancing the amount required and funding or waiving interest for a period of years thus giving the Colony time to earn the profits before beginning to pay the charges." He also advocated the grant of an all-round Imperial preference at a rate of 33⅓ per cent. But apart from questions of material progress, he said, Britain had the duty under Providence of caring for the moral and mental progress and the due rights of the many great non-European races of the Crown Colonies. Production and trading were but a part of the task of guiding and guarding the welfare of these millions.

Sir Hugh Clifford, who remarked that British West Africa sent practically all its produce to a single market and a single customer, expressed a doubt whether so far as the coming Imperial Economic Conference was concerned the West African Colonies would be able to give much in the way of preference.

Sir F. S. Guggisberg was glad that the Economic Conference was to take place, but hoped that the economic development would be fully and clearly explained, because the Africans were naturally very jealous of anything which looked like the exploiting of their own land. The British aim must be to help the African to develop his own country. (Applause.) He thought that one thing the Conference might consider was the establishment of an advisory board in London for compiling and distributing information of the commercial value of raw products, and including any new products which might be tried.

Mr. A. R. Slater, C.M.G., the Governor of Sierra Leone, also spoke, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Davson, said there was a growing sense of responsibility in the Dominions towards the needs of the Crown Colonies, and the interdependence of the different parts of the Empire was being more plainly demonstrated every day.

WEST AFRICAN COTTON.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA'S REDUCED OUTPUT IN 1922.

The activities of the British Cotton Growing Association are broadening from year to year, but the Association's interest in the West African cotton-growing fields is undiminished by the extension of the movement. At the annual meeting of the Association held in Manchester, on Friday, June 1st, there was not a single note of adverse criticism.

The report and accounts were approved, and the retiring officers were re-elected unanimously.

Only one question was asked. This was in reference to the amount guaranteed to the Natives of West Africa for growing cotton, the questioner desiring to know if the guarantee could be increased, as he believed that a larger guarantee was being given to Australian growers. The reply promptly came from Mr. Wm. Howarth, chairman of the West African Committee, to the effect that the querist's belief was incorrect. The Association, he said, had never paid, or offered to pay, 1d. per lb. for lint cotton in any part of the world. The 1d. per lb. was for seed cotton, which really meant about 5d. per lb. in Liverpool for cotton. Their price now was 2½d. per lb. for seed cotton, and they had always offered a price commensurate with the market price of the day.

In the course of his remarks from the chair, in proposing the adoption of the report and accounts, Sir Frank Forbes Adam, who presided in the absence of Lord Derby, said: "You are all aware of the very unsatisfactory state of the Lancashire cotton trade throughout 1922, and in the circumstances it must be gratifying to you that the Association should have come out with a surplus of £33,000, after allowing £16,000 in respect of income tax and corporation profits tax. With regard to the Southern Provinces of Nigeria the Association's purchases show a large falling-off, and only amounted to 4,654 bales, as compared with 19,470 bales in 1921. In the latter year, however, we had guaranteed a very high price for the crop, and owing to the fall in the values of cotton it was necessary to reduce our buying prices. No doubt this reduction had some effect on the quantities of cotton which we were able to purchase, and in addition the climatic conditions during the growing season were unfavourable.

"In the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, where the great bulk of the cotton produced consists of improved long-staple variety, our purchases amounted to 9,000 bales, of which over 8,000 bales were improved cotton. The production of this type in the Northern Provinces has shown a steady increase each year. In Uganda the 1922 crop was about 40,000 bales, which was only half the quantity produced in the previous year. Here, again, the Natives were somewhat discouraged by the reduction in the buying prices, which was necessary, as compared with the prices paid in 1921. The rains were also late and below the average."

Sir Frank proceeded to refer to the work in the Sudan, in Nyasaland, in South Africa, Rhodesia, India, Mesopotamia, Queensland, and other parts of Australia, and in conclusion observed: "Although there has been a setback during 1922, the prospects for the present year are most promising, and there can be no doubt that cotton-growing in various parts of the Empire is now firmly established, and that Lancashire can look to the Empire for a substantial proportion of her requirements in a few years' time."

Mr. J. M. Thomas, in seconding the resolution as chairman of the Finance Committee, said that only a small idea of the extent and ramifications of the Association's work could be realised from the financial statement. The year, all round, had been about the most satisfactory they had had as regarded the balance on the working of the various branches. Previously they had had large profits in one section, large losses in others; in 1921 they had a very large loss in West Africa and a large profit in East Africa. Last year they had not a large profit in any area, but they had a small profit in all except one: the Mesopotamia area was the only one in which they had a loss, and that was not greater than they had had in other areas during the same period of their development.

European Visitor Lauds Progress American Negro

(Preston News Service)

Atlanta, Ga., May 18.—That the Negro of America is in every way a hundred years ahead of the natives of South Africa, was the statement made by Dr. James Henderson, noted English educator from South Africa, who is spending a few months in this country studying race relations and Negro education. This is due, he thinks to the fact that the American Negro came much earlier into contact with white civilization and has had a far greater opportunity for education and self-development. 'I am particularly impressed," he said, "with the economic progress which Negroes have made in America since their emancipation from slavery. It is far beyond anything I had expected. The Negroes are to be highly commended for their spirit of advancement in spite of the many obvious handicaps."

Dr. Henderson has given practically all his life to the education of the natives of British South Africa, having been for many years principal of the Lovedale Institute, the African Tuskegee, a missionary institution with a faculty of 60 and a student body of 900. While in Atlanta he visited all of the Negro colleges and schools, commenting most favorably on their fine equipment, competent and devoted teachers and intelligent students. A number of well-trained American Negroes, he said, are rendering fine service in Africa as teachers and social workers. He believes that the number of such workers with

Native Labour Shortage on the Rand.

The mining industry is suffering from the ill-conceived action of the Union Government in restricting the recruiting of native labour in the Mozambique Territory, the idea being that it would cause the Portuguese authorities to modify their attitude with regard to Delagoa Bay. As I pointed out when the regulations came into force, General Smuts and his colleagues entirely misunderstood the mentality of the Portuguese if they thought that by such means they could bring the latter to agree to any abrogation of what they regarded as their sovereign rights. The scheme has failed, as it was bound to do, and it is understood that the restrictions are on the point of being withdrawn. It was fortunate for the mines that advantage was taken of the strike last spring to reorganise the underground work of the mines, and do away with the long periods of inactivity of the natives consequent on the old methods of inspection. The change materially increased the efficiency of the coloured miner, while conferring no hardship upon him, as, being mainly paid by results, he was enabled to increase his pay. At the same time, improvements were made in the quality of the steel used in drilling; the process of sharpening and tempering drills was hastened, and the results made more certain; while greater care was taken in gauging shanks, etc.—improvements individually small, but in the aggregate resulting in increased output, and a decrease of expenditure per ton of ore hoisted. The managements of the different mines have therefore been able to overcome the shortage of native labour, and keep up a normal output, an indication of what may be expected when recruiting is once more freed from political control.

NIGERIA'S POST-OFFICE GUIDE

This admirable little green cloth-covered handbook, "Nigeria Post Office Guide," issued on the authority of the Nigerian Government, and sold at all Post Offices, 2s. 6d. post free, in Nigeria, comes from the Posts and Telegraphs Department, and is printed by Messrs. Waterlow and Sons, Ltd. It will be useful to all having correspondence with Nigeria, and to residents there, within its pages being found the communication between Nigeria and all parts of the outer world.

It is a great achievement that within a period of less than a quarter of a century the whole of the 360,000 square miles of Nigeria have been brought to such a peaceful and orderly condition, and internal communication has been so facilitated, that there are Post Offices all over the country whence a letter may be dispatched to any other part of the country. That, having reached a port, a letter or cable can be sent to any part of the world is much less a matter for surprise to anyone who knew Nigeria "before Lugard's time" than the establishment of rapid, safe, and constant communication between places in the country which were then separated by many days' journey, and often rendered inaccessible by dense forests, huge rivers, or tribal or trade quarrels.

Postal communication between Nigeria and "foreign parts" is part of the world movement in which Nigeria is still only a small factor, but its internal postal and telegraphic system is Nigeria's own achievement, which her administration and people can regard with satisfaction mingled with some pride.

Besides handling correspondence, the Post Offices carry on all the activities of a modern postal authority, issuing postal and money orders payable either in Nigeria or abroad, and encouraging thrift by providing a bank for the deposit of savings within a limit of £100 per annum and a total of £500.

A useful appendix is a list of telegraphic addresses of Government officials, commercial houses and mining companies. The writer notices that the manager of the Bank of British West Africa has the appropriate telegraphic address of "Goldprobe."

COTTON GROWING IN NIGERIA.

MR. HYSLOP BELL ON A FOREMOST IMPERIAL QUESTION, AND NIGERIA'S CAPACITY TO MEET IT.

[By our Commercial Correspondent.]

Some weeks ago West Africa published a valuable article based on an interview with Mr. E. Hyslop Bell, one of the joint general managers of the Colonial Bank, on cotton growing in Nigeria and what could be done to develop it. Mr. Hyslop Bell has followed this up with a trenchant letter in the "Daily Telegraph" of July 23rd, in which he comments further upon a plan, simple, inexpensive, practical, whereby Nigeria's contribution to the absolutely vital raw cotton supplies of Lancashire could be increased enormously. His letter, here reproduced in full, should be studied, and not only studied but acted upon, by those in authority over British West Africa:—

The question of increasing the cotton crop of Nigeria by rapid stages to a figure far in excess of either present output or present official estimates of possibility, is an insistent one to all who study the question of cotton from the point of view of the world's demand and supply. It is true that the report issued on July 2nd by the Washington Department of Agriculture on the American cotton crop of 1923-24 places the estimate of the crop at 11,412,000 bales, against just over 11,000,000 a year ago; but it must not be forgotten, first, that the experience of recent years has shown that much smaller crops have been harvested than were originally estimated; secondly, that her carry-over is materially less than a year ago. It also must be borne in mind that America is rapidly increasing her own percentage of consumption, which is at present over 60 per cent. of her own crop, whilst reports of recent visitors to the American cotton-growing area confirm that owing to the inducements of high wages offered in the towns and elsewhere, coloured labour is leaving the cotton areas in great numbers; also disappointment in recent years with cotton results, owing to the spread of the boll weevil, and low prices obtained, has decided many cotton farmers to change over to corn and roots, the latter, in particular, finding a good and ready market. Such reports also confirm the erection of new factories in the proximity of the cotton fields in order that freight on conveyance of the raw cotton to the northern factories may be saved.

These facts give a timely warning, which should not go unheeded, that the British Empire should hasten to provide its own cotton requirements. Not only is America consuming a larger proportion of her crop, but the demands of Japan for raw cotton are increasing in a spectacular manner. In the year 1922 that country secured nearly 70 per cent. of India's exported cotton crop, whereas the United Kingdom only took 9 per cent., and Japan has now turned her attention to buying cotton from Uganda. For this reason it should be stipulated that any steps for improving the cotton crop in our Colonies which receive Government support should be accompanied by a proviso that the exported crop shall first go to satisfy British requirements. The vast possibilities of Nigeria as a producer of raw cotton will be evident when it is stated that much of its soil is well suited to cotton cultivation, its population is well distributed over the land and is familiar with various forms of agriculture. To visualise the magnitude of its population it is perhaps well to call to mind that numerically Nigeria ranks third in the British Empire, India coming first and Great Britain second, whilst its population is largely in excess of that of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand together.

In Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria in particular, therefore, the output should only be limited by the energy with which the necessary organisation is set up. The Director of Agriculture speaks of the possibility of from 100,000 to 200,000 bales being produced annually in course of time, but Mr. Himbury, the general manager of the British Cotton-Growing Association, in a paper read before the Textile Institute at Manchester in October last, puts the "future" possibility of Nigeria at 1,000,000 bales. This 1,000,000 bales can only be secured by co-operation between the Government and the Native farmers, and it would appear that this could best be done on the lines of the co-operative credit societies which have worked so satisfactorily for the production of sugar, cocoa, etc., in other Colonies. The process is as follows: These societies raise money by means of a joint and several guarantee given by the whole of the members of the societies. The loans are limited to a fixed sum per member, and the money must be used solely in connection with the cultivation of the members' crops. All loans are repayable at the end of each crop. Each member owns his own plot of land, and profits are shared on an agreed basis. The societies are under the supervision of Government agricultural experts, and this, of course, would be necessary in Nigeria. The Government gives financial guaranteees covering the whole movement, whilst the finding of the actual finance is a question for the banks.

The Empire Cotton-Growing Corporation have received a capital grant of £1,000,000 from the Government to enable them to increase cotton areas, but a larger view is required, as this is not a matter for £1,000,000 in all, but the spending of very large sums annually in the initial stages, whereas the proposed levy of 6d. on every bale imported into this country would only yield round about £100,000 a year. An annual import of 3,000,000 bales means a value of, say, £75,000,000, 1 per cent. of which does not appear an excessive sum to spend in assuring future supplies. It is not only a question of increasing the area under cultivation, but of giving a guarantee for a certain length of time of a minimum price in order to establish new areas in the growing of cotton, which once established may be expected to continue. This is not a question for Lancashire alone, but for the Empire. The balance required over and above the proceeds of the proposed levy should be raised by the Government to ensure further supplies. The effort which Lancashire has made and is making is sufficiently praiseworthy.

Queensland is setting an example of real activity in cotton-growing. Its Premier announces that there will be a quarter of a million acres under cultivation this year, and in a few years this will be increased to 1,000,000 acres. It is also proposed there to give a Government guarantee as to price on agreed conditions. It is to be hoped also that the vast areas in Natal suitable for the growing of cotton will not be overlooked. Those who know and appreciate the present position realise that this is one of the foremost questions in the future of the Empire.—Yours, etc.,

E. Hyslop Bell.

Colonial Bank, 20, Gracechurch Street, E.C.3.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

Queenstown Exhibition.

From the Queenstown paper we learn that a certain committee whose exact composition we do not know has arranged for an exhibition of Native handicrafts to be held in the Show Ground on the 3rd and 4th October next. There will be grass and rush weaving, woodwork and wool weaving with classes directed by an expert, the whole concern being enlivened by the singing of Native choirs. 9-11-23

Among those who encourage the movement are the local Agricultural Society who have lent their ground, Mr. Farrington the well known Music Inspector who is helping on the music side, the Education Department who are warmly supporting the venture with their approval and sympathy while the institutions of St Cuthberts Mission, Tsolo, Lovedale, Healdtown, St Matthews, and various districts like Herschel and Tembuland are keen to help with exhibits.

The object is to develop Native hand work such as baskets, mats, brooms, goats'-hair articles and hand textile work.

We hardly need to stress the value of this show which is probably novel for this part of the Province. In respect of handicrafts we are far behind Natal with its splendid industrial schools of Inanda, Enhlonhlweni, Amanzimtoti, Mariannhill, Indaleni, Ohlange where Natives are taught a great deal on how to make a good honest living with the work of their deft fingers with material resources obtainable cheaply, such as grass osiers and sheep's wool. The best and the only school to equal these so far as we are concerned is Ngcolosi (St Cuthberts) at Tsolo. This subject is well worked out in the "Education in Africa" by the Phelps Stokes Commission which came to this country in 1921.

We hope all sections of our people in the Eastern Province, with their Farmers' and Teachers' Associations and other influential organisations will enter heart and soul into an effort to render this exhibition educative and valuable as possible in every way.

The Government Native Conference.

In accordance with the provisions of Act no 23 of 1920 the Government summoned at the end of last month a Conference of Native Chiefs and Leaders at Pretoria to sit for three days in discussion over Pass Laws, Native Marriages, the Application of the Natives Urban Areas Act and the Native Education Tax. 10-9-23

The representatives were twenty five in all, five each for Natal and the Orange Free State, four for the Ciskei, three for the Reef, two for the rest of Transvaal, and one each for the Transkei, Tembuland, East Pondoland, West Pondoland, and East Griqualand.

The selection made by the Government, it has been said, was as good as any that could be made except for two things. It was desirable that there should have been one more to stand for the Cape Midlands districts extending from Grahamstown to Cape Town where there are special problems affecting detribalised Natives and that in areas where there are no Native Councils the people themselves should be given machinery for electing their own representatives.

The Hon. Mr F S Malan, Acting Minister for Native Affairs, a man who deservedly commands the confidence of the Bantu through his excellent work in connection with the development of the Fort Hare Native College made an unanswerable reply in his opening address, to this demand for an election. He said "How is it that you Natives are so anxious to elect men to this Conference whilst you decline to elect your men when the Government offers you the opportunity to do so with reference to your own local Councils as offered in the 1920 Act?" This was unanswerable because the people are not yet unanimous on asking for Local Councils in the Ciskei districts The fault certainly did not lie at the door of those who were at Pretoria for they were all keen on Native Councils but the people they stood for were divided. The Transvaal and O.F.S. men all want Councils but the Government will not allow them, thus far, to have them.

It was thus clear that the preliminary step to election for the Government Conference was that of the establishment of the Native Councils and we trust that this difficulty will be surmounted by next year.

After the speech of Mr Malan, one of the delegates (Mr Jabavu) made a series of unopposed motions which were all favourably received by the Minister.

I. C. U. Manifesto.

During the current year we have noticed that the "African Voice" a journal supposed to be owned and published by J. B. Nyombolo, the self styled General Secretary of the "I.C.W.U." a non existing Organisation, has falsely and maliciously misrepresented the aims and objects of the I.C.U., for the reasons that we shall analyse in the next issue of "The Workers Herald.". In the recent issue of the "African Voice," the I. C. U. and its leaders have been accused of receiving monetary assistance from the Bolshevik in Moscow and that this purely an African Native Labour Organisation, which has scored so many victories already for the black workers under the guidance and leadership of the Africans themselves, is now lead by the Communist party.

The General Executive Council of the I.C.U. through its five members forming the Board of Arbitration desires to make the following statement to enlighten the public in general and its entire members before a detailed refutation to all the charges as aforesaid of this most diabolical accusation which appeared in the columns of the "African Voice" of the 22nd September.

The I C. U. at its last Annual Conference laid down a principle embodied in its Constitution and which governs the Organisation viz . . . . "its objectives are solely to propagate the industrial economic and social advancement of all the African workers through the industrial organisation on constitutional lines." In other words "on the basis of pure Trade Unionism it accepts to cooperate with other labour Unions but repudiates the "Third International" meaning that no other revolutionary elements are permitted within the ranks of the Organisation. Our constitution does not permit the General Executive Council nor any individual officer to deviate by one iota from the declared policy.

While the inveterate enemies of the African races the "African Voice" has several times tried to paint the most virulent and diabolical machinations against our activities to which, as promised above we shall take the liberty to vindicate in the next issue of our organ. We desire to state that our organisation was formed for the entire benefit of the Native races of Africa, to secure for them a fair and reasonable wage for a fair day's work. We will strive by every constitutional means to fight aggressive capitalism or white labour, while doing so, we shall educate the African workers "to supply free labour in a free market."

While the "African Voice" has information that we of the I C.U. receive monetory support from Moscow, an important and serious accusation this is, which we trust that the so called "African Voice" and its editor and proprietor I. B. Nyombolo will be able to consider our detailed reply to the challenge as promised in these columns, we would like also to add that the I.C.U has a large membership throughout its Branches, and every monetory assistance is obtained from its members and not from any outside sources such as Bolshevik Russia.

Our enemies particularly Mr I. B. Nyombolo is aware of the fact that our organisation has always carried its propaganda openly within the constitutional law of the country, but for him to keep on insisting to label us with any revolutionary movement which we believe that he would not be in a position to prove after detailed reply in the next issue of our organ, we can only come to this conclusion that some influence from other quarters is behind him while he is a mere puppet. Surely there is no clearer vindication that the I.C.U. is purely following on the lines of Trade Unionism than judging us by our fruits, in that during the Rand revolt of last year we did not hesitate to advise our people "to assist the authorities in such way as they may be called upon in this crisis." We pledge our unswerving loyalty to the Government. To this declaration I. B. Nyombolo as a Native, dissociated himself by writing to the press to that effect. We desire in conclusion to appear before the bar of public opinion of South Africa, both white and black, to point out to us whether or not the policy we have pursued for the last five years has been in any way contrary to the accepted theory of trade unionism or that in any shape or form we have neglected the interests of the African workers and worshipped any other gods as Bolshevik Russia. We are—

(Signed)
J G GUMBS, General President,
CLEMENTS KADALIE,
General Secretary,
J. A. LA GUMA, Asst. "
S: M. M MASABALA,
Organiser in Chief,
J. W. RAH. MAKGOTHI,
District Secretary.

Notes.

10-9-23

A Correspondent to our Cape Town contemporary "Izwi lama Africa says:—"Mr W. C Scully, in his latest book "Daniel Vananda," which was reviewed in these columns a few months ago, Mr Scully is of opinion that the

rse of these outrages originates in inducement which are made to houseboys by their mistresses. This allegation is illustrated by him in the case of "Flotov," and like Mrs Maxeke blames those who make the inducements who, after they have been caught red handed claim that "it was an outrage." The author of Vananda has been greatly attacked for the publication of this book, but it appears there are more Europeans than one can imagine who really are interested to find the cause of these outrages. For instance, I noticed Prof. Edgar H Brooks, of the Transvaal University College, writing to the *S. A. Outlook*, among other things, he says: Truth is so unpleasant, and it is much nicer to say that these things never happened. I imagine that many reviews treated "Uncle Tom's Cabin" similarly; but with all its faults it gave Lincoln the driving power of public necessary for the abolition of slavery.

Major R. Ballantine, M.L.A.— We are pleased to note that, according to the advertisement in our vernacular columns, the member for King Williamstown is due to address a meeting of Natives at Keiskama Hoek on Saturday noon 20th instant when he will deal with the vexed question of the Keiskama Hoek Native grazing lands and the general political situation in Parliament as affecting Natives generally. We wish him a bumper meeting.

Mr James Stewart, M.L.A.

The member for East London visited King Williamstown on the first of September and addressed a representative gathering of over two hundred Native voters drawn from all the districts on the line from Alice to near East London in one direction and between Stutterheim, Keiskama Hoek and Peddie in another. The chair was occupied by Mr B. Tele and Mr R. F. Haya interpreted. Mr Stewart who spoke for more than a hour visibly moved his audience with his Scotch humour while he gave an account of the manner in which the S.A.P. in parliament legislated for Natives gave his listeners much food for thought. He said he had done his best for the black man, never looking at him as a mere beast of burden but as a human being, hence the loyal support he could always count upon from the natives of his own constituency at East London ever since he began as a member for the Provincial Council. He had espoused the cause of Native teachers and always advised the Natives to respect the law of the country.

Dealing with the Registration Act he said the Government at first stood by the bill but, eventually abandoned it and yet took over some of its objectionable clauses and put them into the Urban Areas Act thus introducing a new kind of pass for non-voters with penalties. In his opinion the Government was wrong in this because they had never had trouble with Cape Natives except in the case of Bull Hoek where the fault lay with the methods of the Government in allowing trespassers to remain as long as they did on wrong ground. "I am not here," continued Mr Stewart, "to run down nor to boost up the Government, but I say that General Smuts does NOT understand the Native position. I have actually told him that inside Parliament. He gives himself no time to travel among them, for he is too busy and has too many calls. He leaves all to subordinates. I challenge any white man to deny this!"

Concerning the Urban Areas Act, Mr Stewart said it was the S.A.P. who struck out the ownership clause. "They are responsible and I can say this before Mr Ballantine himself. Why I am anxious about this is because it is the buyers who are the better class and better educated Natives who will raise the tone of the location, and it is this that would give them a stake in the country. The Act as it stood created undesirable class distinctions."

Speaking on the Stock Thefts Acts he sarcastically called it a Christian Act. "According to British justice a man is not a criminal till he is proved: he is not guilty till proved to be so. THIS act throws the whole onus of proof on the Native! If a white man now loses a fowl and reports to the police and the latter find a fellow in a hut where there are a few feathers and he cannot prove where the feathers come from, then this Christian Government straightway holds him liable to twelve months' imprisonment with ten lashes!"—(Cries of Shame!) General Smuts said this would apply to whites too (laughter). I would bet my life if a white jury in "King" would lash a white man for stealing a fowl! This kind of legislation is not going to increase goodwill between white and black. To keep the Native down is a wrong policy for if he were better paid he would buy better clothes, have more spending power, lead a better life, educate his children and get some of the comforts of life"—(hear hear).

The speaker then referred at length to the Keiskama Hoek grazing question where, notwithstanding the Merriman Farm, the Forest Department had dispossessed five other locations who have no access to Merriman Farm, of the best part of their only grazing land. Moneyed whites had crowded out the Natives into very congested locations, thus rendering their money a danger to the public witness the Knotts around Alice. The Government had not done justice to the Natives in this connection and a free, sympathising full time, travelling Minister for Native Affairs was urgently wanted. He advised the voters to ask all those who solicit their votes if they were prepared to turn out the Government when it was not just to Natives. Let them ask their respective members of parliament to give facts of what they had done in parliament.

The speaker concluded with remarks on Native education and mentioned how he urged upon the Government during the Education Vote to provide for Native agricultural schools pure and simple to teach the Natives how to improve their land and stock.

Some questions were asked and answered. After expressions of mutual thanks the proceedings ended amidst considerable enthusiasm.

King Khama.

In the recent Eistedfod held at Cape Town, the poem that was adjudged the best for the Bardic Chair of South Africa for 1923 was "Khama" written by David J Darlow, B.A. (Lond), Professor of English Literature at the Native College, Fort Hare. It was bracketed first with one by Mr W. A. Way, M.A. The poem, appropriately dedicated to the Native people of South Africa, has been published at a shilling per copy in handsome form by the Lovedale Mission Press.

The conception of the subject matter is at once lofty and true to character, introduced with an impressive invocation:—

And art thou gone, O glorious Chieftain,
Art thou gone?
Within a hundred summers on thy brow,
And half a hundred on thy diadem,—
O strong lone soul,
That seemed beyond Time's reach,
Art gone, Great Khama, gone?

Here follows a prologue of fifteen lines which places the great hero in magnificent relief against the background of his environment, beautifully culminating in his touch with eternity and a divine immortality. Then comes the epic proper in five cantos of varied metre and blank verse, the matter of which deals with the salient phases of the life history of the peerless chief of the Bechuana, the most graphic passages being found in the third canto:—

There lurked a lion in a desert hold
That creeping through the starless night, made havoc
In the kraals. The quivering oxen lowed;
The women moaned; the men with hopeless eyes
Sat silent waiting for the scream of death
He prowled with kingly tread till Khama came,
Khama with men equipped with gun and spear.

Then sat they round the fire and acted there
The deeds of daring they were fain to do.

The next three stanzas are worth reproducing but space forbids. At the end of the fifth canto we have the prayer of Khama, a composition that reaches a remarkable height of poetic devotion matched only by the excellence of the epilogue which begins:—

What alchemy can change dull dross to gold;
What miracle can lift a savage mind
To noble truth and wisest statesmanship?
He was a root from out a barren soil; etc.

To those acquainted with the story of this unique potentate this poem constitutes an astonishing imaginative reflection of the social and historic conditions that that surrounded the court of King Khama. It surely ranks as one of the noblest poetical tributes penned by a white man to the memory of a worthy African.

COL. JOHN AINSWORTH.

Old Kenya Civil Servant for Special Work in New Guinea.

Colonel John Ainsworth, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., late Chief Native Commissioner in Kenya, has been asked by the Government of Australia to proceed to New Guinea on special service connected with the natives in the territories that are administered by the Commonwealth Government under mandate.

Colonel Ainsworth, who previously had been employed on the West Coast of Africa, joined the Imperial British East Africa Company's service in 1889 and organised the company's transport service to Uganda. The year 1895 found him appointed H.M.'s Sub-Commissioner in charge of the Ukamba Province under Sir Arthur Hardinge.

In 1904-05 Mr. Ainsworth acted as Deputy Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate during the absence of Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson. With his promotion to the rank of Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Ainsworth's wonderful capacity as an organiser was seen at its best, and resulted in his selection in 1917 (with the rank of colonel) as Military Commissioner for Labour with the E.A. Expeditionary Force, and as Chief Native Commissioner the following year.

It was Col. Ainsworth who laid out Nairobi, planted trees on the then barren plain, introduced the municipal system, and formed the first Agricultural and Horticultural Society.

Col. Ainsworth has travelled extensively in the Congo and West Africa, and was the recipient of a special letter of thanks from the late Lord Salisbury for his E.A. services

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

The Government and the Natives.

As the Rt. Hon. F. S. Malan, Acting Minister for Native Affairs promised to arrange that the proceedings of the Government Conference with leading Natives at Pretoria be published in full, we take only the salient points here. The Chairman Col G. A. Godley introduced the discussion on the Pass Laws Bill, and in the course of his remarks, pointed out that this was an urgent question because, while the Northern Natives desired relief from the irritation of the many existing forms of passes, and had suffered much and long thereunder, there were, on the contrary, many Europeans pressing for yet heavier restrictions. Therefore, it was the duty of the Conference to make suggestions that shall meet the reasonable requirements of both sides in places where the Pass Laws at present operate.

The discussion over this subject occupied the whole of Monday and Tuesday up to 2.30 p.m The order of those who spoke was: H. Selby Msimang (Reef), Chief Lehana (East Griqualand), S Makgatho (Transvaal), Z. Mahabane (O.F.S) T. Mapikela (O.F.S) W. Ndlovu (Natal), S. Zibi (Cape) D. Bikitsha (Transkei), Z. Fenyang (O.F.S), D. D. T Jabavu (Cape) Mrs Maxeke (Reef), J. Langa (East Pondoland), R. S. V. Thema (Reef). M. Pelem (Cape) S. S. Mototi (Tembuland), Dr Loram, J. Sikiti (Cape), Dr Roberts and Gen Lemmer. For a long time the Northern delegates laboured under a misconception that it would be necessary for the Cape Proper to be included in the scope of Pass Laws before relief could be provided; but the chairman and the members of the Commission made it clear more than once that this was not the case. Eventually a resolution was agreed upon which accommodated all sections. The effect of the resolution was to make a simple uniform pass on the lines of the Certificate of Citizenship which obtained at the Cape forty years ago, these to operate where Pass Laws exist to day, the Cape Proper being excluded and left as at present.

The next important debate was on Certificates of Exemption for the educated classes. The Conference objected to the final decision on their cancellation being placed in the power of the Minister, seeing he was so intimately connected with the very officers against whom disputes were sure to arise. Accordingly the offending phrase was deleted, by 4.15 p.m. on Tuesday.

Clause 10 on Native trespassers in farms elicited the astounding fact from Nduna Takalina that in North Transvaal, there were Natives whose wages in Dutch farms totalled £2 in two years! It was therefore agreed that the law on contracts between farmers and servants being registered with magistrates, should be enforced so as to save many vagrants at present rejected by farmers who refuse to enter into registered contracts in defiance of the Lands Act of 1913. The law on trespassers, it was agreed on the motion of S. Msimang, should constitute a separate bill and not be included among Pass Laws. The debate on the bill ended by 8 40. p.m. At this point Dr Molema expressed a desire for an additional clause to exempt all Natives of professional rank from both passes and exemptions; but this fell through on the opposition of D. Jabavu who explained that such a clause would awaken sleeping dogs, because the handful of such Natives is already being treated by Pass authorities as above such laws through some silent understanding at Pass Offices. The spirit of the country was working in this direction. He had tested this by travelling throughout the Union for six years without any Pass or Exemption Certificate without molestation, and felt that there was no call at the present juncture for such a motion.

On Wednesday, the last day, the Marriages Bill was discussed, when the following spoke: Z. Mahabane, S. Zibi, J. Langa, W. Ndhlovu, S. Matoti, R. Thema, W. Notsolo, D. Jabavu, M. Kuzwayo, S. Molema, Mrs Maxeke, S Lehana, P. Mpahlele, F. Moiloa, Z. Fenyang, S. Makgatho and S. Msimang. The draft bill was passed at noon with slight alterations, the main effect being to recognise Native Custom marriages in the Transvaal and O.F.S. and to give relief in the Cape Proper to complications where the Supreme Court estate liquidation process brings hardship on Natives originally married under Native custom subsequently being re-married in Church on conversion, and registered with the master of the Supreme Court with consequent heavy legal expenses.

The next question was that of the method of selection of the members to the Government Conference. S. Majozi, supported by D Bikitsha and J. Sikiti moved that all delegates be selected by the Government as heretofore. On the contrary Z. Mahabane supported by D. Jabavu, S. Msimang, M. Pelem, W. Msimang, S. Zibi, S. Makgatho and R. Thema urged that some be selected by the Government and others by the general Native public including Native Councils, chiefs and others, and this was agreed to.

The explanation and discussion on the Native Urban Areas Act occupied one hour [3-4 p.m.] but did not produce many new facts. At 4 20 p.m. the chairman introduced the subject of the new education tax and uniform Native taxation, but regretted that the Government Finance Committe had not yet completed the proposed scheme. Mr Jabavu, supported by the conference, moved that the Government should place the scheme before the Native public and before the next Government Native Conference before legislation is introduced in parliament.

So far as he was concerned, while he desired uniform Native taxation and more funds for Native education generally, he he did not believe that Natives were receiving their equitable share of education funds from the revenue they yielded in taxation as compared with Europeans. If the scales of justice were right adjusted in this matter, there would be no need for further taxation on Natives. Quoting some figures, he said that the eight classes of Native taxes (Poll tax, hut tax, quitrent, squatters' tax, pass fees, dog taxes, private locations and sundries) aggregated over £1,300,000; but Native education got only £264,000 in return The O.F.S. Natives paid £420,000 in poll tax, a total of £770,000 and got back only £56,000 for their education; Natal natives paid £270,000 and were given only £32.500 in education; the Cape natives paid £175,000 in hut tax plus many other taxes like dog taxes, dipping, provincial property taxes, road rates and so forth and came off better than the others with £170,000 for their education; but it was clear that Natives were actually paying for a portion of European education, this being testified to by the recent report of the Provincial Finances Commission of 1923. The Natives therefore could rightly claim more funds for their education without additional impositions. Mrs Maxeke and Z. Fenyang supported D. Jabavu, but the chairman (Col. Godley) said "while Mr Jabavu's figures were appalling, the fact was that the Government had no money to spare, state finance was very bad and further taxation was inevitable." Dr Molema said they were agreed on uniformity of taxation involving the reduction of Transvaal taxation and the increase on the Cape, and the people at Mafeking declared themselves as willing to pay so long as the education was real right up to the making of guns and aeroplanes! (laughter). S. Msimang in a pathetic speech said "what would the ordinary hard taxed and hard milked Native say to us, if we went back to our homes and told him that after all these thousands he pays, the Government says there is no money? Had we been disloyal, we would say that the Government is a robber because it gives no statement as to how this money has been disposed of, and yet there is no money. This is an unfair position for the Government to take,"

T. Mapikela asked for a statement on the Imperial grant of £87,000 for O.F.S. Native education, but no reply was forthcoming from the chair. After further addresses by W. Ndhlovu, W. Msimang, S. Majozi and Dr Roberts the principle of uniformity, as proposed by Dr Molema and seconded by S. Msimang was adopted by the Conference, and the Conference finally adjourned at 10 p.m. after a series of mutual felicitations.

Next day the delegates journeyed to Johannesburg to attend the Native Question Conference arranged for by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches.

Of this, we hope to give an account next issue.

Farewell Address.

R. D. H. BARRY ESQ,

Resident Magistrate of Kentani on transfer to Butterworth.

Sir,—We, the Executive of the Native Farmers' Association of Kentani on behalf of its members take this opportunity of congratulating you upon your well earned promotion which fits the views of the Native Farmers for whom we speak.

We do not forget that this Association, if still young, is nevertheless a fixed institution and has been able to extend its influence so as to include in a federal relationship other districts including the whole Transkei Proper. This is known as the Transkei Farmers' Union and has been accomplished by the earnestness of the Secretary of our Association, who has been at the consumation of the Union appointed General Secretary, but this would otherwise have been impossible had he not had your sympathetic approval during its earliest stages. It now promises in course of time to bring about quite a revolution in the

farming activities of the district and the Territories. For your favourable and sympathetic attitude we have therefore to express our heartfelt thanks

The body has also been instrumental in bringing about very recently a Farmers' Vacation Course for adults which will hold its first course this month. There is now in the press a Farmers' Manual prepared by the General Secretary and written in the vernacular, and the costs of publishing which have been borne by all the existing Farmers' Associations in the Transkei and Colony Proper.

Sir, you will doubtless agree that there are distinct milestones in our progress as farmers in which the Kentani district has taken a very favourable and praiseworthy lead under your guidance.

Unquestionably the Farmers have had cause to be thankful for your services as Magistrate in connection with the following matters:—

1. Whilst you were here, you have endeavoured to increase the number of dipping tanks and thus saved the driving of cattle long distances which in some cases covered a distance of 20 miles to and from the tanks.

2. When you came, the East Coast Fever scourge was at its height. The cattle were fast decreasing in numbers, but you immediately organised a competent staff of officials to eradicate ticks through strenuous dipping and segregation, with the result that to-day the cattle have increased ten fold, and the district is practically free from the ravages of East Coast Fever. We believe that having regard to this recent relaxation of restrictions and others which are promised, this district will see the disease wiped out and we anxiously hope that larger concessions will shortly be made through your influence which will have the effect of totally removing all restrictions and the free movement of cattle permitted, and thus remove the obstacles to free farming free trade and free intercourse which involved great economic loss and increasing poverty and wretchedness among the people.

3 Your keen interest in maintaining the roads and even causing by roads to be made for the convenience of people getting in to their lands is very commendable

We also wish to express our appreciation of the enthusiastic manner in which you defended our boundary when an attempt was made to absorb a portion of land on the Nthlambe—Butterworth boundary and the trouble you took on behalf of the natives in Mapasa's Location in preserving the quiet enjoyment of their homes and lands.

We trust that your transfer to Butterworth will be a stepping stone to higher offices of the State and that you will always retain a kindly feeling toward the Farmers' Union and to our prosperity in the Kentani district to which you are bound by many happy ties and traditions.

In losing you, we have lost a sincere friend and guide and our loss is Butterworth's gain.

We have the honour to be, Sir

Your Obedient Servants,

J. KONDILE, Chairman.
W. MAGUTYANA, Vice Chairman
G. REVE, Treasurer,
A. MAZWAI, Secretary.

Kentani Native Farmers' Association

Kentani,

9th June, 1928.

The Native Question Conference

In the discussion on the subject of "The Teaching of Christianity as a Basis for a Native Policy" a sensational speech was given by the Bishop of Pretoria, a gentleman who, like his famous predecessor, is a man of herculean physical proportions, and whose speeches is characterised by a spirit of powerful originality and candour. His Grace said the Conference was getting too general and sentimental on this question and was not getting down to "brass tacks" as Americans say. Therefore, he would assume the role of *advocatus diaboli* and deliberately ask some awkward questions since he, a greenhorn of three years' experience in this country, sought information. Is it not true that the general level of Christianity in this land is low and deficient as compared with other countries? And that public opinion here is but little leavened by Christianity? And that there are not many white Christians ready to take up the Native Question on Christian principles? Why is it that the English Church on the whole Reef can only collect £40 a year towards missions? Does Christianity imply equality of races? Are the Bantu psychologically an inferior and child race? If so, how does the white Christian who believes in Bantu inferiority harmonise that social theory with the text of loving one another? How do you propose to love your inferior in capacity? We must confess, he said, that those who believe in these anti-Native ideas constituted the deadweight of indifference in the church. Their sympathy measured in terms of money was infinitesimally small and the hard facts must be faced squarely in the face. (This speech was fully reported in the "Rand Daily Mail" of the 28th September). At this point there came the interval, and then the conference, after appointing a committee of resolutions [consisting of Rev. P. G. J. Mairing, B.A., Rev. Wm. Nicol, B.A., B.D; Rev. J. Dexter Taylor, D.D; Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., Mr R. S. Thema and the two Secretaries], resumed the discussion, when Rev. J. Gray suggested that in order to carry out the resolutions of this conference a continuation committee should be formed which shall gather the Christian sentiment of the country whenever the native question is being handled. That is the most practical method for bringing the views of this conference into action, inasmuch as the policy of this country is rule by majority. This was supported by Rev. Allan Lea, who said such a standing committee should watch the interests of the Natives not only in politics but in social and domestic life. Christian homes and Christian mothers are the real need rather than the number of churches. The Dutch Reformed church was doing great things for the Natives—for example it raised £96,000 for Native missions of which £30,000 were spent in the Union and the rest in Central East Africa. The East London whites raised £240 a year for natives. Those figures would be good information for those who did not know them. The Archbishop of Cape Town then stood to observe that this conference was a new chapter in the history of this country. The great need is a higher public opinion, which should be elevated up to a level of Christian opinion. We have the power to constitute it. Let us lay out the broad principles of honesty, justice and equity. Then Rev. J. W. Housebam, President of the Wesleyan Conference remarked that these discussions should bring us to a united effort as a Christian community in working out the Native problem.

At 3 p.m. The Rev. J. du Plessis M.A. D.Litt., Professor of Theology at Stellenbosch University then addressed the conference on the subject of "Native Education and its Place in our Native Problem." The paper was a brilliant scholarly effort which dazzled the audience with its reflection of the intellectual gifts of the leading brains of the Dutch Reformed Church. It will be published in full in the "South African Quarterly." Among its outstanding points we may mention the three factors of the problem: The Natives; The Native Question; a self governing white community which was only twenty per cent of the whole population, unlike India where it was 28, or Canada 80 or the United States 90. The problem for whites here, said the Professor, was how to exercise wisdom, justice and clemency torwards a race that was backward, subservient but virile. Education was the place of start and road of travel for all Native progress, but in the past it had been unpractical, unpatriotic and unpsychological.

From this point, the paper sadly disappointed the native section of the Conference in two respects: The speaker made an affirmation to the effect that the black man would never rise and reach the level of white men in intelligence. The other was that he abandoned the subject of education altogether, and took up Segregation which was on the agenda to be led by other selected speakers, this being debatable on its merits, both digressions being unhappy, unnecessary and irrelevant. Otherwise the paper was distinctly the work of a master mind.

We hope to continue this account in succeeding issues.

Notes.

Salaries of Teachers in Native Mission Schools.—The Department is glad to be able to announce that steps will shortly be taken to remove the many anomalies that have existed for some time past in the salaries of teachers in native mission schools.

It will be within the knowledge of many managers and teachers of such schools that when free education was granted in 1920, and responsibility for the the full salaries of teachers was, as a consequence, assumed by the Provincial Administration, many anomalies existed—due, in the Province proper, to the varying amount of local contributions paid by different communities, and, in the Transkeian Territories, to the inability of the Department for some time previously to grant increases under the scale when they fell due. During the past three years, the matter has received the constant attention of the Department, and it has now become possible to take definite steps to apply as from the 1st April, 1923, the Departmental scale of salaries that is applicable to this class of school. The funds for this purpose are being obtained from the sum of £30,000 made available by the Union Government and accepted by the Provincial Council in its recent session.

In order to avoid misunderstanding and possible disappointment, it is necessary to emphasize that at the present time it is only possible to remove anomalies: *i.e.*, to apply the Departmental scale to all teachers according to their qualifications and experience. A uniform scale of salaries on an improved basis has been considered by the Native Affairs Commission in consultation with the Education Departments of the four Provinces, and the removal of the anomalies is the first step towards applying such uniform scale in the Cape. It follows, however, that many teachers will not receive increases this year, but must wait until the application of the improved uniform scale is possible.

The increases that are now due will be authorized in the usual way, and, in order to minimize correspondence with managers as much as possible, information will also be given regarding those teachers who are not yet eligible for increases.

It is expected that the work of authorizing the increases will extend over three or four weeks.—"*Education Gazette.*"

Native Lore by Natives.—The University of Cape Town is offering three prizes of the value of £5 each for the best collections of native lore or history from native sources. Collections may include family or tribal history, proverbs, plant names (with specimens) folk tales, descriptions of customs, "Praises", poetry, genealogies, lists of regiments or age-grades.

Contributors giving information obtained from others, should, if possible give the name and address and the approximate age and clan of the original informant. The papers must be clearly written, typed, or printed, and must bear the name and address of the contributor. Papers may be in English, or in any native language. All papers sent in are to become the property of the University.

Papers must be sent to the registrar of the University of Cape Town before April 30th, 1924. The result will be announced in June, 1924

Race Problem — 1923.

Africa

Character Training.

In the wide schemes for improvement of Native education that are now fermenting in the brains of African administrators and educationists we would recommend Dr. Aggrey and Colonel Young as types of how Negro character can evolve. We hear so much now of the need for character training, before the employment of Africans in the public service can become an accomplished fact, that it is greatly to be hoped that some realisation that education means bringing out the qualities of a man, and not pouring in a varnishing veneer to cover them up, is likely to materialise from all the theories expounded. Sympathy for the semi-barbarous Native is rife. It is when we come to power and position for the educated Native that our good intentions grow bewildered. In Charles Young our educational reformers have an object-lesson which might help in guiding their minds towards a sound solution of the problems they have made for themselves. Other examples of course might be given, but the two of contemporary fame which we have selected will serve adequately to point a moral.

At an adjourned meeting of the Native Congress at Bloemfontein in the early part of last month some resolutions were passed as the outcome of the report of the delegates appointed by the Congress to interview the Prime Minister in Cape Town. The first resolution declared that the Congress had no confidence in General Smuts as the Minister for Native Affairs and asked for the appointment of a separate and whole-time Minister. With the second part of this resolution we are in full sympathy, and have repeatedly expressed ourselves to that effect. The second resolution read as follows:—"In view of the fact that Great Britain has treated all treaties, promises and pledges made with and to the Bantu people as contracts of no value, and has repeatedly told several deputations from the African people of this country that His Britannic Majesty's Government could not intervene on behalf of the aboriginal races within the Union of South Africa, as Great Britain has no constitutional right to interfere in the internal affairs of the self-governing dominions, this congress therefore feels that the time has come when the Bantu people should consider the advisability of supporting a republican form of government for this country."

There is a grave danger that the sentiments contained in this second resolution may be accepted as the feelings of the Native peoples generally, and we hope that they will be repudiated by the more level-headed of the Native leaders, and that without loss of time. The attachment of the Native people of South Africa to the British crown and their loyalty to the ruling sovereign needs no emphasis from us, and we can think of no greater calamity to them and to our cause than that hasty and unbalanced resolutions passed by a mere handful of disgruntled leaders should be taken as the sentiments of the mass of a people who have, even through times of stress and under economic and political disabilities, always been noted for loyalty and obedience. We fear that by this resolution the National Congress has nullified any potentialities it possessed for the advantage and uplift of the Native people.

The "Cornhill."

An article by Mr. H. Coudenhove on "Certain Facets of the Central African's Mentality," is written from first-hand observation and should be instructive to people at home. One of the writer's points is "That the Native of tropical Africa is not progressive is due neither to want of experience nor to want of judgment, for he has both, but to his temperament. The temperament of a race is its sole characteristic which can be altered neither by education nor by legislation, as the peoples of Europe show to this day." Another point is the certainty that the African has his own opinion of the European, an opinion often carefully concealed and not unduly flattering; one extremely likely thing is, that the African is really not profoundly interested in the European or his doings. "It is probable that Africans in their endless conversations rarely talk about anything but their own affairs, either private or tribal. Anything that does not bear on these two departments of life is of quite secondary importance to them. . . . Even those who have lived in Europe prefer to return to their old villages, and when there resume their old style of living. Of course, exceptions do occur, but they are rare. I remember a German telling me once that when he was travelling near Arusha he met some naked Masai who were driving cattle. One of them saluted him in German and began a conversation in purest Berlin dialect. He had lived there for several years." There are some entertaining but instructive illustrations of the evasiveness in replying to a question; the simplest question often involves an endless conversation if the colloquy is between strangers "for no other reason than that it would be an outrage against custom and good taste to put the question simply and have done with it." We have no room for more quotation; but the whole article is most interesting and suggestive. A contribution to which the same adjectives may be applied, though it is of a vastly different kind, is Mr. Julian Huxley's fanciful "Philosophic Ants," which starting from the premise that ants speed up their actions with temperature, imagines what might happen to us if our rate of living, our period of vibration, could be so quickened that we should be able not merely to see the separate vibrations of light waves, but to hear and experience them as we do sound waves. Philosophical indeed, but not easy for the man in the arm-chair to follow. Mr. Ludovici continues his reminiscences of Rodin; Lieut.-Col. G. R. B. Spain describes in a fascinating way the hoard of the fifth century silver found on Earl Balfour's Scottish lands

BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

African Chronicle

In *Daniel Vananda** Mr. Scully has given us the life story of a South African native caught in the vortex of European life and of the innovations it has brought into the natives' social and industrial surroundings. It is not a pleasant story, and the author claims for the episodes he relates not only their counterpart in fact, but that their illustration in the person of his hero is typical of conditions to-day in the industrial centres and native locations of the Union. This book will excite the attention of all in England who are interested in the welfare of the native communities of Africa, and will doubtless be quoted in the native press throughout that continent. The book is written in proof of his general charge that the native of South Africa is being exploited and degraded, and that, as the result of this, race hatred is on the increase. His contention is the conclusion, to which Daniel Vananda comes at the end of his experiences, that the white man has "stolen the soul and exploited the body" of the black.

There are pictures of native homesteads in vivid contrast with existence in native locations. Demoralised by drink, initiated in debauchery, subjected at times to torture by the forces of the law, the picture presented is a presentment in high relief of processes of physical and moral degeneration wherever the Bantu of South Africa congregates in its urban areas. "In its reserve of native labour South Africa," says the author, "has possessed an enormous and unique economic advantage. . . . It was the toiling myriads of Bantu who constructed our harbours, built our railways, who developed our mines and made profitable farming possible. It is a commonplace to say that in South Africa ninety-nine hundredths of the unskilled labour of the present day is performed by black men. So much has been done for us. What have we done for them?"

The book answers the question in a way that is neither cheerful nor encouraging for the future. It is thought-provoking in the extreme. If too highly coloured it calls for some reputation if only to neutralise the effect it will have upon native readers in other parts of

FUTURE OF THE GOLD COAST ROMA OF THE NATIVE COCOA INDUSTRY.

The Gold Coast Leader
Cape Coast - West Africa

By Sir F. G. Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

Brigadier General Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., has been Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast since 1919. He is heart and soul devoted to the task of developing the great resources of the territory he administers, and securing the moral, mental and physical welfare of its inhabitants, as is abundantly shown in the interview we print below.

We of the Gold Coast are taking the coming British Empire Exhibition very seriously, and we regard it as an exceptional opportunity not only for promoting trade between the different units forming the Empire but also for acquainting the British public generally with the progress made during the last 20 or 30 years yore by the races of the Gold Coast, which, it must be remembered, includes both Ashanti and the Northern Territories.

Only 23 years have elapsed since Sir Frederick and Lady Hodgson were besieged in the Fort of Coomassie. The raising of that siege practically terminated the old days of blood-shed. If any nations in the world ever turned the sword and the spear into a spade and a hoe it was the Ashantis, the Fantis, the Akims and the Gas of the Gold Coast.

COCOA.

7-28-2

It was at the time of this last Ashanti war in 1900 that the Government was encouraging the natives to grow cocoa.

The story of the development of the Cocoa trade is a veritable romance. A native of the Gold Coast returning from working at the Portuguese Cocoa Plantations of San Thome brought a few beans with him and planted them on his compound, where the young trees later attracted the attention of the Agricultural Officers. In 1900 the export of cocoa was 80,000 pounds in weight. During this last financial year it was 178,000 tons.

The romance lies in the fact that this great industry, which supplies nearly half the cocoa of the world, was created by the native himself, there being no European plantations on the Gold Coast except the small Government nurseries. That is where the African is seen at his best, not as a paid labourer, but growing his own crops on his own land. In order to help him to market his crops the Government is steadily endeavouring to secure cheaper transportation by the construction of railways and roads and a deep water harbour at Takoradi, where ships can lie in sheltered waters. Already we have about 500 miles of railway, and the work of extending the system is steadily going ahead. We have now over 3,000 miles of motor roads, the majority of which have been constructed by the chiefs and the farmers themselves.

We have only two and a half million inhabitants, and the result of our comparatively large trade is a greater amount of wealth per head of the population than in any other of our African dependencies. With this access of wealth the needs of the population have rapidly increased. Everywhere there are demands for more schools, more hospitals, improved sanitation, and more pipe-borne water supplies.

Fortunately the revenue, which has now arisen to an average of well over three millions compared with a pre-war average of less than one and a half million, has been sufficient to meet the expense of building capital works and also paying interest on the loans for constructing railways and harbours. Since the war the Government has, altogether, expended between six and seven million pounds on capital works, four millions out of loans and the remainder out of revenue, and yet has been able to increase the reserve fund from three quarters of a million to two and a quarter millions.

TRADE PROSPECTS.

Trade prospects show signs of a gradual improvement, and there can be no question that the settlement of the Ruhr difficulties and the restoration of Europe to normal trade conditions will result in rapid improvement in the Gold Coast; for although we depend at present almost entirely on cocoa we are by no means neglecting new products, and a great deal of progress has been made in promoting the production of Sisal hemp, Copra and Rice. In addition to these we have great potential exports of Shea-butter and Ground Nuts from the Northern Territories. The development of this trade depends, however, on the construction of a railway.

PETROLEUM.

The most promising results have been obtained in the Apollonia district, where I have great hopes that a big supply of petroleum will be forthcoming. The African and Eastern Trade Corporation are showing their faith in the prospects by the expenditure of great sums on boring operations. Should anticipation be realised the Gold Coast should become as valuable a possession as any in the Empire.

GOLD

In spite of labour difficulties the Gold Mines are sending home about a million sovereigns worth of gold a year, and our Manganese Concessions last year exported over 70,000 tons, and ambant which it is hoped to increase to 200,000 tons anually when the deep water harbour is opened.

HOSPITALS AND EDUCATION.

With regard to medical and sanitary services, we have built a hospital for Africans at Accra which, for beauty of architecture and efficiency of design is, in the opinion of many well qualified to judge, second to none in the world. Here, in addition to caring for the sick, we are training mid wives, nurses, dispensers and sanitary inspectors. When our new University College at Achimota near Accra comes into being we shall have resident quarters at the hospital for the training of medical assistants and medical students.

It is only in this way, with the help of the African himself, properly trained, that we can hope to undertake successfully the great campaign that lies before us against disease, infant mortality and insanitary surroundings.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

With regard to the University College, the building of which begins this year, we shall train there a large number of Africans to become leaders in African thought and African industry, endeavouring by every possible means to retain their national characteristics. I feel confident that in six or seven years time we shall be turning out of this College men who are competent, both in education and character, to enter the service of their country as medical men, engineers agriculturists, foresters, surveyors and lawyers. Meantime we are not neglecting other forms of education and our new Trade Schools, which are of a residential character, are training young Africans as carpenters, metal workers, house and road builders. These schools are run on boy scout lines, and every endeavour is made to throw responsibility on the troop and patrol leaders themselves. They grow their own food and build their own buildings.

It is all this active progress, it is all these wants of the people, that we hope to bring to the notice of our brother units of the British Empire at the coming Exhibition. We want to show the manufactures in all parts of the Empire what we want and what we can give them. We also want to see their exhibits, to see what they can give us.

I believe that more work, in promoting trade within the Empire and tying the Empire together by the solid bonds of mutual trade and mutual interest, will be done at Wembley by using the tongue and the eye than by countless despatches and Committees.

TRIBUTE TO AFRICANS AND MISSIONARIES.

West African Mail Aug 4, 1923.

In the "Dundee Advertiser" Capt. E. R. Murphy relates the story of his journey on foot across Africa. He started on the East Coast with £5, which he spent on outfit, and finished on the West Coast with £50, earned by work. He walked from Beira, on the East Coast, to Boma, in the Belgian Congo. He states that he slept most nights in African villages, where the headmen gave him a generous welcome. English and French, he says, will carry a man through the heart of Africa to-day; invariably somebody in the village could understand one or both these languages. During the whole of the journey he never had a cross word with an African, but everywhere was treated as an honoured guest. He pays a tribute to the "splendid work of the missionaries of all denominations in Central Africa. They are doing magnificent service to humanity and the Empire. Everywhere where the mission station is found, there is also a hospital and a printing press."

West AFRICAN COLLEGE OF MUSIC AND COMMERCE, CAPE COAST.

Gold Coast Leader
Cape Coast - West Africa

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7-28-23

CHAS. E. GRAVES
(alias GRAVES-ABAYIE),
Professor of Music and Educationist,
1, Queen Street, The Gardens,
Cape Coast, Gold Coast.

PAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE TO MEET IN PARIS.

Liberia
Coast 9-22-23

New York, Sept. 22.—Announcement is made by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois that the Third Pan African Congress will meet in London, England, and Lisbon, Portugal, next November. The president is M. Craien Candace, the colored deputy in the French Parliament, representing the Island of Guadeloupe. M. Isaac Beton, a teacher in the French Public Schools, is Secretary. Dr. DuBois is anxious that a large number of American Negroes, especially representatives of organizations, attend.

Liberian Consulate General

There will be an opportunity to visit the beautiful winter resorts of southern France, and Africa only an hour's sail from

CLAIMS AFRICANS SATISFIED WITH WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT.

Liberia
Coast
Leader
(A. N. P.)

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 10—According to Floyd Gibbons, writing in the Chicago Tribune, the Negro leaders of Sierra Leone, British West Africa, would take freedom if it were brought to them on a silver platter. They are educated, having gone through his majesty's best schools, many of them, and a large number have accumulated tidy fortunes, but Gibbons declares they are almost unanimous in their willingness to leave the problems and worries of government to the white man. They, according to the Tribune investigator, admit they don't know how when it comes to managing themselves. He asserts that they express little interest in the ambitions of Marcus Garvey outside of the fact that a few are looking for the ships Garvey promised to send when he collected some of their "bean money." The mayor of Freetown is the Hon. E. H. Cummings, who keeps office in his dry goods shop. He confesses that he and his people have nothing to do with the laws of the land except to obey them. The mayor and the city council have charge of the fire department, water works, and they collect fees on burial permits and city taxes, but the police force is in charge of a white commissioner. The laws are handed down by a white governor general who explains he is doing all in his power to teach the Negroes how to govern.

11-10-23

Race Problem—1923
Africa

African Potentate, Worth Millions, Has Over 300 Wives and Knows 'Em All

Royal Residence of Sultan Njoya Outshines Harems of Olden Days—Sultanas of Every Hue.

PARIS, Aug. 16.—When Mlle. Elsie Homburger entered the royal residence of Sultan Njoya of Bamoun, in Central Africa, the greatest female linguist in the world shook hands with the most married potentate in the realm of polygamy.

This African Potentate, is a person of great wealth and power and he rules over a vast area of wonderful country, rich in gold, silver, iron and other minerals, and it is claimed that a great diamond field exists there, the location known only to Njoya and a very few of the chiefs which compose his cabinet.

Njoya is on the best terms with every one of his 350 wives. So they told Mlle. Homburger in their own languages, 27 of them, including the Somali, Bulu, Ngisa, Makya, Yaounde, Ngumba, Longahe, Peulh and Haussa dialects. The sultanas were of every tint of darkness, from chocolate to plain ebony.

Mlle. Homburger has spent many years in equatorial Africa. She is visiting the kingdom of the Sultan of Bamoun to lecture his advisers on leprosy cures and to try to eradicate the practice of cannibalism which is prevalent there.

A BUREAU TO HELP AFRICANS.

An interesting and enlightening pamphlet has been published in Geneva. It is entitled "Le Bureau International pour la Défense des Indigènes," and gives an interesting account of the work done by a branch of the Red Cross Society for the advancement of the African and Afro-American.

The pamphlet opens with a short history of the African and his treatment in former years, when nations were inclined to regard him as a beast of burden. It goes on to enumerate the different leaders who interested themselves on his behalf, and quotes such humanists as David Livingstone, William Lloyd Garrison, the advocate of the Afro-American, Harriet Beecher-Stowe, and others. The irregularities of past days in the Congo are commented on, and the work of the various Administrations which have ruled the Belgian Congo. During the late war the work of the Bureau International was considerably delayed, although many members of the Red Cross Society endeavoured to carry on its worthy undertakings. At present the work of the Bureau is as follows:—To protect the African and Afro-American, without distinction of colour or race; to co-operate with the various Leagues which are trying to establish the African in his own country, and to help him against oppression; to create new leagues so as to help the African and Afro-American to form leagues for themselves. "That these aids for the Africans and Afro-Americans are necessary," says the pamphlet, "is shown by a remark of a European official, who when asked whether he thought these leagues should be established, exclaimed: "Established? I should think they ought to be. Why, these organisations are not only indispensable, but they act as tremendous helps to us officials." The pamphlet concludes by asking whether the time has not come for the whole white race to remind itself of the grave responsibility which rests with it as regards its attitude towards the African and Afro-American. And it affirms that in order to help these such a bureau as this ought to be strengthened in every possible way.

"AFRICAN MENTALITY."

[By an African Correspondent.]

In his article on "Certain Facets of the Central African's Mentality" in the latest issue of "Cornhill," reviewed in WEST AFRICA for August 4th, Mr. H. Coudenhouve says:—"It is probable that Africans in their endless conversations rarely talk about anything but their own affairs, either private or tribal. Anything that does not bear on these two departments of life is of quite secondary importance to them."

Is this trait peculiar to African mentality? When two or three Europeans are gathered together in hours of relaxation do they exchange high discourse on science, art, polities, and the great affairs which affect the world at large? Do they not talk about their own affairs, or the affairs of their neighbours? In professional and upper commercial circles the talk is of "shop," and the smallest of "shop." Do they talk of the progress of science and the conditions of world commerce, or of the doings of Jones, Brown and Robinson in the same social circle as themselves? Some of us have heard that there are times when the conversation revolves round the question, "Have you heard this one?" a form of conversation commonly known as "swopping yarns." In less intellectual circles, when the local gossip is exhausted, is not the talk about the "gee-gees," or the latest boxing contest, or the chances of the various teams in the week's football matches? One says nothing about the talk of women—African or European—which is proverbially about the doings of some "old cat" not present. However much the affairs of men are affected by the great happenings of the world, the majority are so little in touch with the current of public affairs that they regard them as beyond their personal interest, and one fears that they have neither the knowledge nor the intelligence to discuss them. The Great War will occupy a great place in history and will there appear as if all the attention of the peoples concerned must have been concentrated on it, but while the struggle was proceeding and the event hung in the balance, did it absorb the minds of the people concerned? If the contents of the newspapers can be taken as a criterion many of the people were more interested in the divorce and criminal reports, the football matches, and the other petty topics of peace-time than in anything connected with the war except a great battle, or a threat to the food supply. After the war had lasted a little more than a year it was common to hear a man say, as he glanced through his morning paper, that he was "'fed up' with the war." It is said that the despatch of a full report of the Armistice to one great Dominion was delayed for several days because the cables were loaded with the account of the inquest on a notorious actress and the story of her circle of worthless friends, which, the editors apparently thought, would be more interesting to their readers. Mr. Coudenhouve is quite correct when he says that the African is not profoundly interested in the European or his doings, unless he or his friends, or their interests, are directly affected. The fact is that everywhere it is the small local and personal things that "come home to men's business and bosoms," and therefore provide the subject of their intimate talk.

Mr. Coudenhouve also says: "Even those who have lived in Europe prefer to return to their old villages, and when there resume their old style of living." What else can they do? Civilised living is very much a matter of external apparatus, and as they cannot carry that apparatus back to their homes they must conform to their environment if they are to exist But even when the old style of living and clothing and external customs are resumed it does not follow that the contact with European civilisation has produced no internal effect. The mental outlook of the man cannot but be affected by the experience; externally he may appear to a stranger to be the same as his untravelled fellows, but he and his neighbours know that there is a difference. To expect one man to carry civilisation back to his country and people is to expect the impossible, but the returned wanderer is changed and affects his neighbours to some degree. Nations do not become civilised by the sudden advance of an individual here and there, but by a slow general upward movement of the mass, and the civilised man can flourish only in civilised surroundings. A European living alone in an African village, with no contact with other Europeans and what we may call the apparatus of civilisation, has to conform in many ways to his surroundings, even as the returned African has to. The same thing occurs in Europe when emigrants from one of the less advanced eastern European countries returns after years spent in the United States; he also will "prefer to return to his old village, and when there resume his old style of living" and become indistinguishable by a stranger from his fellows.

The difference between African and European mentality is not in things like these, but in the difference between the angles from which African and European regard the same subject. In each the point of view is decided by the antecedents and environment of the people, their inherited ideas and existing circumstances. Until Europeans can really get at "the back of the black man's mind" by studying his history, traditions and customs, discussions about African mentality are mainly futility. The newly formed department of Anthropology on the Gold Coast should start the laying of the foundations of the necessary knowledge.

SIERRA LEONE RAILWAY REPORT, 1922.

Mr. Eric G. Barker, M.I.Mech.E., who signs the Sierra Leone Railway report for 1922, took over the appointment of General Manager and Chief Mechanical Engineer on March 19th, 1922, and at once began economies by retrenching superfluous officials. Working expenses still exceed gross receipts, but the deficit for 1922 was only £22,210 as compared with £81,179 in 1921.

The actual tonnage of goods hauled during the year was 51,881, an increase of 4,828 tons on the previous year and the average receipts per ton of goods were 47s. 0.53d. as compared with 43s. 8.82d. in 1921. The number of passengers carried was 531,493, an increase of 87,748, but the receipts per passenger fell from 1s. 7.63d. to 1s. 6.78d. The tonnage of palm-oil and kernels was increased by 5,293 tons, bringing an increase of £16,063 in revenue. Working costs show a decrease of £49,289, while the total train mileage was increased by 49,618 miles.

The efficiency of the sawmill was increased at least 60 per cent. by the provision of air-receivers made from old boiler barrels. Nineteen wagons were entirely rebuilt of local timber which will, it is anticipated, be much more serviceable than imported timber. Money has been voted for plant for the utilisation on a large scale of the local timber which, as procured by the department, is cheaper and more durable than imported lumber, and moreover it provides an additional outlet for local labour. The railway not being fenced, and the track being used by the people as a highway between places on the route, it is impossible to avoid accidents. There were five fatal and 13 non-fatal accidents (three to staff) during the year, the principal causes being boarding and leaving trains in motion. The railway employed 66 Europeans, 909 African clerks and artizans, 53 African platelayers and headmen, and 1,301 labourers. The cost of running has fallen from 4s. 1d. to 2. 9.75d. per engine mile, and from 5s. 8d. to 3s. 9.75d. per train mile as compared with 1921.

SLAVERY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The decision of the League of Nations to take up the question of slavery has led to the preparation of a remarkable memorandum by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society. This document bears the signatures of various authorities upon overseas administrations, whilst the appeal of the League and the appreciation of this proposed effort to secure ultimate freedom for over 1,000,000 slaves is supported by an impressive array of public men, members of the House of Lords, and also Messrs. J. St. Loe Strachey, C. P. Scott, J. A. Spender, Bernard Shaw, and Israel Zangwill, Lady Bonham Carter and Mrs. Corbet Ashby, the Bishops of London, Durham, Ely, and St. Albans, the Lord Mayors of Bristol, Leeds, York, and Liverpool, the Mayors of Exeter and Plymouth, Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir Thomas Barlow, Drs. Scott Lidgett, and R. C. Gillie. The memorial states that slavery obtains to-day in three areas involving over 1,000,000 slaves, in systems under which a saleable property right is established over the persons of the slaves. The three principal areas to which attention is drawn are Abyssinia, and the mandated areas of South West Africa and Tanganyika. The Committee suggests that steps should be taken to secure the conditional entrance of Abyssinia into the League of Nations and thereby "confer upon Africa the greatest blessing which has yet visited the Dark Continent—namely, entirely disinterested but effective assistance in evolving a self-governing African State, free from the institution of slavery."

The New American Store.

The recent establishment of an American Mercantile Business House in Monrovia, Liberia is a real treat, not only to our numerous farmers who have been for years crying for American farming implements, but also to our small traders, and more especially to the millions of Natives who abound in our vast interior where they can get a living price for their products.

The establishment of American firms and the introduction of American goods of every class into the country have been not only the cry, but a real necessity for the economic and industrial development of the counrry on all lines.

This great American firm is styled "The West African Syndicate," represented by Harold Taylor and Charles H. Emmons, who arrived in Monrovia, Liberia a few weeks ago per the s.s. "West Africa," for the special purpose of promoting a closer mercantile relation between the Republic of Liberia and the United States of America, so that America can get her share of the great Liberian trade which England and Germany, today have the monopoly.

This Syndicate we understand claims to represent a few of the most reliable Companies in America,—such as The Bull Line Steamship Company, The Corona Typewriter Company, The National Biscuit Company, etc. It also reports the coming of certain American Bankers.

This great Syndicate is now opened in Monrovia for real business, and is today the cheapest mercantile house throughout the country; and we are not afraid to predict that if it is not drawn in to the quagmire of commercial conspiracy by the Liberian Chamber of Commerce, and forced to sell at exorbitant prices, it will undoubtedly in a few days be the leading mercantile house throughout the Republic. This Syndicate will also deal largely in all kinds of African products, such as Copra, Ivory, Coffee, Ginger, Palm oil, Kernels, Piasava etc.

The hinterlands of Liberia are now open to all classes of traders irrespective of nationalities, and while we cordially welcome this great Syndicate, still, we invite thousand more to come and enjoy the riches of our undeveloped country.

THE COMING CONFERENCE.

IT is expected that in the first week of September next the conference of the Kings and Chiefs of the Gold Coast with the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society will take place at Cape Coast. These conferences in the past have been fruitful of much good to the country in that they have enabled our people to consider together vital issues affecting our national destiny and devising ways and means of meeting coming danger. As such they cannot be very welcome to those insidious influences in our midst that are ever at work to divide the people. That being so, our people have need to be wary and to keep together notwithstanding the syren voice of officialdom and its myrmidons.

It is not necessary to remind our readers that the Aborigines' Society came into being at what time His Majesty's Government sought to declare the lands of the country Crown lands. Under its auspices we have successfully so far contested every claim to our patrimony and have established bulwarks against future aggression. But we are not quite out of danger, and it requires still the utmost vigilance on our part to preserve our national liberties and heritage. It is also unnecessary to go into the recent history and composition of the Society. Suffice it to say that at the last historic conference, when it became necessary to clear the Executive of those doubtful persons who were steadily steering the country into the whirlpool of confusion and disintegration, Mr. Henry Van Hien, the former Treasurer of the Society, was unanimously elected President, and that it is under his administration that the Society is at present working. He and his Executive have shown considerable activity and intelligence, and command the respect and the attention of Government. At the same time, it would appear, that Government openly encourages the faction that were publicly thrown out by the Kings and Chiefs at the last conference, and therein lies the danger to our national integrity. By that we mean that in our country there is not such a thing as party Government. Formerly when the State came to the conclusion that certain persons were dangerous to the safety of the community they were publicly removed from office, and there was an end to the matter. Their return to the confidence of the people is a remote contingency dependable upon exceptional good conduct tantamount to what in Biblical language is spoken of as a change of heart, or a new birth. Under British rule, however, which at one moment proclaims from the house-tops it determination to support African institutions and at the next thwarts every honest effort to consolidate the fundamental principles of such institutions, open support is given to persons in whom the people have lost all confidence in the hope that they may form a minority that may occasionally be useful to Government. That is about the naked truth of it. It may be British in principle, but, from our point of view, it is not healthy. What is more, it tends to destroy the confidence of the people in British intentions, and, to that extent, impairs the foundations of the Imperial sentiment, which we with others have steadily assisted in laying. We wonder if our meaning will be understood. We wonder if Government can give us a little credit of knowing and understanding our own people better. We also wonder if they give us a little credit of sincerely and honestly trying our best to preserve harmony and co-operation between the Government and the governed.

Be these things as they may, the next conference is due in the first week of September next, as we have said. We know influences will be in operation to prevent, or to place difficulties in the way of some of, our Kings and Chiefs from attending; but we also know that our Kings and Chiefs are sufficiently alive to their own interests as to resist and surmount any difficulties. We invite all to attend. We invite all to put away minor and petty differences and join in resisting the common foe, the common enemy to our national integrity and our national patrimony.

Among some of the vital questions to be discussed will be Native Jurisdiction, as it is known that Government will sooner or later bring forward a fresh Bill. Already political officers are busy questioning and suggesting to individual Chiefs points in the coming measure. We distinctly object to this type of propaganda work, which we consider unhealthy. The activities of political officers can usefully be diverted to other channels. It is not right, it cannot be right, after the Kings and Chiefs have decided matters at a general conference to seek to undo such decision by influencing them individually. When the Legislative Council have come to a decision, what will Government say if one went round each member trying to get him to vote differently upon the same question? The working basis of our Elective Representation will also probably be considered. So come all with your best thinking caps on at this hour of our national emergency.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

GENERAL GUGGISBERG AND AFRICAN DOCTORS.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—As a near relative of a doctor on whom much money has been spent in order to equip him for one of the noblest professions, I am anxious to have further information with regard to Sir F. G. Guggisberg's reported remark published on page 619 of last week's WEST AFRICA. The Governor of the Gold Coast is stated to have said:—

West Africa

"Of 50 per cent. of these African doctors who come back their value is not worth the paper that their certificates or degrees are written on. That is my opinion of it. We are trying them in the Government service; some of them have been a conspicuous success, an equal number have been a deadly failure."

6-23-23

In the training of a doctor, a training which lasts rarely less than five years, more often seven, the tests in this country for students of all races are so severe that no man or woman can emerge from them with success unless he or she is really capable of the work. Indeed, one can go beyond that and say that in no instance has a person been qualified who is unfit to practise on account of lack of knowledge.

6-23-23

The chain of tests leading up to the final certificate which opens the door to membership of the British Medical Association is so severe that the incompetent can never hope to sail under false colours through one of the tests, let alone the lot. The medical student is either fully qualified in every branch of his work at the end of his studies or he is barred.

If Sir Gordon Guggisberg was thinking of character, and perhaps he was, again he was on ground apparently unknown to him. Whatever a man may be when not prescribing is more or less his own affair, African or European, but when prescribing the doctor is so imbued with the prestige of his profession that he naturally gives of his best to the sick. If a doctor fails in his duty as a doctor and his medical "value is not worth the paper that his certificate or degree is written on," the British Medical Association ought to have something to say in the matter. Perhaps it will say it. The 50 per cent. of African doctors in Government service on the Gold Coast—this can only mean a handful of men—upon which the Governor of the Colony has thought it right thus to reflect in an after-dinner speech, will also surely take steps through the proper channel to have this serious charge probed.

London, W.C.1., June 12th. Yours, etc., B. M.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—At the dinner given by the African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the 30th ult., Sir Gordon Guggisberg is reported to have said that:—

"Of 50 per cent. of these African doctors who come back, their value is not worth the paper that their certificates or degrees are written on. That is my opinion of it."

This is a terrible indictment, and a slur on the British Medical authorities. It is "up to" the African medicos to take up the cudgel, as their very fitness for existence professionally has been challenged. Had a medico expressed such an opinion on the members of the engineering profession, it would have been considered not only bad taste, but impudence.

Regarding Sir Gordon's opinion on the cocoa trade, every importer must be grateful to Mr. Batty for his masterly reply to Sir Gordon's dismal forecast of the most important industry of the Gold Coast.

Perhaps Sir Gordon may not be aware that to-day there are "bulls" and "bears" in the cocoa market, as on the Stock Exchange, and by his gloomy speeches he is making a gift of a formidable weapon to the "bears," which must ultimately result in serious injury to the cocoa industry and good-bye to part of the revenue which is derived therefrom by the Government.

Yours faithfully,
AUGUSTUS WILLIAMS.

E.C.2. June 11th.

NIGERIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION.

SIR HUGH CLIFFORD'S ADDRESS AT THE FINAL MEETING OF THE OLD COUNCIL. HIS EXCELLENCY'S "UNMOURNFUL FAREWELL."

West Africa

The new Constitution which is to come into operation in September next in Nigeria was gazetted last week in London. As already announced by Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of Nigeria, the new Nigerian Council will consist of the Governor as President, 26 official members, three elected unofficial members representing the municipal area of Lagos, one elected unofficial member representing the municipal area of Calabar, and not more than 15 nominated unofficial members.

7-7-23

By the Nigerian Protectorate Order in Council, which was also published in London last week, it is provided that the Protectorate shall be divided into two or more portions, each under the immediate administration of a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by his Majesty, and that the Executive Council of the Colony shall be the Executive Council of the Protectorate.

At the final meeting of the old Council, before coming on leave, Sir Hugh Clifford, addressing 12 members present, said: "The Legislative Council of the Colony of Nigeria to-day ceases to exist after a life of over nine years. It is not my intention to deliver a funeral oration on the present occasion. To be frank—and there is no reason to dissemble my views—I experience a sensation of joy rather than of regret at its decease: at the decease of a Council which for the past nine years has had no financial control and only very fragmentary powers of legislation. It will cease to exist and will be succeeded by a Council endowed with a generous measure of financial control and with legislative powers of a much wider description.

"These increased powers will prove, I hope, a potent power in shaping and directing the energies and the destinies of this great dependency. This Council will die, but from its ashes (shall I say?) will arise another and stronger body in which, for the first time in the history of British West Africa, representatives of the people directly elected by themselves will be able to give expression to the views and aspirations of the inhabitants not only of the Colony, but also of the town of Calabar. I wish you, honourable members, an unmournful farewell and declare that this Council do stand adjourned without date."

We have received from South Africa a copy of the report of the third Annual Conference of the "Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa," whose moving spirit is that versatile African known as Clements Kadalie. The title of this Union is significant. It indicates the spirit of racial unity which moves our brethren in all parts of the world at present. It is a healthy and an inspiring spirit and a remarkable sign of the times. We shall return to this report later.

MIXED PICKLES.

BY A READER.

The Gold Coast Leader

Side by side, racing for the survival of the fittest in this country, are two distinct and separate social units, namely, the European and the African. There is no gainsaying this fact. To attempt it one might as well bay at the moon, or like the mad king tell the waves of the ocean to roll back. Those, however, who are blessed with the gift of observation foretell of the death of the European unit in the course of time as sure as a palm tree planted in a glass house in England can only thrive so long as it is in a hot house but dies away almost immediately when the artificial stimulus is withdrawn. Soul-less Aricans and time servers may doubt the truth of this because their view is circumscribed. This brings us once again to the ever-burning question of the Congress movement. Here is a full-grown people with their complete social system awaiting development by the progress of time. Suddenly our white friends came along wearing a friendly smile and sought for land on which to build and trade. Eventually they seek to impose their will upon the people of the country, and when the people raise their voice against it, their action is described as being inimical to the best interests of the country. That is the case of the Congress of Africans of British West Africa, and that is the reason why the longer the just demands of the Congress are delayed the more the people burn in their hearts with anger and begin to lose confidence in the white man. Those who have studied the white man know that, as a rule, it is difficult to get him to do anything until compelled by force of circumstances. Take the case of the Slave trade. When one considers that men like Sir James Hawkins were awarded a medal by the Crown in connection with such trade, one sees that the withdrawal of England from the trade was not voluntary. And there is the recent agitation for the abolition of the Liquor traffic. Because of the monetary profit it is still flourishing. And so on through a long list of similar instances.

Now in the matter of the Congress Petition there was one point which stood out prominently in the reply from the Secretary of State. It was the absence from the said reply as to any reason of the Secretary of State why the request of the Congress should not be granted. There was none. All that one noticed was the advice of the would-be-exponents. If it appeared to His Lordship that in a matter of this nature the advice of the African Authorities of this country should be sought, why were not the Amanhin and Ahimfu consulted but pet favourites of the local Government? That weakens the strength of the reply and convinces one that presumably His Lordship might have been personally convinced that the claims of the Congress were just and might have recommended their grant but for the representations of the local Government of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. This view is supported by the successes which the movement has achieved between then and now. We have all heard of judicial reforms—one of the planks in the congress cause—looming largely in the air, and already it is reported that an official pronouncement has been made in Nigeria to the effect that a Judge who tried a case in the Court below would not be allowed to sit over it on appeal. It may be also remembered that Congress asked for financial control owing to the manner in which the funds of our country were being "frittered" away. But we were told that all these requests were inimical to the best interests of the country; yet today one hears daily of the gospel of economy being preached from housetops in the Government Service and elsewhere. In a recent issue of the "Leader" I remember reading of the termination of appointments in the Civil service owing to reduction of establishment on account of the necessity for effecting economy. If these things do not point to the constant fact that the claims of the Congress were just and overdue, I await to be told. As to the success of the movement, victory is already with us! The effort of officialdom to resist its coming is after its usual style—it never to do a thing until circumstances compelled it. It behoves adherents of the Congress cause therefore to be firm in the belief that the trying times will not be long. This day the noise of battle, the next victor's song.

The Gold Coast Leader

NATIVE LABOUR SHORTAGE INCREASING.

JOHANNESBURG, August 15. SHORTAGE OF NATIVE LABOUR.

The shortage of native labour on the mines is becoming more acute. As already reported, the Crown Mines mill was forced to close down last week-end owing to the lack of native labour. There is now a shortage of two thousand natives on this great property. The mill has been re-opened, but the monthly output will naturally be affected.—Reuter.

Rand Daily Mail — 8-16-23

Mr. Villiers, who is returning from the Recruiting Corporation, considers, responsible for the unsuccessful, and was, Mr. Villiers considers, that the present scarcity could be avoided if the Government saw fit to relax the restrictions on imported labour from Mozambique. The earlier experiment of making long contracts with Union natives was the meagre response to recruiting in February, March and April. He, however, anticipates that the present shortage may soon be overtaken.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

18-4-23

The Colonial Office Vote.

Apart from direct references to British West Africa, to which I will come later, Mr. Ormsby-Gore's speech on the Colonial Office vote referred to the College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad as to be newly designated by the addition of the word "Imperial," so that it may serve the needs of all tropical dependencies. There would therefore seem to be a possibility of West African students being able to avail themselves of the course of studies there. On the West African Dependencies his remarks were to the point. He touched on the romance of Gold Coast cocoa production, and laid stress on the remarkable results of the policy pursued there, and in Nigeria, of "the economic development of the native as a producer on his own account." And in this connection he emphasised the difficulties suffered by the violent oscillations of trade, and the anxiety that budgetting on successful lines caused in consequence. This naturally brought up a reference to the financial loss in revenue on spirit licences, due to a policy which, in the subsequent debate, Colonel Wedgwood described as "a gesture of disinterestedness which was dutiful but not practical."

The Colonies

8-4-23.

Development and Education.

"You cannot starve," said the Under-Secretary of State, "your economic or education departments without danger." And he proceeded to outline the scope of the coming enquiry as to whether private enterprise cannot participate in the improvement of the transport facilities in the hinterlands of the British West African Dependencies. As to education the upshot of the Colonial Office conference between governors and officials on leave has been the formation of a permanent committee to decide "What is the best and most helpful form and type of education that we can give to the Africans, for the purpose of giving light to new Africa?" May we hope from this that a really rational education scheme will spring up; one that recognises the adaptation of education to the needs and capacities of an African community? The soil, the animal life, the handicrafts of the country have a place in such a scheme as well as the mental capacity of adolescents. Not to mention the training of the sound use of leisure. If Christianity is the antidote to animism, so is healthful recreation the antidote to lascivious and emotional dancing. Education in all its aspects is to be the subject of close study, it is welcome to have to report.

The Departmental Committee.

The personnel of the Departmental Committee set up by the Colonial Office to determine how far private enterprise in undertaking development works in the Crown Colonies should be encouraged will not, I imagine, provoke great enthusiasm. It will remain for the "business men and men of enterprise," whose aid Mr. Ormsby-Gore invoked, to bring to the Committee apt and cogent suggestions upon this very important subject. Questions on constructional work in West Africa have continued to be insistent and searching in the House of Commons, until one member was led to ask, "What is really behind all this matter of railway construction in the Colonies?" And he does not appear to have received any answer. However, most people closely interested in West Africa welcome this display of Parliamentary inquisitiveness, as well as the appointment of the Departmental Committee. In fact, anything that awakens live interest in the development of West Africa is heartily to be welcomed, for developments under Imperial ægis are necessary, especially in the way of transport. Whether by private enterprise or Imperial subsidy, this development is an essential in the great project of Empire trade and Empire self-support.

Gin and Cotton.

There is great virtue in repetition. Mr. Hyslop Bell, of the Colonial Bank, is to be applauded for having publicly during the past week not only put in the right light again the liquor traffic in Nigeria, but also for again urging the insistent need for the expansion of cotton cultivation in that dependency, and showing how it can be done. It is unnecessary to repeat here that so long as ceremonial drinking from home-made alcohol goes on the prohibition of importedon liquor will not lighten such moral degeneration as came from ceremonial gin drinking in the past. The sole effect of the prohibition of imported liquor has been to deplete the revenue so seriously that duties which operate in restraint of trade have had to be imposed to make up the deficiency. As for cotton, Mr. Hyslop Bell rightly says that expansion of cultivation in Nigeria "far in excess of either present output or present official estimates of possibility" is insistent. And he shows how much wider a view is required than that the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation should help to increase cotton areas. A guarantee for a length of time of a minimum price must be evolved, and he shows how it can be done. The views of a practical business man on this subject are invaluable.

Ashanti.

The appointment of Mr. John Maxwell, the Gold Coast Secretary for Native Affairs, to succeed Mr. Harper as Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, is deserved promotion. The new Chief Commissioner has been in the Gold Coast service since 1902, and has held many prominent posts, including that of Acting Colonial Secretary. Mr. Maxwell is at present in England representing Gold Coast affairs at the British Empire Exhibition. The retirement of Mr. Harper means a loss to the Gold Coast of a man of exceptional administrative genius.

Central Province Railway.

The Legislative Council of the Gold Coast has approved the construction of the Central Province Railway by the route from the Huni Valley towards Mampong and Kade. The constructional work will begin without delay. The new departmental committee will thus have a concrete example of departmental expenditure before it.

The Gambia.

The non-participation on the part of the Gambia in the British Empire Exhibition has now been definitely decided upon. The matter was gone into fully at a meeting of the Legislative Council, when correspondence with the Secretary of State was read, and the members concurred with the Governor that, in view of the colony's financial position, there was no alternative but for the Gambia to stand aside. Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone will represent the products of British West Africa, but it is a little regrettable that the Gambia will not have a look-in somewhere.

Nigerian Labour Supply.

The remarks of the chairman of the Bisichi Tin Company at the annual general meeting on the subject of indentured labour for the mines are to be noted. It will be remembered that some mine managers brought before the Nigerian Chamber of Mines a scheme for introducing indentured labour, with which the Chamber would, rightly, have nothing to do. The chairman described this form of labour as not only the most expensive but one productive of a crop of troubles. It was cheering to hear so emphatic a declaration that the voluntary system was the only one suitable to the conditions, and that the true solution of the difficulties was to be found in "the greater use of labour-saving appliances."

Dr. Desmond McCarthy, C.M.G.

A prominent official figure in the West Africa of his day—and one of great local popularity—has passed away in the person of Surgeon-Major James Desmond McCarthy, M.D., C.M.G., some time Principal Medical Officer of the Gold Coast. Time has moved on, and changes both vast and momentous have happened in West Africa, since the days of Dr. McCarthy's service on the Coast. Ignorance and indifference to her West African Dependencies on the part of the mother country was barely on the eve of being dispelled when Dr. McCarthy retired from the service. But he deserves remembrance—and in the hearts of a few Europeans and Africans still living will be remembered—for his pioneer work in sanitation and public betterment at a time when the health of neither European nor African occupied much official attention in British West Africa. To do justice to McCarthy's official work and to his social activities must be left for another occasion. A great personal friend and contemporary in West Africa vanishes with him. He was one of those who spent much for the amelioration of the African and the betterment of the surroundings of the European.

J. W.-G.

The Watu Wa Miti."

One of the most interesting movements of recent times in our youngest colony is that known as the "Watu wa Miti," the "men of the tree," or the Forest Scouts of Kenya. This organisation was founded by Mr. R. E. St. Barbe Baker, late Assistant Conservator of Forests in Kenya, and was the outcome of several conferences held amongst the chiefs of the Kikuyu tribe. The part of the colony occupied by the Kikuyu tribe had been deforested as a result of local methods of agriculture. Whenever a new cultivation was required by the natives they went into the forest, cut down and burnt the trees, and planted their maize.

After taking off two or three crops they would move further on into the forest and repeat the same process. Now after many years large areas of land have become denuded of trees, and in some parts there is danger of a wood-famine. Already in many parts of the native reserves the women folk are forced to go two days' journey to collect sticks and cook their meals. This system of progressive agriculture, as it is called, explains the name by which these people have been formerly known, i.e., "The Forest Destroyers."

It was amongst the Forest Destroyers that Mr. St. Barbe Baker inaugurated his tree-planting movement. First of all he obtained this support of the Chiefs through the Native Kiana, or Council of Chiefs. These were all given the rank of Forest Guide, or the equivalent of that of a Scout Master. Volunteers were then called for who would promise faithfully before "Ngai" (meaning God) to plant ten trees each year and take care of trees everywhere. Added to this was the Scout Ideal, and do at least one good deed each day.

After the first fifty volunteers had been enlisted all late comers had to be initiated, and were individually proposed by one of the other Forest Guides, who vouched for their integrity. All members of the Watu wa Miti wear a badge on the left wrist, which is tied on with a leather strap with their colours, green and white worked on in beads. It is explained to each candidate that the green is to remind them of their obligations to plant trees and the white to remind them that all who come within the ranks of the Scouts must have a safe (meaning clean) heart. If any member has an unfulfilled obligation he cannot be said to have a "safi" heart. The members are drilled and disciplined, and can be called out at short notice if required to extinguish forest fires. Already members have proved themselves true to their promises, and in their anxiety to fulfil their promises often daring deeds to save life and property have been accomplished.

This movement is of particular interest because it is the first time that anything of its kind has been started amongst these very primitive tribes. At first the idea of doing a good deed a day bothered them, and they had some difficulty in understanding what was the true meaning. Often in the evening thirty or forty members would find their way to the bungalow of the organising secretary. They would say, "Devana Mkubua (great Sir), we have come to you to ask you to help us to think of a good deed; in two hours the sun will go down, and as yet we have not been able to think of a good deed." This difficulty was solved by making a nursery in which to raise young trees close by the Forest Officer's house, and when each boy had planted out fifty trees from the seed-bed into a box that was allowed to count as a good deed. At the same time it was explained to them that this was not necessarily the best kind of good deed to do—they must search their own hearts to find other things. The movement has been recognised by the Europeans have often been surprised at first to find boys, who have perhaps helped them out of a difficulty on the road, refuse to take backsheesh.

This Forest Scout movement does not attempt to break up legitimate tribal customs. It has rather been grafted on to existing conditions. The dances are encouraged; only the songs have been changed to be in keeping with the movement. Sometimes at the rallies of these Forest Scout members they amuse themselves by dancing—often the dance carries on far into the night, and weird songs of the forest and of tree planting are chanted.

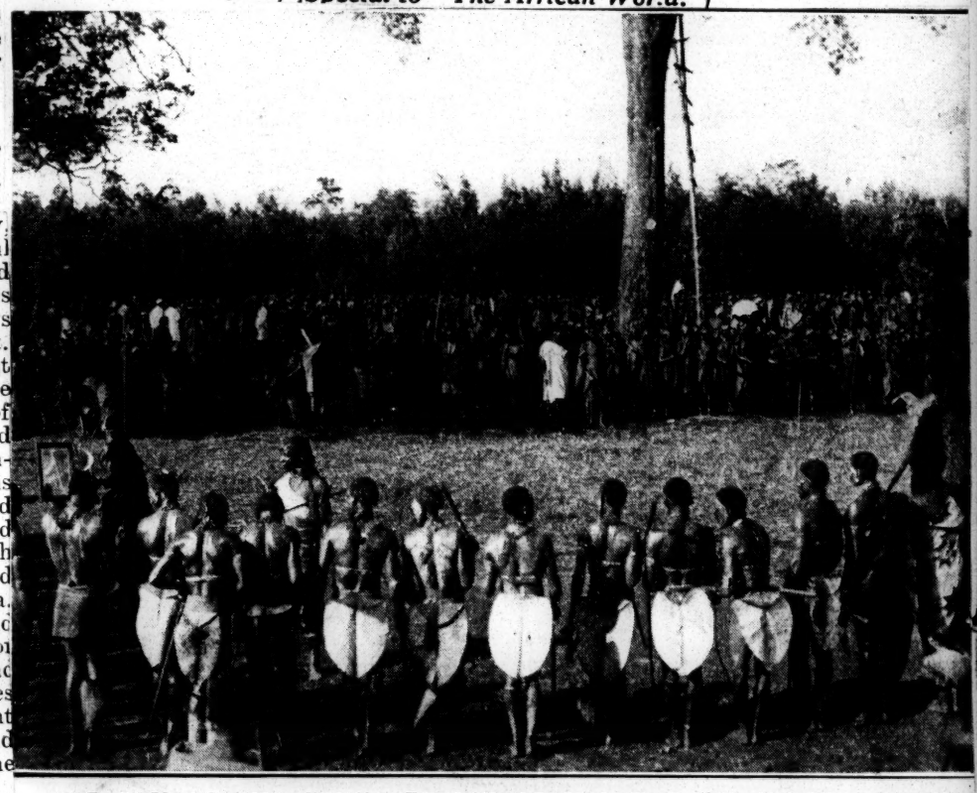
THE "WATU WA MITI."

The African World

THE FOREST SCOUTS OF KENYA COLONY.

7/2/23

(Special to "The African World.")



A RALLY OF THE KENYA FOREST SCOUTS—THE "WATU WA MITI."

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

COLOR LINE LITTLE RECOGNIZED IN PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA

For Generations Invading Whites Have Taken Black Wives Until Now Mixed Breed Mongrels Are Common—Roasted White Ants a Native Table Delicacy.

BY W. D. BOYCE

NEARLY all of Black Africa is ruled by white nations, but the color line is little recognized in some countries, and least of all in Angola, Portugal's largest and oldest colony on the continent.

When the first Portuguese came to Angola, following the discovery of the mouth of the Congo River by Diego Cam, in 1482—ten years before Columbus discovered America—they took black women as their wives and the custom has continued ever since, particularly among petty officials, small traders and the criminals exiled to the African colony from Portugal. Any one going to Angola must be prepared to see in the settlements white men with black women, mulatto women with black men, and many half-breed children. The ordinary Portuguese in Africa treats the native as his equal. The negro does not respect him, but is friendly to him. Portuguese traders get along better with the natives than other Europeans. The Portuguese army officer, however, is usually hated by the natives. They resent having to take orders from him. Portuguese captains, as a rule, have slight influence over their black troops. The result is that the troops do as they please, and this has frequently been responsible for uprisings among the negroes of Angola. The vagrants and criminals deported to Angola have not increased the negro's respect for the Portuguese. Until recently the colony had to defray the passage money of the convicts from Portugal. Some were put in disciplinary companies in the large settlements, but the remainder had to shift for themselves. Many chose to live with and live like the natives.

Portugal is a small, poor country, and until the last few years the colonial staff consisted largely of incompetents, who did not receive sufficient salaries to live decently if they knew how to. The home government endeavored to run the colonies entirely as sources of revenue for Portugal but failed to make them pay, and the people of Portugal were heavily taxed to provide for the upkeep of their overseas possessions. Since the kingdom became a republic, after the revolution of 1908, a more enlightened policy has gradually been adopted; a better class of officials and colonists is being established in Angola and the government of the colony is now directed by progressive men. In this connection it is only fair to say that Portugal should not be judged by its lowest types. The better class of Portuguese, such as many of the present government officials in Angola, the representatives of the trading companies and the settlers who are helping to develop the country, compare favorably with men of similar capacities in other African colonies, and they receive the visitor with friendship and hospitality.

Fourteen Times Size of Portugal.

Angola, or Portuguese West Africa, is over 500,000 square miles in extent, fourteen times the size of Portugal. Lying north of the territory of Southwest Africa, it is bounded on the north and northeast by Belgian Congo, on the east by Northern Rhodesia, and has over 1,300 miles of coast line on the Atlantic. Angola's negro population is similar to that of Belgian Congo on the north, of which we have told in other articles, but the country is much different, because Angola belongs mainly to the great plateau of Southern Africa. Altho within the tropics, between 6 and 17 degrees south of the equator, the climate of a large part of Angola is sub-tropical, due to the altitude and the effect of the cool Antarctic current flowing along the coast from the south.

From the lowlands a strip twenty to one hundred and twenty miles wide bordering the Atlantic on the west and the Congo River on the north, the land rises to a wooded plateau 1,000 to 2,500 feet above sea level. A second plateau lies at a height of 3,000 to 6,000 feet and consists of grass hills and uplands, traversed by many streams, with a comparatively healthful climate.

Figures on the native population of Angola are only guesswork. The total is estimated at four million. This is based on the hut tax collected by the government, but natives in remote parts of the country pay no tax. The natives are Bantu negroes, except a few tribes in the southern districts who are a cross between negroes and Bushmen. The Bushmen, now about extinct, were evidently the first inhabitants of Southern Angola, as well as of South Africa.

There are twenty thousand Europeans, mostly in the towns, and they are mainly Portuguese or of Portuguese descent. In the highlands of central Angola and in the south are some Boer colonies. In the past few years Portuguese settled on the land. Colonization from Portugal and other European countries is slowly being extended on the high plateau, which has a great area. The highlands generally are suited to ranching and large sections are adapted to the growing of maize (Indian corn).

Small Steamers Call at Ports.

Small Portuguese steamers call at the various West Coast ports on the way south to Cape Town and on the return voyage to Lisbon. Our boat's first stop after leaving Walfish Bay, Southwest Africa, is Mossamedes, the southernmost port of Angola. The town was founded in 1787 and has a picturesque stone fort, a palace and a church built in that period. The Portuguese population is about 2,500. Mossamedes has an open roadstead, like most of the West Coast ports. The country here is barren, the same as the coast of Southwest Africa, the rainfall being less than an inch a year, but within 100 miles from the sea there are fertile uplands with plenty of water. Boer ranchers have a settlement at Humpata, 6,000 feet above sea level, on the government railway, which runs 150 miles from the coast to the plateau. Cattle are the principal export of Mossamedes. There is a ready market for cattle in Belgian Congo as stock can be raised only in the far eastern part of the Belgian territory and cannot be transported west.

Two hundred and fifty miles north of Mossamedes is Lobito Bay, where we come into the best natural harbor on the West African coast, protected by a sandspit two miles long, about two miles out, running parallel with the shore. Ocean vessels load and discharge cargo on a wooden jetty instead of having to use lighters, as in most ports on this coast. Steamers of Portuguese, British and German lines call here regularly, and every few months a U. S. Shipping Board freighter arrives with equipment and supplies for the American Petroleum Company—said to be owned by the Sinclair interests—which is prospecting for oil in a large concession near the Benguella Railway, which runs inland from Lobito. The Americans have been there for several years and have a comfortable, well-built little town of their own. So far there has been no announcement of finding oil in paying quantities, but evidently there is hope, as additional equipment continues to arrive. Official Portuguese reports dated as far back as 1844 refer to indications of oil at points near the coast. An English company also has a concession where it is prospecting for oil, near the railroad.

Lobito was only a fishing village a few years ago. The present town, about a mile from the harbor, is small, with a white population of 250, and lacks the old-world charm of the ancient settlements on the coast. As a port, however, Lobito is the most important place in the colony, this being due to the railroad, to which we shall refer later.

Capital Founded in 1576.

Loanda, 300 miles north, formerly was the principal port, and it is still an important town, as it is the capital of Angola. Loanda was founded in 1576 and looks it. On the beach is the weather-beaten stone fort of San Pedro, built in the early days of the colony and on a cliff overlooking the harbor is another fort, San Michel, 300 years old. High stone walls surrounding solid old buildings tell the story of Loanda's past. These were compounds where slaves were brought from the interior to await the arrival of ships, taking them to Europe and America. Loanda has well-paved streets, made by convict labor, as this was originally a penal colony. The business section of the town is on the beach, the homes on the hillside, shaded by trees. There are several hotels and bars, a theater and numerous Portuguese and native stores. A government railroad runs from Loanda 300 miles eastward to Malange, where it taps a fertile region. The first intention was to continue this line east to the Katanga province of Belgian Congo, but the gauge is only one meter (39 inches), while the line that is being built by British interests from Lobito to the Katanga is of 42-inch gauge, the same as that of the Katanga Railway and the South African railway system, with which the Belgian line connects.

Portugal now has a high commissioner at Loanda, in addition to the governor general. The high commissioner's chief duty is to push the development of the colony, and General Sir Norton de Mattos, who was governor general of Angola from 1912 to 1915, has made a good start as commissioner by modifying the trade regulations of the colony under which Portugal had sought to retain all sources of profit by creating markets for her own commerce and keeping out foreign competition, a policy which made it impossible for Angola to progress. For example, the export duty on palm oil shipped from Angola to Portugal was 17 per cent ad valorem, and if shipped to any other country the duty was 35 per cent; on coffee, 16 per cent to Portugal and 28 per cent to other countries; cocoa, wax, hides and other products averaging about the same. On the import duty, Portuguese goods entering the colony had a rebate of 90 per cent. Foreign goods, if shipped first to Portugal and "nationalized" there, and then carried to Angola in a Portuguese vessel obtained a rebate of 20 per cent. The high commissioner has now reduced the export duties to 25 per cent of what they were and has also reduced the discrimination as to imports. Further modifications are promised when the Angola "escudo" improves. The escudo, which our American acquaintances in Angola called the "scooter," equaled one dollar at par, but in 1922 had scooted down until it was worth less than 5 cents in U. S. money.

Government of the Colony.

Angola was originally governed as a province of Portugal, but now is administered as a colony. It is divided into nine districts, each under a governor, responsible to the governor general at Loanda. The governor general and the high commissioner are appointed by and directly responsible to the Minister of Colonies in the government of Portugal. The district governors are appointed by the home government on recommendation of the governor general. Portuguese, or native troops, sometimes both, are stationed in the military districts. The courts are under Portuguese judges, but native chiefs are allowed to conduct their own law tribunals subject to Portuguese supervision. In theory the law of the colony makes no distinction between Portuguese and natives. Native customs have been little changed by the Portuguese. The hut tax, ranging from $1 to $5 a year, is the chief source of revenue of the colony. Large areas of the interior have not yet been explored and many of the tribes in these regions do not recognize the government. Elsewhere the Portuguese have pacified the natives, tribal wars have been stopped and cannibalism is punished by death, if the crime is proved and the criminals caught. Where there were formerly powerful chiefs there are now only a few. Some tribes have no chief of paramount authority.

As the great mass of Angola natives are Bantu negroes, like those of Belgian Congo, their characteristics are similar to those of the Belgian territory, on which we have reported. The women till the gardens and provide the food for their husbands and children. Polygamy is general. In the eastern part of Angola we met a chief 15 years old, who had recently succeeded his father, with thirty wives. We heard of several chiefs with over a hundred wives each. In all the tribes wives are obtained by purchase. The wedding ceremonies do not amount to much, but girls cannot become brides until they have been initiated in accordance with tribal customs, and boys are also initiated into man's estate with elaborate ceremonies. In certain tribes the brides are naked when handed over to their husbands, who must provide clothing, a sleeping mat and cooking pots, and must "set up" the village to beer and palm wine. Children are well treated when small, but after they are able to shift for themselves the boys have little attention; the girls, being a source of revenue, are provided for by their families until sold.

Land Held in Common.

Land around the villages is held in common, the women growing maize, millet, yams, pumpkins and manioc in small plots by primitive methods. When the fertility of the ground is exhausted, after four or five years of gardening, the village is moved. Manioc or cassava, which resembles our arrowroot, is easily cultivated, its reproduction usually being effected by cuttings, as any part of the stem or branches takes root readily. The usual size of the root is six to nine inches in length, with a diameter of one or two inches. The root is fit for eating at nine months from planting, but attains its best condition in the fifteenth or sixteenth month. Flour or meal is made by pounding the dried root. Bananas and pawpaws, growing wild, furnish abundant food. For meat, the natives depend on game, goats and chickens, and in some localities rats and mice. White ants, which are in reality termites, shaped like lozenges, are roasted and made into cakes; locusts and grubs are also regarded as delicacies.

Missionaries are at work in many parts of Angola, but the greater part of the population adheres to fetishism. The word fetish is derived from the Portuguese "feitico," meaning charm. Religious medals and emblems brought to Angola by the first Portuguese missionaries, are still worn, as fetishes, by the negroes. The N'Gangas, or witch doctors, wield great power over the natives here, as in Belgian Congo. Witchcraft is generally believed in, and an accusation of witchcraft is the worst that can be brought against a man, unless he happens to be a recognized witch doctor. Illness or death is blamed on evil spirits, and in most cases the spirits are believed to have been working for an enemy of the victim. When any one is suspected of a crime, such as practicing witchcraft without a license, it is customary to make him drink poison, a decoction from

the bark of a certain tree. The witch doctor compounds the drink, and so has the power of life and death, as he can make it harmless if he wishes to spare the man on trial. If the accused does not die he is adjudged innocent of the charge. Sometimes the poison is administered to the dogs of contesting parties in a lawsuit.

Natural Aversion to Work.

In common to all negroes, the men have an aversion to any kind of regular work. The Portuguese have recruited thousands of Angola natives for their rich cocoa plantations on the Islands of San Thome and Principe, off the coast of West Africa, near the equator. This was formerly done by the government, but now is in the hands of a company working under government supervision. The average labor contract is for three years, at the expiration of which time the native is brought back to Angola. Naturally thriftless, he used to spend his money in riotous living and was broke and starving a few days after reaching port. To remedy this the government arranged that his wages, except a small dole as pocket money, shall not be paid him until he reaches his home up country or takes up an allotment in reservations that have been established for returned laborers. However, the labor reservations are not popular with the natives.

In the Lunda district, in eastern Angola, are diamond fields, which are being exploited on an exclusive concession by a corporation known as the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola. The Angola government holds part of the stock and gets 32 per cent of the profits, the balance of the stock and profits belonging to British and American interests. The principal American interests are owned by T. F. Ryan. The diamonds are found in alluvial deposits in the valleys of numerous rivers, this being a continuation of the Kasai basin of Belgian Congo, and in quantity as well as quality the prospects are considered better than those of the Belgian territory. The British end of the company represents the South Africa diamond mining interests, so it is unlikely that Angola diamonds will be permitted to come onto the market in such quantities as to bring down the price. Owing to the loose condition in which the diamond-bearing gravel is found, the mining is simple, mostly by pick and shovel. Some of the washing machines, where the diamonds are recovered, are run by mechanical means; others by native labor. Five thousand natives are employed at present and operations are being extended. Most of the directing staff are Americans, and those with whom we talked told us the same thing we heard from other employers—the greatest difficulty is the labor problem. The Lunda district is one of the wildest parts of Angola. The natives, once fighters are comparatively peaceable now, but are indolent, and those who work only do so irregularly.

Owing to the remote situation of the diamond fields, access is difficult. Lunda, the headquarters of the mining company, is 560 miles from the end of the Lounda Railway. There is a fairly good road for about two-thirds of the distance, and this is being extended. Most of the traffic to and from the fields now goes by way of Belgian Congo, on the Kasai and Congo Rivers.

Congo-Zambesi Watershed.

The watershed between the Congo and Zambesi River systems extends for 1,700 miles across Africa with an average altitude of 5,000 feet. In Angola it is known as the Benguella plateau; in Belgian Congo it is the high Katanga, and in the east the plateau forms the most northerly part of Rhodesia. Because of its elevation this plateau is the most healthful part of Angola. The soil and climate are favorable to the growing of maize, also tobacco and citrus fruits, and the raising of cattle. The Zambesia Exploring Company, a British corporation associated with the Benguella Railway Company, has extensive concessions in this part of Angola and is encouraging British settlers to locate here. Numerous Portuguese ranches have also been established on the plateau. Natives are depended on for labor, and of course considerable capital is necessary for equipment and improvements. Rainfall averages forty inches a year. Tsetse flies and malarial mosquitoes are rarely found at this altitude. The temperature varies greatly, from warm in the day to cool—even frost—at night.

The shortest route from Central Africa to the Atlantic is along this plateau. Here was the old slave road to Benguella, in those days the busiest port of Angola. On this road the British company is building a railroad from Lobito and Benguella to the border of Belgian Congo, where it hopes to receive the traffic of Belgium's rich copper mines in the high Katanga. Germany was after the railroad concession, but Great Britain beat her to it, in the person of Robert Williams, who made a deal with the Portuguese government in 1922. Williams' company, the Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., owns 90 per cent of the Benguella Railway and also controls the Rhodesia-Katanga Junction Railway, which connects the Belgian railway in the Katanga with the railway system of Rhodesia, south of the Katanga, the present outlet for the copper mines. The distance from Lobito Bay to the frontier of Belgian territory is 800 miles. The railway is constructed and in operation for nearly one-half the distance. Progress on the balance was delayed by lack of funds. We were told a loan had been secured recently and that 100 miles additional will be constructed by the end of 1923.

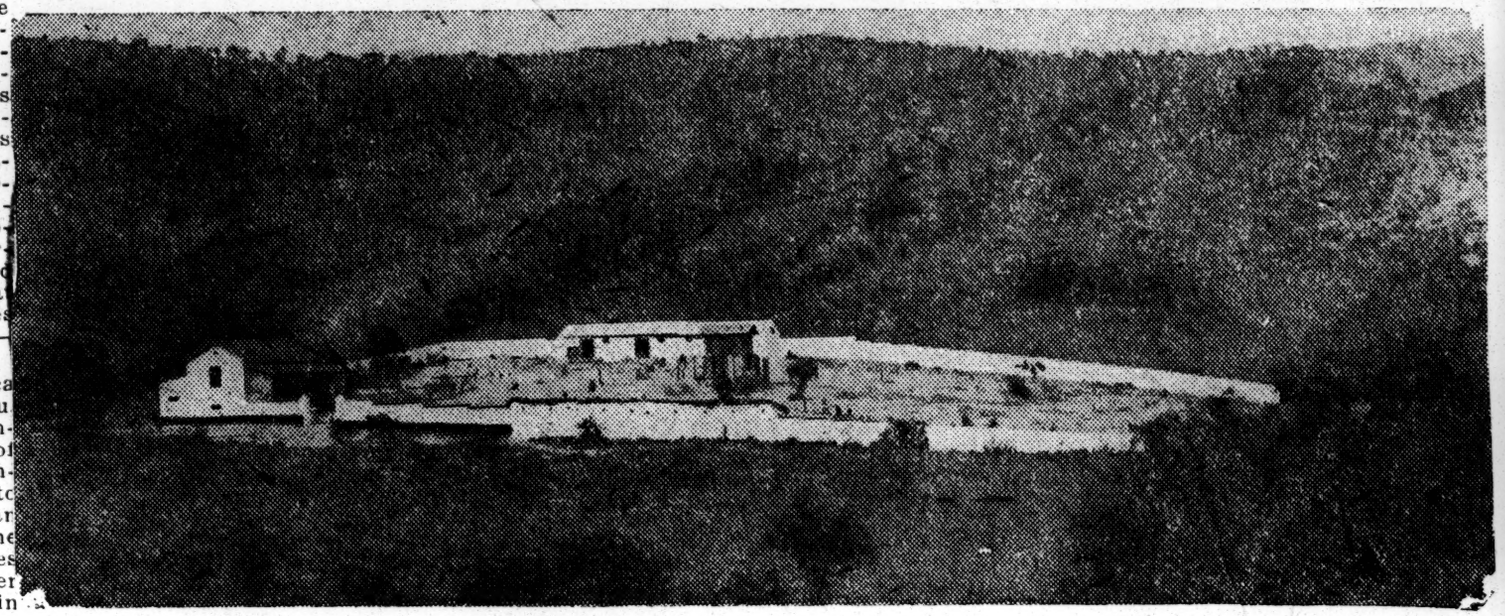
From the jetty at Lobito the railway first runs south twenty miles to the ancient port of Benguella, capital of the district, and then turning inland begins its ascent of the plateau. For 140 miles we pass thru dry, barren land, known as the "Thirsty Country," climbing to an altitude of 4,000 feet, where the green-covered slopes and valleys show there is moisture. At Lagange, 214 miles from Lobito, the railway begins ascending the Bepi Mountains, climbing to an altitude of 6,180 feet. From this point the line descends to Chinguar, 5,930 feet, in the Bihe country. This is the present terminus of the railway.

Pending the completion of the line the old slave road has been improved by the Portuguese government to the Belgian frontier, so that it can be traveled by motor cars, connecting in Belgian territory with a road to Chilongo on the Katanga Railway, 160 miles north of Elisabethville, the capital of the Katanga. East of Rhodesia is Portugal's other large colony in Africa, and we will report on this in next week's Blade.



A village of the dead in Angola. In this particular tribe it is the custom to put the dead in huts and bar the doors. The cemetery lasts as long as weather and wind permit.

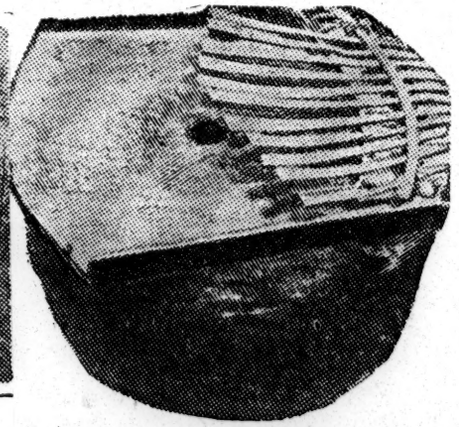
FORTIFIED GOVERNMENT POST NEAR THE LOWER CONGO



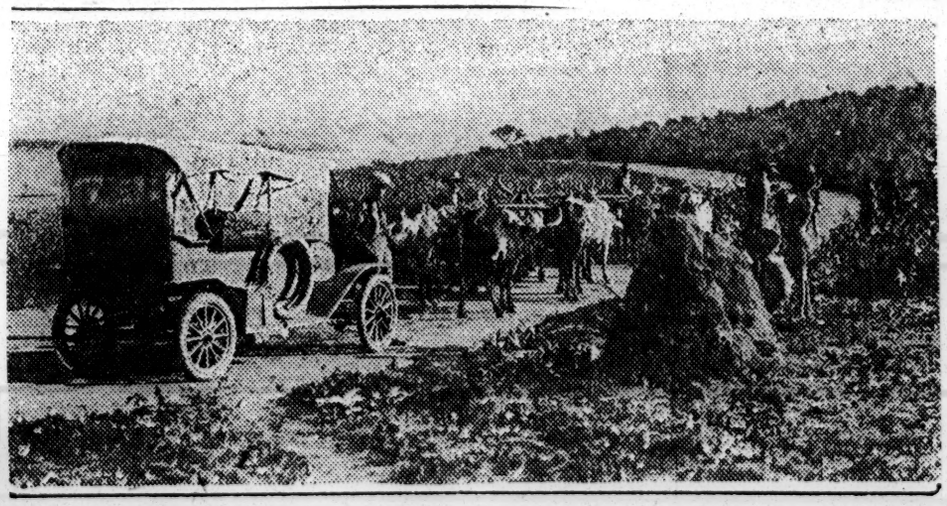
A Portuguese "boma," or fortified government post, near the Lower Congo River. The natives of this region went on a rampage a few years ago and the Portuguese are taking no more chances with them, as shown by the strong walls.



Away from the railway and the few roads that are traveled by motor transport, all merchandise and supplies for settlers and travelers are carried on the heads of native porters. In the photograph you see Angola porters on the march. Each carries a load of from forty to sixty pounds.



This is an Angola native piano. When the "keys" are thumped they strike the resonating gourd and the result is music to the negroes.



The "flivver" broke down and is being towed by oxen on the road to Cuito. At Cuito, on the Benguella plateau, the Zambesia Exploring Company, a British corporation, has a big ranch.



Wooden fetish image. All Angola natives are superstitious. They plaster these images with clay and expect vengeance on their spirit to do enemies. "magic" such as get revenge favors for them,

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

"WHO WERE THE FIRST REAL AFRICANS?"

THIS question was asked in a note in our issue of July 14th (page 797), at the head of a report of a lecture delivered in Paris by M. Bertrand, a well-known writer on Algeria. The report is brief, and it is hardly possible to criticise the lecturer's conclusions on it, but we assume that it is correct as far as it goes. "The first real African," thinks M. Bertrand, was the Greek." This will be surprising to the readers of WEST AFRICA, but it is probable that M. Bertrand was referring only to that part of the continent which Frenchmen call L'Afrique du Nord, their province of "Africa." The first sequence of the report points to this: "Africa . . . is a Latin country, Sicily, Provence and Spain being of the same nature." Geologically, this is true, and there is no question that the portion of the African continent lying to the north of the Sahara and west of Tripoli was once part of the European continent, and that the Atlas Range is the southern curve of the mountain whorl which includes the Pyrenees, Alps and Appenines. Even as regards this portion of Africa M. Bertrand's opinion (as reported) is disputable, but we defer discussion till a full report is available.

Turning to Tropical Africa, the continent south of the Sahara, who were the first real Africans? Who were the original, the autocthonous, inhabitants of the continent, and where did they live? This question is as hard to answer as "Who were the first real Europeans?" As far back as tradition can be traced men have everywhere been possessed of the demon of restlessness. They will not stop in one place. Impelled by necessity or greed they have been constantly migrating and displacing, or mixing with, the people in possession. Almost the only thing that can be asserted with confidence of any race is that it is probably a comparatively recent intruder into its present habitat. Among nearly all the West Coast tribes there is a tradition of movement from the interior towards the coast, the impulse to which has generally been forgotten, but was probably the pressure of intruders on the previous home. In the same way the tribes of Central and South Africa have traditions of migration from some distant homeland of their origin.

In his work on "The Native Races of South Africa," the late George W. Stow, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., presents a strong case in support of his contention that the Bushman of South Africa is the true aborigine, and that the Pygmies of the Central Forest are a branch of the same race, which has been driven into its present habitats by the advance of the taller and more powerful peoples, usually described loosely as "Negroes." He contends that the Bushmen originated far to the north; "their closest affinities are certainly more frequently to be found among those inhabiting the Northern Hemisphere than in any other portion of the world." As it would have been impossible for the Bushmen to break through the stronger races who now surround them it is evident that their southward migration was in advance of the Negro tribes. This is also shown by the universal tradition among these that as their forefathers advanced southward they found the country unoccupied, except by herds of game and Bushmen, who were classed as wild animals. "All the evidence we have been able to collect tends strongly to prove that the Bushman race alone, in their southern migration, moved through a perfectly unoccupied and uninhabited country." That they have occupied South Africa from an immensely remote period is proved by the discovery of beads and other articles made by them at various depths in what was formerly the Lake District of South Africa. For instance, in 1874, the author found a number of finely formed chipped implements in a bed of sandy marl at the western end of the Rhode Pan basin near the Kimberley Diamond Mine. This bed must have been deposited when the level of the water was at least 60 feet higher than that of the present pan. This period represents the second, or minor, lake period of South Africa, probably "tens of thousands of years" ago. On these and other grounds Mr. Stow contends that the Bushmen were "the first real Africans," but he states in a note that "the Bushmen believe in an ancient race of people who preceded them, some of whom possessed magic powers, and some of whom have also been translated as stars into the sky."

Quite recently evidence has come to hand of the presence of man in Africa long before the Bushmen or the Pygmies started on the wanderings and privations to which their present stunted growth and debased culture are attributed. In 1921 there were found at Broken Hill in North-West Rhodesia, about 150 miles north of the Kafue River, a nearly complete human skull and fragments of other human bones. These specimens were presented to the British Museum. Dr. Arthur Smith Woodward, F.R.S., described the skull as "strangely similar to the skull of the Neanderthal or Mousterian Race found in the caves of Belgium, France and Gibraltar," but the large and heavy face is more simian in appearance. In general shape the brain-case is "much more ordinarily human than that of the La Chapelle Neanderthal skull which it much resembles in the facial bones. The typically human anterior nasal spine is conspicuous." The palate is of enormous size, but "in all respects human, being deeply arched and bounded by the horseshoe-shaped row of teeth, which are unusually large, but also entirely human. The teeth . . . of the front of the upper jaw meet their lower opposing teeth in the primitive way, edge to edge." The associated limb-bones are of the typically modern type, "and do not differ in any essential respect from the corresponding parts of a tall and robust modern man," and together with the skull seem to postulate an erect posture. It is therefore recognised as specifically distinct from *Homo neanderthalis*, and may be appropriately named *Homo rhodesiensis*. "The newly discovered Rhodesian man may therefore revive the idea that the Neanderthal man is truly an ancestor of *Homo sapiens*: for *Homo rhodesiensis* retains an almost neanderthal face in association with a more modern brain-case and an up-to-date skeleton. He may prove to be the next grade after Neanderthal in the ascending series."

Was this simian-faced, but erect primeval *man* the "first real African"? Or do the relics of that far-off ancestor lie somewhere in the yet unexplored strata of Central or West Africa.

Economic Position of Sierra Leone.

The shareholders of the Bank of British West Africa, as well as an interested public, were favoured to listen to an exceptionally interesting speech by the Governor of Sierra Leone at the recent annual meeting. It touched with clearness on all subjects affecting the prosperity and welfare of the "Ancient Colony"—health, finance, taxation, and trade—and was unusually informative. Mr. Slater gave some welcome information on the recovery of the export trade of Sierra Leone which began to show itself last year. Increases in the export of such natural products as palm kernels, palm oil, ginger and kola nuts has been universal and in keeping with the enhanced export of kernels, which for five months of the current year totalled 26,000 tons in volume, comparing favourably with the 19,000 tons of the corresponding period of last year. This was high testimony to the energy of the native producer, for whom His Excellency claimed the virtue of courage and determination not to be beaten out of the market by the export duties. The latter being only £1 per ton represented a decrease in the producer's receipt per load of only sixpence.

Duties and Rates.

Something like £60,000 a year represented the yield from the export duty which on a total revenue of £75,000 represented too large a percentage to be lightly thrown away or replaced by another form of taxation which would do equal harm. His Excellency expressed his willingness to abrogate the duty if any less harmful method of taxation could be substituted. He shewed, however, that the native producer is receiving a substantially higher price for his produce now than a year ago by reason of market fluctuations from which his benefit was greater than a reduction of export duty would allow and that its reduction would not sensibly increase production. As to railway rates the Governor was equally explicit. Reduction on freight rates was out of the question so long as the Sierra Leone railway revenue was insufficient to provide interest on the Sinking Fund. But the experiment of substantially reducing passenger rates had resulted in a large increase of railway revenue. The manner in which His Excellency dealt with these two vexed questions of reductions in export duties and railway rates was convincing to his critical audience.

Rigid Economy.

But it was the manner in which the Governor dealt with the subject of economy in administration which most appealed to his hearers. His Excellency's insistence on the prime need of wise economy both in times of stress and in times of prosperity as an indispensable part of sound finance was welcome and of the administration, but especially that of the railway. Recent regrettable losses in West Africa have drawn public attention more closely to the question of health. Mr. Slater's remarks upon the segregation of Europeans from African-borne diseases in this address are notable. His acknowledgment of the value of bankers' and commercial men as official advisers was not the least striking of the many striking subjects dealt with by the Governor. J. W-G.

ABBONTIAKOON MINES, LTD.

NATIVE LABOUR DIFFICULTIES—REDUCED EXPENDITURE AND BETTER RETURNS ANTICIPATED.

The ordinary general meeting of the Abbontiakoon Mines, Ltd., was held on July 31, at the Cannon Street Hotel, E.C., Mr. Edmund Davis, Chairman of the company, presiding.

The Chairman said: We now present our report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1922, and, in accordance with custom, I will refer to some of the items therein. On the debit side of the balance-sheet we have the issued capital, which is the same as at December 31, 1921—namely, £636,800 10s.—and creditors £18,962, which show a reduction of £14,965, as compared with the previous year. Turning to the credit side of the balance-sheet, we have property account, to which has been added £862 spent during the year under review on on plantation, making the total £440,938. Mine development account shows practically no change, as we have added the expenditure on mine development during the year £25,117, and written off for redemption £25,301, leaving £133,440, represented by 476,087 tons of ore standing in the books at 5s. 7.27d. per ton, as against 447,473 tons at December 31, 1921, standing at 5s. 11.67d per ton. Under plant and machinery account we have in the first instance brought in the amount as at December 31, 1921 £52,456, from which we have deducted the net amount transferred to other accounts £273, and we have written off for depreciation £5,448, leaving £46,734. No additions were made during the year to buildings, but we have written off for depreciation the sum of £1,040, leaving £6,718. Stores on hand and in transit at December 31, 1922, amounted to £32,840, comparing with £43,983 at December 31, 1921, a reduction of £11,143. Debtors and debit balances, at £7,114, show a reduction of £6,806, as compared with last year's figures; most of these have since been settled. Bullion at the mine at December 31 last amounted to £7,751, as against £9,401 at December 31, 1921, and cash at bankers and in hand was £6,409, as compared with £8,721.

The Year's Profit.

Turning to the profit and loss account, the gold recovered was £171,374—that is, 37s. 11.63d. per ton on 90,270 tons milled, as compared with £173,290, or 41s. 10.21d. per ton in 1921. The working expenses for the year ended December 31, 1922, calculated on the tonnage milled, were as follows:—Mining, 20s. 9.12d., against 23s. 4.64d. in the previous year; reduction, 8s. 9.38d., against 10s. 1.78d.; general expenditure at mine, 3s. 3.18d., against 4s. 10.05d.; London expenses, 1s. 0.08d., against 1s. 2.24d.; development redemption, 5s. 7.27d., against 5s. 11.67d.; depreciation, 1s. 5.25d., against 1s. 9.68d.; or a total for 1922 of 40s. 10.28d., as compared with 47s. 4.06d. in 1921—a reduction of 6s. 5.78d. As usual, we give you the details of the London expenditure:—Audit fee, £79; cablegrams, £44; consulting engineer's fees, £500; directors' fees, £950; general expenses, £233; legal expenses, £30; interest, £268; office expenses, £1,384; postages and telegrams, £58; stationery and printing, £204; transfer audit fee, £11; and fee for special technical adviser, £867, making a total of £4,629, as compared with £5,038 in 1921. The debit balance on profit and loss account of £13,031 has been deducted from the balance brought forward at December 31, 1921—namely, £39,216, leaving a balance to the credit of profit and loss account of £26,185.

Ore Reserve Position.

Reference is made in the report to ore reserves, which now amount to 476,000 tons of close upon 10-dwt. ore, which is sufficient development to warrant a change of policy in the working of our proposition, so that we should use the labour to the best advantage and reduce expenditure by curtailing further development, which will only become necessary when we have sufficient labour to increase the output. Under these circumstances, we decided in April to send instructions to transfer most of the labour, till then employed on development, to stoping, which should lead to the treatment of an increased tonnage, and the reduction of expenditure which will only become necessary when sufficient labour is available to increase the tonnage of ore to be milled. We have not stopped the whole of the development on the property, as it is necessary that we should at the present time complete certain work; in particular on the 10th level, which is situated at 1,845 ft. on the incline of the shaft, where high-grade west reef is being opened up, and we also have to carry out certain work on the 16th level, which is at 3,223 ft. on the incline, and complete certain winze and raise connections.

In connection with the development of the property on the 16th level we have at 445 feet west of the shaft cut the reef 320 feet west of where it would have been but for unforeseen faulting, and it was only through perseverance in the work at this particular point, and after passing through 30 feet of broken ground which coincided with a series of faults, that we realised that we had to deal with an upthrow of approximately 200 feet and a duplication of the reef. It is necessary that we should explore this section of the mine, though until now we have only had time to drive about 20 feet, and for that distance the section of reef in the hanging wall averages 7½ dwts. over a stoping width.

The Labour Question.

On previous occasions we have drawn your attention to the value of our property, and pointed out to you that for some time past we have been greatly handicapped in its working through the want of a sufficient supply of native labour. In this connection we have joined the various other mining companies working on the Tarquah range and the Prestea Block A in taking steps to acquire a supply of labour, which is divided in agreed proportions between the various mining companies, and in April the manager of Prestea Block A, representing the whole group of mines, went to the Northern Territories to interview the Chief Commissioner. We are pleased to say that he received from him an assurance of all possible assistance, the Chief Commissioner hoping that we should obtain a supply equal to that of last year, when the total number recruited was 2,370 men. In the initial stage this labour in inefficient, but it is intelligent, and, provided the mines can continually add to their supply, it should be possible for us in the course of time to add to the average monthly tonnage, which unfortunately has been so low in the past.

We do not wish you to think that we have not done all we possibly could to obtain additional labour for the mines, but the principal drawback we meet with in the Gold Coast Colony is the profitable employment labour has available in the growing of tropical products. We are not overlooking the possibility of replacing labour by mechanical means, and we have made a trial with small stoping drills of a similar type to those which are so successfully used in South Africa, but though the West African native is so intelligent, it is strange to find that, so far, the results of this particular drill have not proved satisfactory on our property, which may perhaps be due to the hard rock we have to deal with. We are continuing experiments in this direction, and have now sent out a new type of drill and hope that we will be more successful with this than we have been in the past.

Outlook for Current Year.

As regards the immediate future, you will have gathered from our remarks that we hope to have expenditure reduced and better returns, and you will realise by the published statement of the June output that in that month we dealt with the largest tonnage of the year, and that the value of the output, irrespective of premium, exceeded that of any previous month of this year by £1,826, and that we made a profit of £483, to which should be added the estimated gold premium of £960, making a total profit of £1,443, whereas all the previous months have shown considerable losses.

GAMBIA'S TRADE IN 1922.

IMPORT AND EXPORT FIGURES.—FRANCE'S RECAPTURE OF THE SUGAR TRADE FROM AMERICA.—CLEARANCE OF THE 1920 EXPENSIVE STOCKS OF COTTON.

Mr. C. Gwyn, Receiver-General of the Gambia, is to be congratulated on the speeding-up of the annual report on the trade and shipping of the Colony. He has rendered the report for the year ending December 31st, 1922, at an earlier date than any preceding trade report since the first year of the war.

The report shows that the total value of the Colony's trade, inwards and outwards, exclusive of specie, amounted to £1,461,265, an increase of £220,710 over the trade during 1921 notwithstanding the decline in prices of many articles of commerce. The value of imports, exclusive of specie, was £633,421 or £28,199 less than in 1921, but with one exception (spirits) the volume was considerably greater. In comparison with 1913 the quantities of the principal articles of import during 1922 (with the exception of kola nuts and wine) were smaller but not to a great degree.

The large and expensive stocks of cotton imported during 1920 were exhausted by the middle of 1922, and, with prospects of better trade ahead, importation was stimulated during the last four months of the year. The total quantity imported amounted to over 5. 1/3 million yards—3½ million yards in excess of the very limited 1921 importation, Great Britain supplied 99.06 per cent. of the total.

The importation of kola nuts, although slightly below 1920, exceeded the figures of all other years, and the raising of the import duty in October by 33 1/3 per cent. had no effect on the trade. The quantity imported amounted to 22,807 cwts.—5,274 cwts. more than in 1921.

The drop in the price was marked; whereas in 1920 it was declared at £12 1/5th, in 1922 it was £5 2/5th a cwt., and this no doubt induced a larger demand.

Only 4,881 gallons of spirits were imported, of which 2,539 were of whisky and 1,274 of sweetened spirits. Great Britain supplied 82.15 per cent.

France is recapturing the trade in sugar which she lost to America during the war period. Of the total imported in 1922 (11,478 cwts.), France supplied 52.95 per cent. The bulk of the sugar from France is prepared from the beet.

The value of exports, exclusive of specie, was £807,844, an increase of £148,909 over 1921. Produce of the country accounted for £775,722 and re-exports for £32,122. The total exportation of ground nuts during the year amounted to 64,800 tons, which weight is slightly below the yearly average (68,843 tons) for the past 10 years.

The average declared value, f.o.b., was about £12 a ton, and the market price a ton in Liverpool ranged from £17 in February to £20 5s. in April. The export duty remained at £1 a ton. The quantity exported exceeded that for 1921 by 5,625 tons.

The ground-nut trade, diverted from France to England from 1914 to 1917, is gradually returning to its old course. During 1918 and 1919 ground-nuts were not exported direct to France, but in 1920 10,000 tons were shipped and the quantities have increased yearly, with a corresponding drop in those for England. In 1919 England took over 90 per cent. of the total, but in 1922 the proportion was only 47.38 per cent.

Palm-kernels increased by 148 tons to a total of 450 tons, valued at £5,731 and ox-hides numbered 4,862, valued at £1,066. The trade in hides was not less than in 1921, but there are no signs of a return to the scale of 1917 (101,120 hides) and former years. The Travelling Commissioner of the Upper River Province reported that hides are of no value to the cattle owner as there is no market for them. With no export duty on hides the reason for this state of affairs is difficult to understand.

We have said before that we look to Britain to exercise the steadying influence in international politics when it comes to that crucial point which will test the character of the nations, the acid test in the query, Am I my brother's keeper? Far from mankind getting nearer and nearer in friendly and brotherly feeling it would seem there are agencies working to yet wider and wider breach and yet greater disintegration. In the United States mob law is still shamelessly practised, and the details, when revealed, are most revolting. The Ku Klux Klan working from below and discrimination in the centres of culture working from above, it is easy to tell how it is all bound to end without that steadying influence of which we have spoken.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

Native Administration.

[BY C. A. W. SIGILA.]

When the Native Affairs Act. 1920, was passed with the constitution of the Native Affairs Commission it was generally believed that many, if not most, and eventually all of the Native ills and grievances which make the native problem so much an irksome burden upon the politics of this country would be wiped off automatically. To prepare the way for the introduction of this new system of native self government universalised under the Act, all existing forms of local self government of natives such as the Village Management Boards were forthwith deproclaimed, and all attempts to ask for the whys and the wherefores of such a drastic and sudden action of the Government were futile, while at the same time the Commission was busy touring the country preaching the new gospel of the Bunga.

When the new Bunga was introduced to us it was happily accepted in principle, and suggestions were proffered for the consideration of the Government to amend, emend or modify certain clauses. Ultimately a complete constitution was drafted on the request of the Commission to meet the Government half way on the new departure on Native Affairs, so salutary to the natives at large.

But now the Government seems to have abandoned that principle and has adopted a retrograde step of trying to enforce an autocratic form of government of natives through local bodies or officials Of those districts which had for over fifty years enjoyed the unabused privilege of a local self government instituted by statute, the Government—the despot—seems to take pleasure in witnessing the perturbation and the confused state of affairs being experienced by the natives through the deprivation of their wonted privilege.

It seems from the following memorandum drawn by the natives of Heald Town in answer to certain new measures proposed to be enforced by administration that the Government is now up for trying to Glen-Greyise the whole country :—

(1) Congestion due to new comers, landless squatters etc., whatever new comers there are in the locations are either living as tenants to widowed or incapacitated owners or on the derelict properties. As to the "squatters," these are none other than the sons of titled owners.

(2) Survey of new locations and lands on the commonage — The survey of new locations and new lands for the above described setlers will certainly increase the congestion and will not serve the purpose, as the people are not so much complaining of the congestion on the locations as of the insufficiency of the commonage itself. When the lands and commonage were surveyed in 1859, no provision was made for the future increase of the population. Further how can a new and a different survey be made within an already surveyed area unless it be to cancel the previous one?

(3) Limitation of stock.— We see no way to the successful working of this new measure in our locations unless a certain form of local self government is first established ; otherwise it will be like "jumping from the frying pan into the fire."

(4) The Half a crown Transfer of land.—Our protest is that our lands according to the conditions as laid forth on the titles are the unalienable properties of the grantees, and the introduction of a new clause under different terms from ours such as obtaining in the Glen Grey system will certainly subvert and be a virtual annulment of the most important conditions in our titles.

(5) Attachment for rent arrears. —This is strongly objected to by the people. Instead, they propose a course much safer whereby the Government might let or lease the land for such term or terms only as the quitrent shall be in arrears. Such land therefore shall remain under lease to the same or other lessee for any length of period until the titled owner shall appear to take possession of it.

(6) Location Administration.— The terms upon which the Heald Town people can be administered are, according to their titledeeds, only by a local self government such as a Municipality or a Village Management Board, and the introduction of any kind of administration contrary to that provided in their titles will make those conditions null and void. Would it not be more advisable, instead, to establish local self government as provided in the Native Affairs Act, No 23 of 1920?

We are, however, not blind to the difficulty of the Government in striking a satisfactory native policy owing partly to the dissimilarity of the conditions of the tenure of land by the nattves in the various parts of the country, and partly perhaps to the varying stages of culture among the natives. But the chelf difficulty is caused by the Government itself by trying to alienate the natives from their inherited love for constitutional, democratic government, and the consequence is, and ever will be, that all other courses incompatible with this love are doomed to fail.

NATIVE OPINION
OF SOUTH AFRICA
PUBLISHED :: :: WEEKLY.
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KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, AUG. 7, 1923

New Books.

Among the new books sent to us we recommend the following to our readers :—

(1) "The South and East African Year Book and Guide for 1923" published by the Union Castle Steamship Company and obtainable at 5/8 post free at Courtney's, East London. It is invaluable to all those who wish to know anything about the geography of their own country, all the provicces with their towns, villages, products, population, distances, facilities for visiting, and copious detail information thereon. The book is strewn with excellent maps displaying full topography. Its 916 pages give wonderful value for the money.

(2) The Negro Year Book edited by Prof. Monroe Work at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, U. S. A. is an annual encyclopedia that gives all there is to know on the statistics of American Negro progress. The latest edition we have in hand, costing only 2/, includes a good deal about the conditions of Natives in South Africa, their problems, publications, education and progressive movements. Its 500 pages are worth four times the price charged.

(3) All who wish to read something startling on the Native Problem of this country cannot do better than to invest a shilling on a pamphlet called "South Africa,—A Glimpse into the Future" written by Mr J. Stuart Franklin, a Bloemfontein lawyer, published by Juta and Co. It is only thirty-eight pages but full of thought provoking matter that ought to be known by every thinking man in this country. We do not by any means agree with many of the theories propounded in it, but we are compelled to admit that they are original, presented in a brilliant literary style and worth studying.

(4) The Annual Reports of Lovedale and Fort Hare are always worth reading as they give definite figures of the progress of Native education.

(5) Those with a taste for Economics should glance at "Every Man's Wages," a 47 page pamphlet written by George Burgess price 8d. of Griggs & Co., Durban), It discusses the ways of increasing wages everywhere.

(6) It is a pity that a Government blue-book that ought to be in the hands of every Native teacher in this province should cost as much as 3/6 a time. This is Dr W. J. Viljoen's Report on Education for the year ended 1922. Ever since Dr. Viljoen took charge of the Cape Education office, we black people have been made to feel we have a friend in the Superintendant General, a friend such as we had not possessed for many a long day. His bold plan of securing an Education Commission in 1919 with [illegible] did results in the appointment of Mr [illegible] Chief Inspector of Native Education, the rightness in the main thereof, and the consequent beneficial recasting of our education system which is growing more modern and practical every year. These two gentlemen are hindered only by the prevailing financial slump in the country from doing a great deal more for both Native education and the vexed question of the salaries of Native teachers. They are worthy of praise for succeeding in what they have already done in face of heavy and discouraging odds. We hope, in future issues, to make excerpts from their illuminating remarks on the state of Native education as contained in this volume.

(7) Noteworthy strides are being made in Bantu publications of late, especially in Zulu and Xosa As if to answer the challenge in "Bantu Literature" (Jabavu) that no Zulu book has as yet been written by a Zulu man, to-day we have three. The first two, by Lamula and Dube, we have previously noticed. This month (July) we have received "u Tulasizwe," a collection of Zulu fables edited by J. Stuart, published by Longmans, Green & Co (2/6) with fine pictures of Zulu ancient warriors ; and "Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa bavelangakona" by Magema M. Fuze published for 5/- by the author at 14, William St, Pietermaritzburg.

It gives in 253 interesting pages the primitive Zulu ideas on the origin of mankind as well as their religions, beliefs and incidents of Zulu history.

Then there is also a thousand page new volume called the "The King, Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary" We congratulate our Zulu compatriots on these signs of pro-

gress.

Xosa writers are making a bold bid to get even with their rival Sesuto authors who, according to "Bantu Literature," are at the head of all Bantu publications.

(10) "U Hambo luka Gqoboka" by H. M. Ndawo, 1/8 post free P.O Isigoga, Matatiele is a book that ought to be in the hands of all our Native teachers and ministers. It is an ably written allegory with some attractive poetry, the style being reminiscent of S. E. Mqayi the Xosa poet laureate, the tone elevating, and the matter creative. This young author needs every support and encouragement from his countrymen.

(11) The Palmerton Mission Press in Pondoland East under the enterprising management of Rev A. Edmunds is also busy doing yeoman service for our people. Among its latest emissions are "Isifundo zokufundisa ukuzila zonke Iziselo Ezinxilisayo" (6d), "U Tixo Ugumlilo Odlayo, (1/7), and "Iball lenqabo ya Sekati wase Mfundiswani" by the popular Rev T R Carwick, (6d). All these pamphlets are helpful and informative.

(14) We have already received in vernacular the readable book "Iball lomfi n Rev. P. J. Mzimba "(5/6 Lovedale Press) by his son Dr L. Mzimba.

(15) An able novel "U Zagu'a" (2/3, Lovedale Press) was issued last June by James Jolobe who has in his 123 closely printed pages beaten the record in lengthy Xosa novels. With Guma and Sinxo he is the third novel writer produced by the St. Matthews Institute, which deserves a compliment for this achievement. The language is conspicuous for clarity, the idiom closely following the English manner and the narrative related with literary judgment The author is a natural story teller, and with youth in his favour and a growing Xosa reading public backing his efforts, he will develop into a high class writer.

(16) The latest and most captivating book of the season is "U Tiyo Soga—Inowadi yobom bake," translated and adapted from the English version of Rev. J. A. Chalmers by Rev. Tiyo Burnside Soga (Lovedale Press). Here we have in 160 closely typed pages the unfolding of the story of the first regular minister of Xosaland, one of her most gifted sons, educated at Lovedale and subsequently in Scotland, and to-day still a name to conjure with in the Eastern Province. The story itself while worth writing and reading has been [illegible] and [illegible] and explanation, one would never know it was taken over from another version.

He has made a new book, and given modern Xosa linguists an example of the possibilities of the art of an idiomatic translation. Every page literally brims with arresting and vivid gems of vernacular phraseology, the style being distinctly in advance of his first book "Intlalo ka Xosa" where the very copiousness of vocabulary often proves an obstacle to the narrative. Here, he is happy in his felicitous digressions into Xosa history from a Native view point for once in a way and general Native social life. The spelling needs much revision in word division but it takes away nothing from the graphic delineation of a superb personality who lived in the historic times of the gloomy disasters of the cattle killing and other events of anarchy by a bellicose people to whom the Gospel was being introduced.

The story of the hero, along with the background of the exciting events of his environment, all couched in a decorative linguistic vehicle, renders this volume a regular Xosa classic.

GOVERNOR SLATER'S RETORT.

To Gold Coast Leader

ALL West Africa must be grateful to His Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone for his ready retort to the suggestion by a speaker at the African Society's dinner that the British West African Colonies were an Imperial estate to be developed. That idea is not a new one. We believe it first came into vogue at the time of the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain who was the first to employ the phrase. But that veteran statesman soon learnt better and differently. For no sooner had the Gold Coast Deputation of 1898 had the opportunity of placing the true facts before him as Colonial Minister with regard to British relations with the Gold Coast and the real status of our country than he gave in, placing it on record once and for all that Her Majesty's Government did not lay any claim to the lands of the people with the result that the Concessions Ordinance, as a mere regulative measure, was promulgated. It is, therefore, too late in the day for any ill-informed group of Imperial statesmen or publicists to attempt to set the hand of the clock back, for it is a fundamental principle upon which the very foundations of British relations with British West Africa rest, that the lands are the lands of the people And there is no excuse for any one to plead ignorance of the position as the facts may be easily gleaned from historical and official sources.

Cape Coast-West Africa

Yet still it may not be needless to restate the position even here and now. As regards the Gold Coast, the country as we have repeated a hundred times, has never been acquired by His Majesty's Government either by conquest, cession, or purchase. The people voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Great Britain, and the treaty obligations are to-day as binding on the British Crown as on us. The case of Ashanti is not different. For on the authority of the late Sir Conway Belfield, the Special Commissioner appointed to inquire into the land question in its relation to the then proposed Forest Bill as a fact, the British Government had never asserted a right of ownership with respect to Ashanti lands upon the close of hostilities, and, therefore, that claim could not in 1912 or 1913 be set up.

7/28-23

Passing to Sierra Leone, we have the hinterland, which is the Protectorates, to consider, whose people are in the same position as ourselves and lay the same claim to their lands. Coming to the Colony proper, almost all holdings therein are freehold in the absolute right of the owners and, in a sense, more secure than other holdings in British West Africa. The facts as regards Sierra Leone apply with equal force to Gambia.

As regards Nigeria, thanks to the tenacity of Chief Oluwa and his courageous Secretary, Mr. Herbert Macauley, C.E., the ownership of the lands in the White Cap Chiefs and the people has been settled by the Privy Council once for all. As for the Emirates of the North, we have never heard it whispered that the British are in any other relation than that of a sort of benevolent overlordship, the kind of relation that may exist between a superior Chief and his subordinate Chiefs without necessarily affecting the proprietary rights of the latter.

So that His Excellency Governor Slater was not indulging in a mere academical after dinner banter when he drew the serious attention of the British public to the true facts of the situation. We sincerely trust that that lesson has gone home with those who previously had hazy ideas upon the subject. We in West Africa are a free people in free alliance with His Majesty's Government, bound to his Crown by the ties of affection and loyal devotion rather than by any sort of coercion founded on the "Imperial Estate" balderdash. As such, we are proud to own ourselves British subjects, and our purpose now and ever will be to insist upon the rights of full citizenship that *Civis Britannicus sum*, I am a British citizen, should and does imply.

THE YORUBAS

One of the most difficult histories ever written has last found its way into print after twenty years of preparation and twenty years more of publication troubles. It is a history of the Yorubas of Nigeria, containing 500 pages written by an educated native, Anla Ogun known to the world as Reverend Samuel Johnson. The Yorubas have no written language and thus no records. The collection of material was a painstaking job of garnering the testimony of the oldest contemporaries. The history contains scarcely a date. Altho first written by Rev. Samuel Johnson, pastor of Oyo, it was not published until twenty years after his death, by his brother, Dr. O. Johnson. The first manuscript was sent to an English publisher in 1899 and when no word was received, Dr. Johnson went to England and was informed that the manuscript had been mislaid. It was never recovered. From the notes left by his brother, Dr. Johnson reconstructed the history—a monumental task. The second manuscript was sent to a publisher in 1916 on the steamship APPAM. This ship disappeared and was found two years later in this country, having been captured by a raider. The American publishers are E. P. Dutton and Company. One of the most succinct descriptions of the Yorubas is a comparison of that tribe with the British people. The author says: "As far as it is possible for one race to be characteristically like another, from which it differs in every physical respect, the Yorubas—it has been noted—are not unlike the English in many of their characteristics. It would appear that what the one is among the whites, the other is among the blacks. Love of independence, a feeling of superiority over all others, a keen commercial spirit and of indefatigible neterprise, that quality of being never able to admit or consent to a defeat as finally settling a question upon which their mind is bent, are some of those qualities peculiar to them, and no matter under wha circumstances they are placed, Yorubas will display them."

Cape Coast 1923

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Mafeteng News.

Basutoland Star

Subsequent to the interview with the Assistant Commissioner by the appointed representatives of the inhabitants of this place, a second pitso was summoned, two weeks ago to listen to the reply of the Assistant Commissioner to the request that was mace to him to deal leniently with the local people on the question of the sale of leting. The reasons against the prohibition of the sale of this native beeverage are found in our issue of the 22nd June, and we will therefore confine ourselves to the reply of the A.C. and the discussion that then followed it. 7-27-23

The said representatives reported that they had a hearty welcome from the A.C. who was disposed to hear them on all points they submitted before him. They therefore laid the case before him freely. The Assistant Commissioner in replying stated that their case was reasonable but that he was acting under instructions from his superiors, and he could therefore do no otherwise but to carry out his orders. His orders were to see that the kaffir-beer bye law was strictly observed. He said he was a native of Basutoland. He remembered that when he was a boy, he used to visit native kraals without a guard and his parents never entertained the least suspicion that anything would happen to him. But to-day, through the excessive indulgence in drinks, even older people were not safe to go about in the native kraals day and night The morality of the little ones was in danger, because debauched men and women behaved indecently in their presence. They deed obscene things at day time and under no cover. Those evils and many others were not to be tolerated by men who mean well for the bringing up of their children He dismissed the point raised against the application of the restrictions upon the people living in the camps alone, by asserting that he could not leave his house unswept, simply because other people were careless about their houses. He made this inference because it was reported to him that the canteens were being run unrestricted in the surrounding villages. He told the representatives to go back and tell the inhabitants of Mafeteng to respect the law and carry out his orders.

We had expected to see dissention. ists but strange to say, although the men were all so keen on the matter of the sale of leting, they were all unanimous that the order should be respected There was none who lost his head on this matter.

As it was still open to them to express opinion if they wished to do so, it was pointed out by some and shared by all present, that in order to carry out the orders successfully, certain facilities were necessary, and that it was in the power of the authorities to arrange for such facilities if they did not want the inhabitants to be tempted to contravene the law, because they will certainly be tempted as the restrictions were placed upon people living in the reserves only. They remembered that when the late Mr Kennan was the Assistant Commissioner here whenever a vacancy occurred in the reserve or a new office was opened he always gave the sons of Mafeteng the first chance; and that if there was any remunerative work to be done for the government, labour was looked for within the reserve. The roads in the village were kept in repaired condition by means of local labour, and the sanitary condition of the reserve was up-to-date through the cleanliness wrought by the local labour. But that the conditions to-day were far from being favourable The authorities prefer outsiders to the local youngmen, and give all chances of work to the outsiders, and the result is that the sons of Mafeteng have either to spend their time idling in the village and open to all temptations or to leave their homes and go to big towns where they come back having acquired all the evils of the towns. Besides this the authorities were also responsible for bringing in the reserves disagreeable persons who at first sight appear as humble lambs while they are in fact wolves.

They prayed the headman to submit all that to the A.C. or if he so wished they will send representatives to interview him. The matter of giving the local people the first chance of employment was vital with them; and also the sanitary condition of their village which was unnecessarily disagreeable. Those were other matters which solicited their attention if they wanted to put their house in order.

It gives us unqualified satisfaction to have to report that as far as the sale of leting was concerned the obedience shown does not seem to have been a mere bluff. The village has been quiet for the last two weeks. And we trust the Assistant Commissioner will be considerate as regard to these matters of employment and the cleanliness or sanitary condition of the village. Certain influences are necessary, in order to ensure the right kind of progress and to enhance the already shown loyalty of the inhabitants. They must be shown that loyalty pays better, and out of it can sprang out the right class of citizens. The giving of opportunities on which the youngmen and men could make a living is another neglected factor of much concern in the building up of character and the refining of the young minds. Many out of the lot that is taking to drankenness could be reclaimed.

However this is not the matter that concerns the government authorities alone. The local traders have also a part to play as they also have openings in their work for the natives. They as well as the government have by this means turned out men here, now of prime age, who could be reckoned with. Why should this be neglected now if in former days it was followed with advantage.

This may, to others, appear as selfish argument, but truely speaking is not so. If it pleases a community to ensure its stability and progress, it must first of all apply the means it has at hand.

Before concluding we may point out that the native parents have also to blame for their spoiled sons. They have a mistake idea of education. We know of many families in the reserve who depend on hired labour even for the work that could be done by their own sons. They think, because their sons have been to school, have no right to go behind the plough or to do any manual labour They would rather see them going about the streets or be at beer canteens than to see them doing a good days work. This is bad mistake, made through ignorance and should be rectified.

[Prince Deniyi, a native of Africa, in addressing a great crowd of Negroes recently in Norfolk, Va., on the "impossibility of the back-to-Africa movement" which has been fostered in the United States recently, declared that "millions of Negroes in the United States, who haven't enough sense to take care of themselves and have to depend upon the whites to take care of them, cannot expect to govern Africa."

Basutoland Star 7-27-23

We make use to-day of the following suggestive editorial, which appeared in the South African Native paper, the "Abantu", in 1914 for obvious reasons.

Gold Coast Leader

THE LEADERSHIP OF EDUCATED MEN.

Cape Coast W. Africa

IT will no doubt strike the average European as being rather presumptive for the "half-educated Natives", as we have often been properly called, to assert the right of leadership of our own people. But here in South Africa no section may throw stones at the poor native, so far as the standard of education is concerned, seeing that it is the fact that the preponderate majority of our European population—on the veldt as well as in parliament to day—cannot even pretend to speak or write their language correctly Nevertheless, they are the best that their country has produced and therefore they must lead their *volk*. They lead because they are educated men, according to the standard of their countrymen. Moreover, as in other parts of the world so even here in South Africa, there are men whom nothing can keep uneducated:—who, although kept away from books, find volumes in stones and in the running book. What others have read in books they have met in actual experience—what others have seen written with ink, they have seen written with blood on the battlefield of life. Theirs *are* lessons which can never be forgiven. They are educated men in the truest sense of that term. Our idea of an educated man is he whose mind has been thoroughly quickened, somehow or other, with the fact that life is a reality and that it has its goal. The educated men of whom we speak have in them a consciousness more or less active but nevertheless clear and definite that they have been commanded to become fishers of men.

8-11-23

Many people have often asked themselves and us, why it was that the bulk of the Native people were so much under the influence and control of these half-educated clergy of theirs? The answer is, that these also are the best that their country has produced and, therefore, even they must lead. They lead because they are educated men according to the standard of their own countrymen. The white missionaries to-day by neglecting, as they have done, the spiritual interests of the Native Church and by so openly and persistently following after the things of the world have, for to-day and to-morrow, more than they can do in struggling to win back a lost reputation. With the possible exception of very few individuals indeed, the missionaries as a body have in these our days lost *more* than their pioneers had gained. The rising generation is looking entirely to the leadership of or by their own kinsmen. The Native today suspects the Greeks even if he *comes with a gift in his hand*. Then the question may be asked wny all this change of Native opinion to-day? Why is the missionary losing his former confidence and reverence by the Native? Why are Europeans generally losing their former respect by the Native? Abraham Lincoln, in another connection, is reported to have said, "You can fool some of the people all the time and you can fool all the people some of the time, but you cannot fool *all* the people *all* the time."

This brings us to the main question of this writing, namely:—Is the present policy of the Union Government *friendly* disposed toward the educated natives of this land—these inevitable leaders of their people? Is the Native Affairs Department to-day making any headway for building up better and more friendly or truly sympathetic relations between the Europeans and us? Is the policy that of making friends with the educated natives or that of making them irrevocable enemies? These natives, half-educated though they may be said to be, are destined, as we have shewn above, to play the most important part in native history. They are, in spite of our wishes, desires and everything else, the sole directors of the public opinion of their countrymen. Neither kings nor principalities can take away, or frighten them away from their right to lead. The light is there and it shall shine. We have heard a great deal recently in parliament about a "war song," but if such a tune shall be sung (which God forbid!) it is they who shall sing it, and their countrymen will understand them.

We write so outspokenly because we know that the Native people of this country most sincerely wish to see the present policy of mutual suspicion and mistrust transformed into one that will support the foundation of a great and lasting friendship between the blackmen and whitemen in this country. "Ye search the Scriptures." The policy of oppression has never yet served the permanent interests of any foreign race. Moreover, we sincerely believe that the goodwill of the natives of this country is more valuable to all true South African interests than any other patched-up attempts at federation can possibly be. For say whatsoever you will, we natives are the sinews of this whole continent and with us is wrapt up all its destiny. We say, most emphatically that it is not in the interest of this country that the Government should be regarded by natives as being opposed to their education and progress. Who can say that the progress of nations and ours is not divinely inspired?—If indeed it is, as even so we most sincerely believe, then, if GOD be for us, who can be against us? In the circumstances of this opposition, and even hatred, our duty is simpe and it is known!—we have simply to go forward, with the work of our faith, putting all our trust up to Him: for "they that wait upon the LORD shall renew *their* strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; *and* they shall walk, and not faint."

Our trials and disappointments to-day are only a phase of African History, and indeed, our own making. Courage!

REPORT OF AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL COMMISSION CHANGES BRITISH POLICY IN AFRICA

New York Times 9-1-23

America's unofficial participation in most potent influence for the future international affairs is strikingly il- development, economically and so-ustrated by a recent development in cially, of the vast continent of the British educational policy in Africa, vast continent of Africa. This con-according to Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, trolling influence arises from the im-Director of Education for the Phelps- mense areas and population under Stokes Fund of New York, who re- British influences, but also from the turned August 15 after three months wealth of economic resources and the in England and on the Continnet. He favorable climatic conditions of the reports the formation of a British Ad- great table-lands. Africa is not so visory Committee on African Educa- much a land of mystery as it is a land tion which will develop training for of misunderstandings and as these the natives along the lines worked misunderstandings are cleared up, the out at Hampton and Tuskegee. continent will come to play an im-

Dr. Jones spent ten months during portant role in world affairs."
1920 and 1921 in West, South and At the London conference, which was Central Africa as chairman of the called by Major Ormsby-Gore, the African Education Commission, and permanent advisory committee on later wrote the official report which African Education was appointed to has stimulated interest in England to include the following: Sir Frederick break away from the purely formal Lugard, ex-Governor of Nigeria and education of tradition and adapt the member of the Mandates Commisosn training to the practical needs of of the League of Nations, chairman; communal African life. Speaking in Sir Michael Sadler, of Oxford Uni-Parliament on July 25th in regard to versity; The Bishop Edmundsbury the organization of the Imperial Ad- who was formerly master of Rugby; visory Committee, Major Ormsby-Gore Sir James Currie, director of Gordon Under Secretary for the Colonies, said College at Khartoum nd prominently

'We were led to this largely as aidentified with the Empire Cotton result of a most extraordinarly inte-Growing Movement; J. H. Oldham, resting report prepared by Dr. Jesserepresenting the British Misionary Jones. He has made a most helpful Societies.
contribution to the subject of African Education from the point of view of the Native. It is hoped that Dr. Jones may pay a similar visit to the East African Colonies."

The Belgian Government is showing a similar interest in this report and is planning to translate it for distribution among their colonial officials.

The conference which led up to the orgnization of the Advisory Committee on African Education was held in London on June 6," said Dr. Jones, "and it is significant that although that date was Derby Day, six Governors of British Colonies in Africa, the Archbishop of Canterbury and other important officials, attended. No less significant is the influence which American ideals and practices are playing, although unofficially, in the development of the new British policy toward the education of its wards in Africa. It is of good promise for the future that the two great English speaking nations are going to work out together the problem of their relationship with their black neighbors.

"The British Colonies and the Union of South Africa, which is essentially British, together from by all odds the

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

Africans who Help to Save Europeans.

In "The East and the West," the quarterly review for the study of missionary problems, published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Miss Ruth Rouse deals with "European Student Relief," and points out that it has united the youth of Christendom, East and West. She tells the story of the co-operation of the East and the West in this enterprise, and says: "Students of the African race have been no less strenuous in their efforts. . . . The same story comes from a C.M.S. station in Nigeria, where, like the boys and girls in India, Christian schoolboys are selling the products of their gardens for Russian famine relief." In a review of "Education in Africa: A study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission," it is pointed out that the report of the Commission—which is being dealt with in these columns at considerable length—refers to the remarkable work accomplished by Dr. Walter Miller in Northern Nigeria, and urges that the restrictions imposed by the British Government on missionary work in that country should be removed.

THE NEW LIBERIA.

It is interesting to note how expressions spring up and form a home word with individuals and communities. So within the past 14 years we have had the expression—"The New Liberia" pass from lip to lip and to form a symbol of hope and serve as a stimulant to the desire for expansion and exploration to the materializing of this hope and the glorification of Liberia.

It was in May, 1909, when the United States Commission of inquiry arrived in Liberia that I believe the expression was born. In that first visual effort of the mother country to stretch her hand of help to the offspring, I remember, as if it were yesterday, how old mothers ran about the streets in the city of Harper, frantic with joy that "Uncle Sam had come to save us," and I have reasons to believe that the feelings were the same all over Liberia. Hearts were eager then for the "New Liberia," and one thought that the old had passed away and Uncle Sam had come to make all things new. But, to the surprise of the hopeful Liberian, the years of trouble came thick and fast after this period of extreme ecstasy beginning with trouble at River Cess and Bassa, New Cess and continuing with the Grebo uprising, British aggression and the forced exchange of Kanre-Lahun, French demands on the Cavalla River, Lomax and Cooper tragedy, the crushing World War of 1914 '18, the years of scarcity and want that followed together with the Angel of death with the scythe of Influenza in his wake, and culminating with the much agitated American Loan that is now about to be forgot.

What a wreck of hope!

During these years our foreign relations were strained to breaking point, but our diplomats always found water to wet the ropes. Yet up to the present, the old order of things remains with us though there are glimpses of the New Liberia.

In my opinion there will never be a period in the history of Liberia when a "New Liberia" will be let down from heaven in a four corner sheet. The New Liberia will only be the stairs upon which we rise to greater heights but whose foot rests and is buried in the historic old Liberia.

It was the newly founded Liberia with the hope of a better one that moved President Roberts to go to Europe to introduce his one year old Republic and to be received by Queen Victoria. After seven and half decades we find Consul-General Charles E. Cooper and Consul Momolu Massaquoi, sons of the soil, comfortably residing in England and Germany, representing that same Liberia, the old and the new. In 1907 we find President Barclay, worn out with diplomatic *pourparlers*, hugging his Anglo Liberia Boundary troubles and carrying them to London Foreign Office if peradventure he might find relief, only to find Braithwait-Wallis, his thorn in the flesh threatening the "hermit kingdom" with disappearance from the Catalogue of independent countries. Today we find Mr. Davis pleasantly pursuing his work of boundary survey adding to the same Liberia, large territories of land that are hers without a word of dispute.

And what of the 'Hermit Kingdom' being represented at Versailles by its then president elect! That is fantastic, you say: truth is nevertheless stronger than fiction!

But something has happened in Liberia within the past four months that suggests this subject to me and which is worthy of record. The Liberians have turned their eyes within their gates and are dropping their buckets where they are. A categorical internal development of Liberia has actually begun. Leaving the American Loan with a question mark behind it, Liberia is busy organizing her finances, establishing a Bank and corporations of industry and increasing her revenues. Beyond that, the hermit kingdom is opening up her hinterland to trade and commerce; the Liberian peonage often stigmatized as slavery is being abandoned among the natives tribes who practice it; the foreign relations of our country repose happily in trusty hands.

Education among the aboriginees is an established policy of the Department of Public Instructions and not merely a theorem. The judiciary is no longer legitimately criticized and the culprit is promptly brought to judgment.

Years ago when I was a child I used to see my old native chieftains dressed in their weird costume of a silk hat, frock coat and a white loin-cloth, making their way to Monrovia to discuss matters of state. How strange they must have seemed to civilized people as they walked the streets with their bent forms leaning on their staves. Then my mind recollects President Coleman and his native policy which the spirit of the people could not brook and led to his resignation.

But today I see President King leaving the White House on two occasions and going in the hinterland to hear the grievances of these people and bringing satisfaction to many a heart. Thus it is today that "peace rules his kingdom without a sword."

Today Commissioner-General Morris gets about the vast interior with ease and comfort: sometimes by rail, sometimes by pleasure, hammocks in roads that approach a boulevard. But I like to think of that great Liberian explorer Benjamin Anderson and his perilous journey to Musardu in 1674, being the first to give his native land a boundary for it to be known as a country.

From these reflections I am led to think that the New Liberia is the old and vice versa, and that they are ipso facto simultaneous, divided only by the equation signs of time.

OUR KENYA LETTER.

Indian Question.—Kikuyu Natives and a Cable.

("African World" Correspondent.)

NAIROBI, June 14.

The Indian question, of course, is the mairthing in genuineness.

topic of interest in the papers. It is interesting to note the attitude taken up by the various home papers, and several, one is glad to see, are whole-heartedly in favour of the Kenya Colonist and a white ideal in East Africa. Others are more cautious and show an inclination to hedge. This evidently springs from a desire to be on the safe side, and their articles generally finish with an appeal for compromise.

If compromise is possible between the man who, having borrowed a watch, now says he has a right to keep it, and its real owner, then perhaps the settler in the Highlands of Kenya may be persuaded to effect a compromise with the Indian. The latter can ask for a compromise, naturally enough; he can plead for the chain at least, if not the watch, for he has something to gain and nothing to lose in so doing. He is a claimant to new rights which he has not possessed before, and which he does not even possess in his own country.

One of the minor consequences of the non-settlement of the Indian question is its effect on the Government law settlement scheme in the Sultan Hamed district. The Indian objected to this land being open to settlement by Europeans, seeing that this same block had previously been offered to them—subject to a proviso—for their particular use and occupation. It appears that the proviso was that the Indians should forego all claim to the Highlands. This was refused by them. The sixty odd applicants for the thirty-three blocks of land are therefore held up in their water-boring scheme, since the Indian attitude was respected by the authorities.

Kenya people are cheered by the attitude adopted by most of the influential papers in Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, in regard to the Indian questions. I place Rhodesia first, for the "Independent," the official journal of the Responsible Government Party, was the first to step out boldly to offer us, without reserve, any assistance in their power.

General Smuts has now sent a message that he is "standing by," or words to that effect. The answer to our S.O.S. was somewhat delayed, but we are thankful to think help is near.

Kikuyu Chiefs.

The Kikuyu Association of natives of the Kikuyu tribe bethought themselves that they might be better represented in London, if two or three of their number went as delegates. H. E. the Acting Governor has replied that their cause is fully understood and excellently represented not alone by the Rev. Dr. Arthurs, but also by Sir Robert Coryndon himself.

Not to be outdone, some pro-Indian natives sent a telegram to London explaining that the chiefs and leaders of the Natives wished to send other delegates to London, seeing that they did not trust these representatives and thought they could manage to explain at first hand how they did not want to be endangered by a settler's Government.

The names of the three chiefs and leaders not being forthcoming, it would almost seem that the cable in question lacked some-

Salvation Army.

In the midst of these alarums and discussions, we have had the Salvation Army's Self-denial Fund collection. Poor as the country is, the officer-in-charge of this good work, Major Peat, managed to collect £1,000, the seemingly impossible sum he set out to obtain.

Seaside Scheme.

Another scheme fathered by the energetic honorary secretary of the R.S.A.A.A. and by the honorary Director of Education, is to send some 120 children down to the seaside at Mombassa for a fortnight's holiday. Thanks to the cordial co-operation of the general manager of the Uganda Railway, the total cost per child for the trip will come to five guineas only, which in this part of the world is very reasonable.

The "South African Standard" opened a fund to assist in cases where several children in one family could not all go, in the ordinary way, and for giving the children extra trips and side shows. The sum already voluntarily subscribed amounts to about £100, and eventually, before August 18, the date of the trip, may double that amount. This expedition is the first of its kind as yet attempted.

"Snow" Elephants.

Mr. Snow, an American citizen, travelled out here with film and gun. In the "Philadelphia Ledger" he describes his elephants in detail—having shot ten of them he will have measured them carefully. They stood some thirty feet high. They had enormous flap ears fifteen feet across. Their trunks measured twenty feet in length. He discovered them in an extinct volcano. He says they are very dangerous to man. A correspondent writes to the "E. A. Standard" regretting that Mr. Snow only describes his elephants in front elevation. He feels sure Nature has evolved these animals as glide-ear elephants, and if only it could be ascertained that the tail was fair-shaped, he would be quite sure of this strange and wonderful truth.

Union Matters of Interest.

The C.O.D. system has been adopted by the Post Office. It covers Kenya, Uganda, and the United Kingdom.

The cable has again broken down between Zanzibar and the mainland.

Mr. C. L. N. Felling, the general manager of the Uganda Railway, was decorated with the C.M.G. on the King's birthday.

The first candidate for the Public Schools Entrance Examinations sat for his examinations in East Africa and passed at his first attempt. He is Ivor Lean, son of Lt.-Col. A. I. Lean, D.S.O., of Solair.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

Official Statement Expected Shortly.

It is now anticipated that a definite official announcement regarding the Kenya Indian question will be made during the course of the next fortnight. The delay has arisen owing to the extreme difficulty of reconciling the points of view of the Kenya settlers and the Indians on the question of immigration, and the necessity for last moment communications with the Government of India.

It is not considered to be at all likely in authoritative quarters that any final settlement of the problem will involve a return to Protectorate government for Kenya Colony, as has been asserted would be the case. Such a retrograde movement would be without precedent in Empire history, and would be strongly opposed by the white settlers.

There is a likelihood that the delegation representing the Kenya Europeans, which is at present in London, will again be summoned to the Colonial Office during the course of the next week or so.

The Problem: An Indian View.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, K.C.S.I., arrived in London this week from India for the purpose of representing that country at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. Interviewed by Reuter on his arrival, Sir Bahadur Sapru stated that public opinion in India with reference to the Kenya question was becoming very acute. All sections of the population were agreed in treating the question as a test case, and for once they found the wildest non-co-operator and the most moderate of moderates in agreement. Indians felt that the difficulty must be solved by the Imperial Government in conformity with the position of India in the Empire.

Masai Rising Sentences.

The trial of thirteen persons concerned in the recent Masai outbreak, which opened at Narok on June 26, has now closed. Eight of the accused were charged with murder and with waging war against His Majesty, and five with unlawful assembly, with being armed, and also with waging war. A remarkable figure among those charged with murder (says the "Times" Nairobi correspondent) was an old medicine man, a Kikuyu and not a Masai, who had lived in Masailand a long while and exercised very great power over the natives. During the trial native witnesses, as the result of fright, turned their backs towards him. Seven of those charged with murder, including the medicine man, were found guilty and sentenced to death; the remainder were sentenced to transportation for life. At the close of the trial a number of elder Masai chiefs, without any prompting, expressed to the Judge their regret for the rising, which, they said, was confined to young hot-headed *moran* (warriors) out of control. They also expressed pleasure at the punishment of the delinquents. The Masai warriors of the Purko clan rose in revolt last November, their first act being the murder of an African police sergeant. Some European farms were raided. After a sharp engagement the rising was suppressed in December.

The Voi-Taveta Railway.

Discussing the House of Lords debate on the decision to dismantle the Voi-Taveta Railway, Mr. W. Greenwood, M.P., recalls that it was advanced as one of the arguments for pulling up the line that the realignment and reconditioning could not be carried out at less expenditure than £500,000. The public should be told whether this figure was arrived at by a departmental assessor, or whether it is the result of the careful consideration of tenders by private contractors. The Secretary for the Colonies, he adds, does not appear to state how much it will cost to demolish the existing line, nor what the subsequent facilities which must be provided at the port of Tanga will cost the taxpayers. If my information is correct the one will cost at least £40,000, and the other somewhere in the region of £2,000,000. The idea of demolishing a railway in East Africa, where the building of one at all is regarded as something in the nature of a miracle, is nothing short of amazing. Mr. Greenwood appeals to the Prime Minister to allow fuller inquiry and consideration.

Liberia.

A New Commercial Venture.

A new and ambitious concern, styled the African Industries Company, Ltd., has been launched at Monrovia, with a registered capital of $5,000,000 in $5 shares. The objects of the company are stated to be:—(a) To create, promote and develop local industries; (b) To carry on the business of traders, general merchants, commercial and warehousing, agents, contractors, transporters, dairymen and laundrymen; (c) To manufacture raw materials into finished products, and to lease, buy or sell and deal in personal property of all kinds; (d) To acquire and deal in real estate, and to cultivate, grow, care, prepare for market, buy, sell and deal in coffee, cocoa, sugar, palm oil, kernels, ivory, gum, and all West African products wheresoever they may be purchased, grown and obtained; (e) To import and export African produce and foreign goods; (f) To encourage and support agricultural and commercial enterprises in the Republic of Liberia, or in other places in West Africa; (g) To establish and maintain agencies of the Company in Africa, Europe, Asia, and America. "We therefore appeal," says the prospectus, "to every member of our race to join in our van of progress, and to contribute their quota in making Liberia what it ought to be, a great and prosperous country."

The labour recruiter from the Rand, says Mr. Basil Matthews, the Upper Congo industrial plantations and mines, and the Kenya cotton and coffee fields—to mention only a few areas—are all drawing the African native from his old environment into an industrial life that corrodes his ancient tribal loyalties, shatters his primitive animistic faith, and makes him the easy prey of either the racial agitator or the Bolshevik. The day, indeed, is far past when even the hoariest commercial Rip Van Winkle could plead the old pathetic stereotyped plaint against the educationist, "Why not leave the native alone?" It is commerce—not the Government officer or the missionary—that is changing the African people so rapidly.

* * *

The African people are beginning to see the with new ambitions, he adds. Repression is as futile as it is evil. Yet we need intensely a settled harmonious Africa. To that goal there is one path that is at once practicable and certain in its results. It is the path of an educational policy carefully planned, adequately equipped, persistently pursued and covering every part of our African empire, from Sudan to Cape Town and the Gold Coast to Zanzibar.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

GENERAL SMUTS ON EUROPE'S PERIL.

A UNITED STAND WITH BRITAIN THE ONLY HOPE.

UNION A SMALL OUTPOST WITH DANGEROUS SURROUNDINGS.

BLOEMFONTEIN, August 15.

General Smuts made some important references to the Ruhr problem in his speech at the Congress of the South African Party here to-day. He appealed to South Africa to stand in sympathy with Great Britain in her efforts to save Europe from destruction and eloquently exhorted all nations, great and small, in Europe to rally round Great Britain and save a world-wide disaster. The position to-day was grave beyond words, and if America saw European nations support Great Britain, he had faith that America would again rush to the rescue of Europe and save the break-up of Europe, and consequences of which might not be wiped out in a century. The appeal received a great ovation.

The Premier said that a united stand by all the European nations alongside Great Britain was the only chance to save Europe. They must see, and all the European nations recognised, the world was going under and hence Great Britain was taking the lead to save it from disaster. (Cheers.) They would see whether other nations had the courage to support Great Britain. If all the nations acted together there was still the possibility that France would see her danger before it was too late, but all must stand together to save the position. (Cheers.)

Speaking with the greatest solemnity and with impressive vigour, General Smuts declared that the situation in Europe was graver than ever before. It was very clear that the occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium was largely responsible for the position to-day.

Germany Going Under.

"Germany," he added, "is going under. She is on the brink of the precipice, and if things go on as they are now there may be a break-up of Germany as a State. The dissolution of Germany would be a far more serious fact than the fall of Russia. If Germany breaks up—Germany with her central position in Europe—then civilisation will be put back a hundred years or more."

Whether Europe would stand the present shock, it was difficult to say, as there was even a prospect of the break-up of the whole world to-day. The British Government had recognised the situation and raised and brought the question into the open, including the violation of the Peace Treaty. That constituted an enormous fact. Consequently, he earnestly prayed and appealed to all the nations in Europe, great and small, to rally themselves beside the British Government.

General Smuts concluded, "I have faith if they do so, the consequences will be far-reaching. (Cheers.) If America sees Europe resolutely making an effort to save herself, she (America) will do as she did in 1917—that is, rush in and save the world."

He did not know what further action the British Government proposed to take, whether they would consult the League of Nations, or call a special conference of the nations interested to take action.

"We in South Africa," he declared, "can only have the deepest sympathy with the effort Great Britain is making to-day in order to save the world from disaster, and we can only unite our prayers that there may be sufficient statesmen left to range themselves alongside Great Britain and save Europe before it is too late. South Africa cannot cut adrift from Europe, because she is a small outpost with dangerous surroundings—a small outpost in a black continent; and if Europe goes under, we could not miss the consequence and could not dissociate ourselves from events in Europe. South Africa feels the deepest concern that Europe should be saved." (Loud cheers.)

The South African Party had never favoured a secessionist policy. They stood for freedom, unity and co-operation with the Empire and the rest of the world. He wanted their people to look up to that ideal and to look upon it as a vision which could inspire them under great difficulties. They had difficulties in their private lives and also as a nation. They wanted co-operation among white people. All they could wish was that that ideal and that vision would animate the other nations of the world. (Cheers). If that spirit could be transplanted into Europe, if Europe, which had suffered so much, could adopt that spirit of unity, then peace would be restored.

Fusion of Two Races.

Referring to the political situation in the Union, General Smuts emphasised that only the fusion of two races into the South African Party had made it possible for the Union to go successfully through the past difficult times. During three years, he said, they had not only held firm, but had made great constructive progress. This was shown in their railway policy, and the start of the electrification of the railways, in their progressive industrial policy, and the record industrial development. Regarding the last point General Smuts paid a tribute to Sir Thomas Smartt, amid loud applause.

Turning to finance, the Premier affirmed that but for the work of the Government the country would have been in much worse straits. Fortunately the tide was now turned. He dwelt on the importance of the economic conference and said that the South African delegates would strain every nerve to stimulate the market in England for South Africa's fruit, tobacco, wine, cotton, sugar, wattlebark and other products. He considered that they should have preference over outside competitors, which statement was greeted with loud applause. South Africans would do their utmost to make the greatest use of the economic conference.—Reuter.

Outrages of the "black peril" order have been occurring with alarming frequency of late in the Peninsula, the latest victim of a particularly revolting assault being a married lady. She was walking with her two children along the mountain side near Platteklip when a native sprang out and threatened her with a large knife. She was helpless, and when help came through the children screaming the native had escaped.

The New Constitution.

The new Constitution for Nigeria was gazetted on July 18. As stated in the Governor's address recently reported, the Nigerian Council by the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, the newly constituted Legislative Council of Nigeria will consist of the Governor as President, 26 official members, three elected unofficial members, representing the municipal area of Lagos, one elected unofficial member representing the municipal area of Calabar, and not more than fifteen nominated unofficial members. By the Nigerian Protectorate Order-in-Council, 1922, it is provided that the Protectorate shall be divided into two or more portions, each under the immediate administration of a Lieutenant-

Race Problem - 1923
Africa

"A CASE IN INDENTING PRACTICE."

West Africa - 1 - 20 - 23

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—In response to "Exporter," whose letter appeared in your issue of the 13th, I think the following replies will help to elucidate the points on which he is not clear :—

(1) A remittance of 10 per cent. on any order (large or small) from a Native trader is not an adequate deposit. The general practice is a deposit of 20 or 25 per cent.

(2) Unless the merchant has done good business with the trader and knows that he is to be trusted when he states that a shipment of produce will be sent, it is inadvisable to put in hand an order for him unless it is already adequately covered by a substantial deposit. In the event of the produce not being shipped and the merchant having already put the order in hand with his manufacturers, unless he can prevail upon the latter to accept a cancellation of the order, he would have to take delivery of the goods.

(3) Most merchant firms trading with West Africa have a definite policy as to the acceptance and payment of orders. The main basis is generally a deposit (mentioned in 1) and the balance payable against documents through either of the West African banks. If the customer did not conform to these terms, his order, as a rule, would not be accepted, or goods only to the value of his remittance would be sent. Of course, the customer is at liberty to send cash to the full value of his order if he so desired.

(4) The Native trader, however large his deposit, would not be entitled to have the goods shipped direct to him without security or passing through the bank.

(5) It certainly would be generous treatment on the part of the merchant if he shipped goods to the value of the Native trader's deposit, in spite of losses incurred by the merchant.

(6) The merchant has the goods ready for despatch, and the trader fails to ship the promised produce; this is tantamount to a breach of agreement if the order is given and accepted on condition that produce is to be shipped against it, and the merchant would be entitled to charge against the trader's deposit all losses on the goods, together with expenses incurred.

If "Exporter" is residing in London, I should like an opportunity of meeting him, and I have no doubt that the editor would be pleased to give him my name and address.

Yours faithfully,
London, January 15th. HARMA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—As an export merchant who has been engaged in the African trade for many years, I should like to reply to the letter of "Exporter" in your current issue.

(1) Ten per cent. deposit suggested by the Native trader would not be accepted by any firm of repute, as it is by no means sufficient cover, and 33 1/3rd per cent. to 50 per cent. would more likely be the demand of the merchant in order to cover his risk, should the goods not be taken up on arrival.

(2) If the Native trader did not ship the promised produce and the merchant had placed orders for the goods, it would be the merchant's loss, as he should not have placed his orders with the manufacturers until he had actually received the produce from the Native trader, and if the merchant did so, he would be liable for payment with his manufacturers and the liability of the trader in West Africa would be to pay the merchant's bill or in default to lose his deposit.

(3) In the event of the Native trader refusing to accept delivery through the bank, the merchant would be perfectly entitled to ship, and any losses he incurred, he would be entitled to deduct from the 10 per cent. deposit received from the trader.

(4) After the merchant had recovered any loss he might have been put to in view of ordering the goods to be shipped through the bank and the Native trader repudiating this arrangement afterwards, and refusing to take delivery from the bank, the merchant would be liable to return any outstanding balance to the Native or ship goods in exchange, direct.

(5) It would be decidedly considered liberal and fair treatment on the part of the merchant if he had incurred losses through the default of his client, to waive his right to claim these losses from out of the client's deposit, and a merchant who adopted this principle would soon find himself in the bankruptcy court, although, no doubt, this would be very pleasing to the defaulter.

(6) The merchant would be perfectly entitled to charge the trader with all losses on the goods and expenses incurred thereon in the event of the trader not carrying out his part of the contract to ship produce, always assuming that there was a written contract between them. Of course, in the absence of any written contract, the merchant would be entitled to ship the goods on 10 per cent. basis and draw for payment through the bank in the usual way, without credit, and the trader, unless there was any agreement to the contrary, would not be entitled to any credit whatever, but would be entitled to a shipment up to an amount in value, entirely at the merchant's discretion, to be paid for at sight through the bank and, by a long-standing custom, 25 per cent. is reckoned the minimum deposit which a merchant can accept from West African traders. Therefore, the Native trader would not be entitled to a shipment of a greater amount than four times the amount of his deposit, and same also would not be on credit, but through the bank, "cash against documents," at sight.

For the usual obvious reasons I use a pen-name and omit my address.

Yours faithfully,
January 13th. SHACKLETON.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Your whilom correspondent "Rosa Dartle" has been beaten at her own game by "Exporter" in your issue of current date. He "only wants to know you know" so many things about the law and practice of the indent business that I can only conclude that he is not an exporter or, if he be one, he is communicating to other exporters by some Neo-Socratic method of question a solemn warning. Or is he trying to initiate a huge joke, to be carried on from week to week in your journal —that of drawing a red herring across the path and when the hunt is ended, of being able to say, "Why, it wasn't a fox at all!"

Yours, etc.,
January 13th. AN OLD DOG.

Sir Sydney Olivier, in a letter to the "New Statesman," pays a tribute to Mr. Winston Churchill for his dealings with the Crown Colonies and Africa, in which, Sir Sydney states, "his line was conspicuously admirable. He reverted to the traditions of which Lord Harcourt was the last previous practitioner . . . one of his latest acts was the just and humane decision (steadily refused by predecessors) to allow the ex-King Prempeh to return to Ashanti . . . and nothing has been done wiser for the West Indies than Mr. Wood's mission last winter."

The Swazi King and West African Students.

West Africa 1-20-23

The Swaziland deputation paid a visit to the Student Movement House on Saturday last to be present at a meeting of the Union for Students of African Descent, a union mainly composed of West Africans in London for educational purposes. The meeting, which was addressed by Mr. Sol Plaatje, was largely attended, and a warm welcome was given to the guests from Swaziland. The King of the Swazis, who has brought the deputation to Downing Street on a question of territorial and tithe rights, and is the guest of the Government, does not wear in London the dress peculiar to his own country. He is a young man, keenly observant, with a somewhat shy smile, but a genial disposition, and his immaculate figure is already becoming well known in London. Addressing the meeting on Saturday through one of his retinue, he said that he greatly appreciated the fact that in a room in London men and women of his own colour were seated in friendly council with Europeans, discussing the problems of Africa. He was also struck by the large number of students present from West Africa, and he hoped sincerely to see in his own lifetime an equal number from his own country here for the purposes of education. Although that evening the subjects discussed by Mr. Plaatje were most interesting, he would like to have heard more about West Africa, the country from which the bulk of the students present came. He also added that he would like to pay tribute to the work of the Europeans in Africa. A great deal of the light and progress in Swaziland, he said, had been brought there by the white man.

Mr. Plaatje's Address.

Mr. Plaatje, in his address, compared the free life of the African on the West Coast with the deplorable existence of his own people in the South. When he was in America he said that he found that emissaries from West Africa on educational missions bore written messages of goodwill from the Europeans in authority. When he attempted to leave South Africa on similar missions every obstacle was put in his way, the long arm of the powers that be even extending, or attempting to extend, across the Atlantic to prevent him visiting America. Speaking of the Rhodes' Scholarships, he said that Africans who had brought the wealth to the founder of these scholarships were debarred from competing for them unless they competed via the United States. He said that it was to the interest of Africans who enjoyed freer conditions to rally round those not so fortunate, and bring them up to their level, otherwise in the process of time the freer conditions might be withdrawn and the levelling might be reversed.

Speaking of racial attacks in South Africa, Mr. Plaatje said that in America the public outcry was now so great against lynching that this deplorable outrage was being wiped out in the States. He spoke with enthusiasm of the high positions Africans were allowed to hold in America.

S.A.N. College Report.

Principal's Report to the Governing Council for the year ending 31st Dec., 1921.

(*Continued*)

11/28/22 ——

As usual I subjoin short extracts from the reports of the staff engaged in academic work. Mr Jabavu, reporting on Languages says:

LATIN: "This year's class has been in some respects the weakest I have had, especially in the department of Composition. The introduction of new regulations running concurrently with the old, brought together two different groups of students, one doing steady work, the other hurrying from a lower class to take the subject as part of their work offered at the December examination. Some improvement was however shown at the later stages, a fair standard being ultimately attained."

BANTU LANGUAGES: "As a consequence of the College Summer School, this year has seen an awakened interest in the study of the four principal Bantu Languages usually taken. More authors than ever before have been privately read by students, thanks to the College authorities who have procured a complete library of Bantu Literature, as far as can be done, All the classes have shown unusual keenness in their work with results that bring credit to the College. The influence of these studies is also being felt among outside Natives who have handed in a number of original manuscripts to this department."

Mrs Roose reporting on Dutch and on S. A. History says:

DUTCH: "Afrikaans was not taught as I had anticipated last year. It will be to the advantage of the students to continue with Nederlands for a year or two longer until Afrikaans is more generally taught in schools, and until there is a wider selection of more satisfcctory text books available.

The Matriculation class made satisfactory progress during the year, but the Business class was disappointing on the whole. There were only two or three bright students in the class."

HISTORY: "Here I have nothing new to add to my report of last year, except that the inability on the part of a large number of students to express themselves in good English, has been much more pronounced, for this year it was not confined to the Junior class but was very conspicuous in the case of several newcomers into the other classes."

On Mathematics Mr Murdock says:

MATHEMATICS: "Generally speaking, the work in the various classes has been very satisfactory throughout the year. Post-matriculation students seemed to find their course rather long, owing mainly to the fact that they had not completed the previous year's work and a great deal of time had to be devoted to revision. I found many of the students greatly handicapped in their work through weak foundation. Several students in the course of the year found themselves unequal to the work, and wisely, I think, devoted their energy to other branches."

BUSINESS COURSE: The Business course continues to attract a small number of students who regularly find employment after leaving College. Two passed last year the examination for the Preliminary Certificate in Commerce and two others secured partial passes. This course includes Civics and Commercial History and Geography. Of these subjects Mr Jabavu says:

CIVICS: "This study should rightly be taken by all students. Those of the Commercial Course are quite enamoured of it, invariably doing well in their examinations."

COMMERCIAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY: "The lack of a proper text-book for Commercial History and Geography, suitable for South African students is a considerable handicap, but the subject is so engrossing that the students have themselves taken much trouble to collect information from various sources, being in the end amply repaid for their work. They find these subjects highly interesting."

AGRICULTURE: Mr Germond, Lecturer in Agriculture and Farm Manager, makes a full report from which I take the following extracts:

THE COLLEGE FARM: "Owing to a prolonged drought and to the ravages to crops by insect-pests, the year has not been ideal for Agricultural operations, yet the results at the close of the Financial year were very encouraging. Much money was spent on developing the property or this department would have paid for itself instead of showing a deficit which however, was below that estimated. The year has been one of steady progress.

GENERAL: "Samples of soil were taken from three of our cultivated lands and analysed. All three were reported to be in a condition of complete exhaustion and acid in character. Consequently, some of the lands were given dressings of agricultural lime —15 tons— and a few tons of suitable artificial fertilizers. Besides these, several wagon-loads of kraal manure were ploughed over. This partly accounts for the increase in the farm's yield for the year.

"Several acres of virgin land have been stubbed and some of this will be ready for the next mealie season. An additional farm-hut has been erected.

CO-OPERATIVE EXPERIMENTS: "In co-operation with the Government School of Agriculture, Grootfontein, several varieties of cereals comprising wheats, oats, and barleys, were raised. With few exceptions the plots yielded well, the only total failure being the "Bird Proof Wheat" which was destroyed by rust. The seeds from these experimental plots will be given another trial next year and on a larger scale. The Mealie experiments were less successful and the varieties sent us were of little commercial value.

STUDENTS: "Two students attended the Agricultural classes and their work has been very satisfactory and encouraging to the instructor. The students showed a spirit of keenness made evident not only in study but in their manual work.

The present course covers two years,, a period too short for training of men fit to do demonstration work amongst their own people. I strongly urge that the syllabus be revised and the course extended one year or more.

Other students attended special classes and for a time did manual work on the farm, but the latter has been discontinued.

An Interesting Political Document From Liberia

St Louis Argus

Aborigines Political Association
Circular Letter No. 1

Associated Negro Press 11/2/23

To the Aborigines of Liberia. Greetings: The Aborigines Political Association of the Republic of Liberia which was organized on the 4th of October, 1922, invites you into the Fellowship of Nation Building.

The Association stands for Co-operation and for a political organization which will bring together all Liberan citizens to work as One for the highest interest of Liberia.

The Association advocates for Unity of Purpose, and the members are ready to do their duty as loyal citizens to help the Central Government realize its aims and ideals for a Liberia which will be strong and stable and which will work for the glory of the Black Race.

The Association desires a strong central Government, and its members believe that the civilized Aborigines are the interpreters of the Natives' point of view, as well as the intermediaries between the Central Government and the Natives.

The Association favors a strong internal policy which is peaceful, just, patient and sympathetic, but which is wise and positive enough to be efficacious in achieving the ends for which the Government exists, in the working out of its national policies.

The Asscoiation will support that political party which in the opinion of its members works for the best interest of Liberia, the Race, and the objects for which the Association advocates.

(At the present time, the True Whig Party, in the opinion of its members, is truer to the democratic principles fro which Liberia was founded. This party offers to the Aborigines the vice-presidency of the Republic, the second highest post of honor in the country. For this reason the Assocaton pledges itself to stand by the True Whig Party and requests every Aborigine who is eligible, to vote for the Whig Party unless otherwise advised from Headquarters.)

The Association is not a secret society, but is composed of Liberian citizens whose interests are national and whose deliberations are necessarily open.

We are organizing as rapidly as possible in every county and urgently ask that you will get together and form yourselves into a Body Choose a local chairman a secretary, and a treasurer. Through these officers get in touch with all the towns in your district and organize the civilized Aborigines who will co-operate with their people for the coming presidential election.

We have under consideration the constitution of the Association which will be adopted as soon as leading Aborigines assemble in Monrovia.

Please write to the under-signed who has been elected to supervise the affairs of the Association and send any useful suggestions which may occur to your body and which will be for the interest of all.

Hoping you will give the matter your prompt attention and that we will hear from you very soon, we remain. For the Aborigines Political Association of Liberia. Your obedient servants. B. J. Davies, Chairman.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

THE BLACK REPUBLIC.*

Mr. REEVE'S POSTHUMOUS VOLUME.

A SEVERE CRITICISM OF LIBERIA TO-DAY.

"Liberia has very great possibilities. It is a rich country, but no development is possible under existing conditions. The country is a blot on West Africa. It has all the essentials for prosperity, a very fine inland population, rich land, existing products for export. It only requires two essentials: good government and means of transport." So runs a striking passage in Sir Alfred Sharpe's frankly written Preface to Mr. Fenwick Reeve's posthumous work on the Republic of Liberia. To what extent the indictment is well-founded the evidence afforded by this book can be weighed by its readers. The author had ample opportunities for personal investigation, and was exceptionally well-equipped with administrative experience in West Africa, and with knowledge of the African, to enable him to observe and record with soundness of judgment and accuracy of detail.

A Wholesale Indictment.

In these days of the recognition of trusteeship for Native races this is an arresting book, for within the confines of the Liberian Republic are large numbers of African peoples with the same industrious characteristics as their neighbours in the adjoining British and French possessions, and the answer to the question how far is the Liberian Government of American negroes fulfilling its trust in this respect is to be found in this book. It is not an encouraging answer, for wherever one turns—central administration, administration of justice, dealings with Native tribes, or slavery—there is a heavy indictment of corruption, absence of equity, and prostitution of the liberty, the love for which (as their motto describes it) brought the American negroes to Africa.

External Relations.

This result of a century of settlement and sixty years of constitutional government is not a happy augury for the future, except that there is an element in Liberian society to whom the shortcomings of their administration are apparent and who, we believe, under President King are gathering influence.

But our concern is with the book under review, and as the condition of things as described therein has altered very little it is to be hoped that the sponsor nations for Liberia may, through the revelations made in this volume, make some movement to justify their sponsorship. The chapter on "External Relations" alone discloses a state of things which warrants some more active intervention by the United States at least. Liberia is here described as the asylum of criminals from the neighbouring territories in which "appeal to Monrovia has been found to be futile, and even if the wish to play the game of a just and powerful State were present in the spirit the body corporate is weak." Liberia, our author describes as being outside the circle of International Law with no roads, railways, telegraphs or any of the outward and visible signs which constitute the enlightenment of Africa and help on its progress towards a stage of civilisation suited to its people.

Slave Traffic.

Of means of communication there are none. Even the old African trails from village to village, the upkeep of which was so significant a part of the African's life, are now neglected and overgrown in the hope that they will keep the tax-gatherer away. It is difficult to conceive a greater sign of decadence. The absence of sanitation in Monrovia is ghastly. There is one bright spot in the matter of education, but it is not the education provided by the State but that which is the outcome of Missions and voluntary activity. No steps are taken, moreover, to deal with that immemorial custom of Africa, the traffic in children. The author records a conversation he had with his host in Monrovia on this subject and received for a reply that it would be "true in the main, with perhaps an exception or two, to say that there was hardly an official of the Government from the President downwards who did not possess a "boy" in his household instead of paying servants as we do in our Colonies." With regard to the purchase of girls there is deeper infamy.

The Native Tribes.

Liberia contains some of the finest of the fine Native races of West Africa. There are the Kroomen, brave physically strong and robust, the well-known tireless workers of the sea. There is the splendid Vai race, "the finest nation in North Africa" of warriors, merchants and travellers, with a great and historic past. There are other indigenous tribes whose status and high industrialism is at the mercy of the incompetent administration which the author pitilessly describes—an administration founded on the highest ideals but actually in the hands of a not very scrupulous class of lawyer-politician. It is in regard to its *laches* in respect of the indigenous races within its borders that the heaviest indictment is made. Where control over them exists—and it appears to extend over a very limited area—it appears to be confined to levying a tax and interfering with the land, of the right to which, as we all know, the Native is most tenacious. Of activity in bringing the tribal Chiefs under control, of allowing the undoubted wealth in natural products to reach the world's markets, of a desire to give the Native peoples equitable treatment as well as reaping the advantages of modern progress there is no sign. This is a book which saddens where it does not anger. It is an exposition of a regrettable failure.

J. W-G.

Abyssinia,

SLAVE-RAIDING.

Statement by Regent of Abyssinia.—British Responsibility.

In an interview with Ras Tafari, the Regent, writes a "Times" correspondent from Addis Ababa, I was able to secure for publication an important statement of the attitude of the Abyssinian Government towards the inquiry now being carried out under the auspices of the Assembly of the League of Nations into the recrudescence of slavery in Africa.

His Highness assured me that the whole question of slavery was engaging the serious attention of the Abyssinian Government. They had as yet received no communication from the League of Nations on the subject, but, if requested to do so, were very willing to place at the disposal of the League all the information in their possession. As to the suggestion that a special Commission should be sent out by the League to inquire into the question of slavery on the spot, he considered that the League could not properly send such a Commission to Abyssinia unless the same or similar Commissions visited also French Somaliland and British territory bordering the southern and south-western frontiers of Abyssinia.

He said that the majority of the slaves were procured in the No-Man's Land which lay on each side of the Anglo-Abyssinian border to the south and south-west. The slave-raiders in this area were at least as often Arabs and Baluchis (British subjects) as Abyssinians, and the fact that Abyssinia lay between this area and the sea was an accident shared by French Somaliland also. Further, it was well known that no Abyssinian could venture into the low country which lay between the Abyssinian plateau and the sea. Therefore it could be safely assumed that the people who delivered the slaves to the dhows waiting on the coast were not Abyssinians, but Arabs or Danakil. The dhows were owned and managed by Arabs, and these Arabs were generally either French or British subjects.

The Regent did not deny the existence of the slave trade, nor that facts pointed to a recrudescence of the traffic, nor did he seek to diminish the responsibility of the Abyssinian Government, but he maintained that the responsibility for the present state of affairs rested as much with the British and French authorities as with the Abyssinian Government. If a commission of inquiry was sent to Abyssinia only it would be tantamount to fixing the responsibility in the eyes of the world on Abyssinia alone, and the Abyssinian Government could not agree to be placed in such a position.

His Highness added that the Abyssinian Government were ready to co-operate heartily with the League in any measures adopted by them for the suppression of the trade. Meanwhile they were acting energetically themselves. Heavy punishment was inflicted on persons caught slave-running. A new edict was about to be promulgated making slave-running a crime liable to capital punishment. Further, as it was known that most of the slave-running was done through the district of Aussa, on the borders of French Somaliland, which district lay within the province governed by Dajazmach Kabada, a very important and influential chief, the Abyssinian Government had informed Dajazmach Kabada that unless he took steps to stop the leakage of slaves through Aussa he would be deprived of his province.

The Regent expressed the views that slavery would eventually disappear altogether, but it was impossible to abolish the system by a stroke of the pen.

GONDOLA COTTON GINNERY.

British Farmers' Company Enterprise: Next Year's Prospects.

The opening of the British Farmers' Company ginnery at Gondola in mail week was an event of no small importance to the Mozambique Company's Territory. Although this is not the first ginnery in the Territory it is the first laid down under co-operative effort. As a matter of fact hand gins were introduced by the Mozambique Company years ago, and one of them is doing useful work in ginning cotton at Muda, while the Mozambique Industrial and Commercial Co.'s up-to-date ginnery at Chemba, on the Zambesi, has already proved that cotton-growing is a paying proposition there.

The Gondola ginnery, however, says the "Beira News," represents the effort of a portion of the farming community to get out of the ruck of mealie-growing and on to the production of a commodity at once payable and suitable to the climate. The Portuguese farmers, under the ægis of the National Farmers' Association, are also bestirring themselves over cotton-growing. A month ago it was estimated that some 5,000 acres would be laid down under cotton; to-day, with the farmers generally disposed to pay attention to cotton as a main crop with maize, it may be that nearer 10,000 acres will be planted with cotton during the season.

The only possible factor against cotton-growing being a big success in the Territory would be found in a succession of over-wet seasons, such as last, when much of the land became water-logged and stopped the cotton plant from maturing to the full. Outside that it has been proved that cotton of the Nyasaland Upland type can be grown with the greatest success on low as well as high-lying lands—on low-lying lands such as those

at Muda, and on the high ground along the watershed to the Rhodesian frontier.

Last year's experiment proved, indeed, that cotton can be grown at its best on the Muda flats, which resemble, with the character of their soil owing to the periodical overflowing of the Muda river, points of similarity to those prevailing on the Nile. On the uplands it has been shown that cotton does best on newly or more recently-cleared ground. This year's experiment, therefore, will be watched with great interest and no little concern, for it will be on the results to be obtained at the next harvesting that the fate of the Territory as a cotton producer on a large scale will probably depend.

The British Farmers' Club, the members of which have led the way in the experiment, have no doubt of its success, and if these hopes are justified it will mean a very great deal to the individual farmer, who for some time has found the maize market to be anything but satisfactory. Plans are now well forward for increasing the public ginning plant at the end of the coming season, and in every way the success of the cotton crop of 1923-24 is regarded as being practically assured.

THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE.

Publicity is given by the African press of the forthcoming Conference being convened by the Union Government under the provisions of the Native Affairs Act, 1920. We understand that this Conference opens some time this month in Pretoria. The first of these Conferences, following the provisions of the 1920 Act, was held in Bloemfontein last year between the representatives of the Union Government, the Native Affairs Commission and Native leaders, who were not delegated by any existing Organisations of the African people, but who were picked out by the Native Affairs Department. The provisions of the Native Urban Areas Bill, which was passed by the Union Parliament last session, were discussed. The Native Affairs Commission were quite satisfied of the results of that Conference, and so were the "best man" representatives of the African races, and we assume that both parties took it for granted that a new start was fundamentally made, and reported accordingly to those whose credentials they held. We all have witnessed a few months ago, and probably we were convinced that no understanding was ever arrived at at the Bloemfontein Conference, otherwise there would have been no stormy opposition raised by the entire race against the Native Urban Areas Bill, which, in spite of such opposition, was steam-rolled and passed by Parliament without the consent of the people affected. We do not know whether or not that the Government will pursue the provisions of the Native Affairs Act, 1920, to call upon various existing Organizations of the African people to send delegates to the forthcoming Conference. We make bold to assert that representatives of the affected people will once again be picked from the race by the Government. What another blunder!

Important measures affecting the race will be discussed at this Conference. The Native Registration Bill, supposed to come before Parliament next session, ranks in the agenda paper. We are not opposed to this machinery of consultation, but we say if consultation has to be made, let it be a complete business. The Native Registration Bill will affect the black workers in the Urban Areas, in fact every measure to be discussed at the forthcoming Conference deals directly with the Africans as workers. How possibly could the Government ignore to invite representatives from the organised labour of the African people, we cannot possibly conceive. The bulk of our people are labouring masses, they are the asset of this great country. We are also convinced that it is only a question of time when nearly all African labour will be organised. We fear, and with justification too, that unless the African workers are represented at that Conference by organised labour, there can be no guarantee that the economic amelioration of the African workers is secured.

We have pointed out to the proposed Native Registration Bill, who can deny the fact that on account of pass laws operating in the Transvaal and the Free state, that our race has been forced to labour under slaverv? Workers would not bargain for more wages, and better conditions of labour, should they determine to do so, they will be marshalled into gaols under rifle and bayonet. If it is suggested that the Native Registration Bill will ameliorate our lot, then it is within reason that the organised labour should be represented at the forthcoming Conference. The Government made a blunder last year, it ignored to invite representatives from the organised African workers, surely we cannot permit a second Conference being held without expressing our strong resentment at the attitude of the powers that be. Before it is too late we would like, as the mouthpiece of an influential industrial Organization of the African people with a large membership in the Cape Province, particularly in the Eastern Province, including portions of the Free State, to remind the Government not to undermine our argument. We do not believe in bluffs, but we deliberately assert that the economic life of the African race is involved in these Conferences, and that being the case, if the powers that be will force measures such as the Native Registration Bill upon our people as a whole without their consent, the organised labour in the Cape Province, backed up by their comrades throughout South Africa must bitterly oppose the operations of such Bills. As an organised labour we claim direct representation in all Commissions or Councils of our State.

Native Labour Shortage.

The mine is still suffering from an acute shortage of native labour, and on August 13 it was decided temporarily to close down No. 5 shaft in order to utilise the available natives to the best advantage. At the end of August the underground strength was approximaely 600 natives below the minimum figure at which the mine can be efficiently worked, but the position is now steadily improving. No. 3 shaft is being maintained in such a condition that work can be resumed immediately the native labour supply sufficiently improves. The importance of a regular and adequate supply of native labour cannot be too strongly emphasised in the case of the Simmer and Jack, and it is to be regretted that the normal recruitment of natives from Portugues East Africa was restricted.

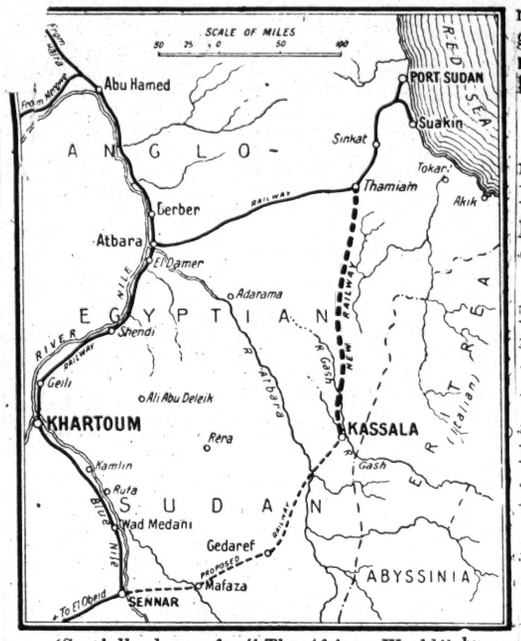
The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

THE NEW SUDAN RAILWAY.

Kassala Cotton Fields.

The building of the railway from Kassala to Thamiam, a station on the Atbara-Port Sudan line, has begun. The new railway, which is being built by the Sudan Government, will be 217 miles long, and by this route Kassala will be 337 miles from Port Sudan.

This railway was sanctioned in order that the Gash delta area, which covers considerover 500,000 acres, might be developed great cotton field. The Gash river rises he Abyssinian foothills and flows north. oes not reach the sea, but a little north of



(Specially drawn for "The African World" by A. J. Clevely, F.R.G.S.)

Kassala spills over the delta it has formed. This delta is a rich alluvium of extreme fertility, and it has already been proved that long staple (*sakellarides*) cotton of first-class quality can be cultivated successfully. It is estimated that within ten years of the completion of the railway 100,000 acres can be put under cotton; moreover, no expensive irrigation works will be necessary.

It is expected that the railway will be finished early in 1925; there are no engineering difficulties to overcome. Its cost is estimated at £1,500,000. Eventually, it is intended to build another railway from Kassala to Sennar, thus linking up the eastern part of the Sudan with Kordofan, the future junction area for the Cape to Cairo route via the Nile-Congo Divide.

Y.M.C.A. FOR NATIVES.

The extension of the work of the Y.M.C.A. to natives in South Africa was a development foreshadowed at a national conference of workers belonging to the movement from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Maritzburg, and Pretoria, at Johannesburg. Mr. H. Wallace Soutter, president of the South African National Council of the Association, presided. In his report Mr. W. E. Easton, national secretary, said not only had the conference to formulate plans for the development of its boys' work throughout the Union, but it would also be called upon to deal with the big question of commencing institutional work amongst the million native boys in urban areas. The recent conference convened by the Dutch Reformed Church had passed a resolution in favour of the establishment of work on Y.M.C.A. lines amongst these natives, and the matter had now been remitted to the conference for consideration and action. Such work would present many difficulties, and would require very tactful handling. There was general agreement that it should be done by an inter-denominational organisation, and no one had such experience of institutional work as their association. They would be careful to see that it was started on right lines, and subsequently run as effectively as possible. The work before the South African National Council was never greater than it was to-day. The doors of opportunity were being flung open to them, and provided the necessary financial support was forthcoming and the right kind of leadership could be found, he believed that in the next few years the Y.M.C.A. would write the greatest chapter in the history of the movement in the African Continent.

PLAIN WORDS TO THE NATIVES.

Mr. F. S. Malan, the Acting Prime Minister, met a representative of Cis-Keian natives at Kingwilliamstown, in mail week, for the purpose of discussing grievances and the proposed council system under the 1920 Act.

He refused to consider any increase in the pay of chiefs and headmen. The release of the Israelite leaders, which was asked for, would depend, he said, on the spirit in which the release of the rank and file was received and on the conduct of the leaders themselves. It could not be done at once, but when the time came he would give favourable consideration to the representations made.

He saw there was a division of opinion among the natives in the matter of the council system, and it would be unwise to force it. He was in favour of and would discuss with the Native Affairs Commission the institution of a system of advisory conferences without powers of taxation, under the chairmanship of magistrates, and composed of an equal number of chiefs and elected members.

These would meet monthly, and would be the means by which native grievances and proposals would reach the Chief Native Commissioner, or, through him, the responsible Minister. He did not say this would be the last word. It would perhaps be possible later to introduce the council system. The proposed scheme would be educative and pave the way, and if the Native Affairs Commission regarded it favourably he would introduce the advisory conferences.

A native conference would be called each year in the future to discuss matters to come before Parliament, and the delegation would be nominated by the conference.

In reply to the general cry for more land, he told the natives plainly that there was none to give them. They must cease to some extent to be purely stock raisers, and must improve the quality of their stock and learn how to make the land more productive. He laid stress on the value of cotton growing and the necessity of young natives learning correct agricultural methods. He said that he agreed with the demand for a Minister of Native Affairs who could devote all his time to native matters, and he would make representations to the Prime Minister.

Race Problem— 1923.
Africa.

"WHAT IS WRONG WITH BRITISH WEST AFRICA?"

THE REDUCTION OF NIGERIAN EXPORT DUTY.—THE CASE FOR THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

The news which appeared in last week's issue of a reduction in the Nigerian export duties on palm-oil, kernels, and ground-nuts, has been received with satisfaction amongst the West African merchants and traders generally. It has been received in that spirit which recognises that "half a loaf is better than none"; it is hoped it is an earnest of further progress.

A West African merchant expressed himself as regards the reductions:—

"It is gratifying to see that Sir Hugh Clifford has taken early steps to redeem his promise. Some would have liked to see the whole of the duties done away with forthwith; others are disappointed at there being no reduction in the cocoa duty, but, all things considered, the mercantile community must feel that Sir Hugh has met them as far as he could at the moment. At his meeting with the merchants before leaving Liverpool it was suggested to him that he might reduce the cocoa duty even before he could see his way to balance his budget; that is, to have some faith in the reduction bringing about an immediate improvement in trade and in this way make up through Customs duties and the additional turnover in produce for what would be dropped by doing away with the export duties. It would appear as if Sir Hugh had acted partly on this suggestion, and to that extent the mercantile community are grateful."

Mr. Pickering Jones, a director of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation and of the Lagos Stores, Ltd., in an interview with the Liverpool representative of WEST AFRICA, said:—

The Government of Nigeria has fulfilled its promise to reduce export duties as soon as possible. The reduction on oil, kernels, and ground-nuts will mean that some £270,000 more can be paid during the next 12 months to the Native producer. This should not only stimulate production, but give our customers so much more money to spend on imported goods. The taxation of Nigeria by means of Customs duties alone in 1922 amounted to as much as 2s. in the £, and the remission now announced means that this will be reduced to about 1s. 9d. in the £. Can one imagine the British manufacturer or producer being asked to pay not 2s. in the £ on his *profits*, but on his *turnover*?

Another merchant remarked:—

There is little doubt that this lightening of the export taxes will help trade in Nigeria, and I am inclined to believe that it was wise to lighten those on palm-kernels and ground-nuts more than on palm-oil, and palm-oil rather than cocoa. For, although the cocoa market is, at present, in the most deplorable condition, the cost of producing and shipping West African cocoa is much less than the cost of producing and shipping cocoa from competing countries, and whilst West Africa produces by scare large a quantity the preponderating share of the world's production her prices will rule the rest and whatever tax (within reason) is levied will not have so evil an effect as it would on oil seeds and oils which have so many competitors. The *British* West African ground-nut crop from Gambia and Nigeria is only a very small proportion of that produced in India and East Africa and French West Africa; and the copra crop of the world is probably as large as, if not larger than, the palm-kernel crop in British West Africa, whilst soya beans and cotton-seed in very large quantities produce oils which can always be used as substitutes for kernel-oil. Palm-oil has a keen competitor in tallow, and where our products are only a small item in the total of like products used for similar purposes an export tax is ruinous.

Mr. Pickering Jones, in seconding the confirmation of the proceedings of the African Trade Section at the monthly Council meeting of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce last Tuesday, said it would be of interest to the Council to know that the agitation carried on by the African Trade Section and their friends had resulted in a considerable reduction of the export duties in Nigeria. As far as he could make out at present, it would be a saving to the producers of a quarter of million of money, which he hoped they would spend mostly in British goods, sent out for sale. The Customs duties inwards and outwards of Nigeria amounted to 2s. for every £ of trade, and this reduction would bring it down to 1s. 9d. It was a step in the right direction and they were hoping to go further before long.

WEST AFRICAN PRODUCE REPORTS.

Messrs. E. H. Perrin and Co., Ltd., Exchange Buildings, Liverpool, state in the course of their report under date Nov. 7:—

Palm-kernels.—Prices show increase on week of fully 10s. ton. During past 24 hours crushers taken a considerable quantity of Oct./Dec. shipment with result that tendency for this position to be offered at discount below Dec./Feb. and Jan./March has, for time being, disappeared. To-day importers ask £18 17s. 6d. for Nov./Jan. or Dec./Feb. shipment and not much to be had from dealers at less, while fair number of orders in market chiefly speculative at £18 13s. 9d. for Dec./Feb. or Jan./March shipment and at £18 12s. 6d. for Oct./Dec.

Moderate business to Hull and crushers paid up to £18 6s. 3d., but at higher levels which obtained during past 48 hours, buying come from dealers; Oct./Nov. or Nov./Dec. shipment worth £18 12s. 6d. to-day and possibly a shade over this, while sellers ask more.

Business done to Hamburg in fines afloat at £18 10s. and at one time £18 6s. 3d. was taken for Nov./Dec. shipment, Liverpool contract. To-day £18 15s. bid for afloat without success, but still possible to buy Nov./Dec. at 2s. 6d. less.

Palm-oil.—Values hardened in all cases except Lagos which hardly changed: soft regulars dearer by full 10s. ton and in other sorts values up by 5s. to 10s., whilst on new level not many sellers in evidence. An occasional premium of 5s. paid for early months of 1924 as against this year's arrival and oil with first transit option commanded more than that which caried quay only. Stock fallen 619 tons during October, import having proved considerably below average of last three years—due, doubtless, in great measure, to direct shipments to U.S.A.

Week's sales estimated at about 1,750 tons and to-day we scare a market firm in tone at spot quotations set out below, on quay terms of contract No. 21:—

Bonny/Old Calabar, £36 5s.; Opobo, £36 10s.; Cameroons, £36 2s. 6d.; Benin, £36 12s. 6d.; Port Harcourt, £36 10s.; Niger, Brass, New Calabar, £36 15s.; Ivory Coast, £35 15s.; Lagos, £36 12s. 6d.; French/Lagos, £36 5s.; Sherbro/Sierra Leone, £35 15s.; Accra/Addah, £36 5s.; Congo, £36 5s.; Salt-ponds, £36; Grand Bassas, £36; Clarified, £35 10s.; Bleached, £39.

Messrs. Wm. Porter and Co., Rumford Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 5:—

Palm-oil.—Rather more business. A fair business to America in softs testing low in f.f.a. Continent quiet. To-day's opening: Steady.

Palm-kernels (all kinds).—A good inquiry continues to North Continental ports for near positions. To-day's opening: Firm.

Cocoa.—United Kingdom: Spot: Quiet. Sales for week about 3,300 bags at 25s. to 31s. 6d. New crop f.o.b. "D" clause rather steadier; business done at close at 26s. 9d. Nominal value fine fermented about 32s. We quote: Spot: Fine fermented Accra about 31s. 6d.; fair fermented about 30s. 6d.; f.a.q. about 28s. 6d. To-day's opening: Dull; sales f.o.b. "D" clause 26s. 6d. Hamburg: Dull; sellers of afloat good fermented 31s. Holland: Quiet. Small buyers good fermented "B" clause at 29s. 6d. Sellers 29s. 3d. and 29s. 6d. France: Idle; sellers fair fermented new crop 29s. 6d. without buyers. America: Dull; nominal quotation good fermented about 31s.

Ground-nuts. — Steady. Undecorticated Rufisque old £17 15s.; new £16 15s.; undecorticated Gambia old £17 12s. 6d.; new £16 12s. 6d.; Niger decorticated new Dec./Jan. shipment £22 5s. to £22 10s.; old crop afloat £23 to £23 5s.

Benniseed.—Fully steady; nominal value Niger early shipment c.i.f. North Continent, £22 15s. ton.

Copra.—Fuily steady, value of Lomé descriptions c.i.f. North Continent £27 5s. ton.

Castor Seed.—Idle, nominal value £21 10s. to £21 15s. ton

Shea Nuts.—In fair demand, value £11 15s. to £12 ton.

Coffee.—Steady. Nominal value Liberian 59s. cwt.

Ginger.—Firm. In absence of offerings, no business reported.

Beeswax.—Quiet. Nominal value of Conakry and Gambia 95s. cwt.

Piassava.—Steady. Fresh arrivals will be auctioned this week.

Messrs. J. H. Rayner and Co., 11, Old Hall Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 5:—

Cocoa.—West African, for forward shipment, again easier. Spot market steady, values practically unchanged. Sales for week 3,305 bags, 25s. to 31s. 6d. ex store. Business in f.f., Nov./Jan. and Dec./Feb. 27s. 3d. to 26s. 6d., sellers both positions 26s. 9d. f.o.b., buyers 26s. 6d. Feb./April sold 27s. 3d. "A" clause, Nov./Jan. and Dec./Feb. offered 32s. 6d., buyers 32s., ex quay, after business 32s. Continental Markets: Quiet. Business in good fermented 29s. 9d., c.i.f., fair fermented 29s. 3d., c.i.f., sellers over. Lagos f.a.q. offered 26s. 9d., c.i.f., buyers 26s., c.i.f. New York: Quiet; some business in fair fermented, Nov./Jan. 30s./30s. 6d., c.i.f., sellers now 30s. 6d., buyers probably 29s. 9d., c.i.f. Lagos f.a.q. sold at 28s., c.i.f., for Nov./Jan. shipment, sellers over, buyers 27s. 6d., c.i.f. Sao Thomé: 38s., c.i.f.

Messrs. Holt and Moore, Fenwick Court, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 5:—

Maize.—Steady. Yellow Plate on spot 7s. 6d., No. 2 white flat African 7s. 11d. 100 lbs. S.s. "Boma" arrived with 418 bags, West African, but samples are not yet available.

COAST NEWS AND COMMENT.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore's Visit.

Important though the work of committees on education and transport may be in West Africa, the opinion is expressed on the Coast that no round-table conference in England can enunciate principles to the satisfaction of Africans without additional direct inquiry on the Coast itself, for the world-wide tendency to distrust conferences is not unknown in West Africa. Local interest, therefore, is concentrating on personal discussions with the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Casely Hayford's speech at the Conference of Gold Coast Rulers, in

which he calls for unity throughout West Africa, is leading many to a recognition of the fact that the discussion of minor grievances, serious though they may be to small portions of the community, may serve to hide the main issues, and to give the distinguished visitor the impression that no important grievances exist, or that the leaders are incapable of formulating them. The first thing, Mr. Hayford considers, is to remember the unity of British West Africa. In this the Coast press is almost unanimous, the only dissentient voice being in Sierra Leone, where a small section of opinion refuses to recognise a community of interest. The Gold Coast section of the National Congress suggests that the principal point to be gained is full elective representation, first to place the Gold Coast in line with other Colonies, and then to advance the position of all until community of interest has its natural result in federation, with an ultimate advance to the status of a Dominion of British West Africa. To this end, better means of communication are all-important—better means not only of physical communication, resulting in a unity of material interests, but also of mental communication such as would be afforded by better education. Another desirability urged is an inter-Colonial Appellate Court, and the general introduction as early as possible of the jury system, while it is suggested that a direct official pronouncement by Mr. Ormsby-Gore wherever he went regarding the security of Native land tenure would do much to dispel doubts which, played upon by agitators, may serve to imperil the present good relations between the people and the Imperial Government. In Sierra Leone, a feeling has got abroad that the Under-Secretary's mission is only concerned with the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and that the two Western Colonies will receive scant attention. It is difficult to understand on what grounds such an impression is based, for while it is true that Sierra Leone and the Gambia have not recently received the publicity that has fallen to the larger Colonies, the problems of Government which directly affect the African are as acute there as elsewhere, and no conscientious inquirer into West African affairs would be likely to turn a deaf ear to them.

The Company System.

The field day of the Intins at Cape Coast brings into prominence the survival of the African company system of organisation which is probably responsible in part for the general sympathetic understanding of the Boy Scout movement throughout West Africa. Recruiting for these companies is unnecessary, as children are born into them, and the Intins, according to the "Gold Coast Times," now number about 3,000. It will easily be seen, therefore, that their procession through Cape Coast, with the interesting drum challenges and replies at the posts of the other six companies of the town, the banners and emblems, and the long array of chiefs and officers, was most impressive. Similar company systems are found elsewhere in West Africa, and by making use of their organisation, those in authority find their tasks considerably simplified. For instance, in many places in Southern Nigeria all males born within a stated period—two years generally—are placed in one company, so that the men available in a village are divided into classes according to age. When a District Officer comes along, intent on the repair of roads, the signal is sounded by whistle or drum for the requisite companies of young or old men to assemble, and the work is done with a minimum of fuss. During the war, operations in the Cameroon were also facilitated on several occasions by the ease with which local chiefs could call up sections of their people to bring in timber, tietie, or palm thatch. Truly, the company system deserves careful study, for although the progress of education is certain to have an adverse effect on communal social systems founded on compulsion, there is no reason why the organisation adapted to voluntary works of public utility should not be successful.

The Control of Arms.

The large number of revolvers in West Africa in the hands of untrustworthy persons forms the subject of comment in the Lagos press, more especially since threatening letters have been addressed to barristers and others by irresponsibles who profess to see in murder an act of great courage and merit. While many of such letters, as in England, are actuated solely from a desire to intimidate, and emanate from people who have neither the means nor the criminal hardihood to carry their threats into execution, there can be no doubt that in a small minority of cases the means and the will are present, and it is to be hoped that the Government will put into active operation the restrictions on the import, export, possession of, and trade in arms set down in the Convention of St. Germains. It is admittedly difficult to establish complete control in the case of arms so easily hidden as are revolvers and automatic pistols, but the rigorous infliction of maximum penalties on all found acting contrary to the law would go far to mitigate the dangers of the present position.

The Progress of Liberia.

Almost simultaneously with the publication in England of a decidedly adverse criticism on Liberia, the "Nigerian Advocate" has an article on the Republic and her destiny, and ventures the opinion that Liberia will yet be one of the points from which the regeneration of Africa by the African, assisted by the European, will begin. The writer remarks that one of the weaknesses of Marcus Garvey was that, while he might have started a great practical work with Liberia as a nucleus, he accentuated instead the question of race difference, thereby raising a storm of opposition fanned by racial dislike, and soon found that though it was easy to begin a racial warfare with four hundred million figures of rhetoric, the storm could not afterwards be controlled merely by words. Liberia, then, is regarded as a struggling State, slandered and maligned by enemies and faint-hearted friends, and suffering from the natural errors of inexperienced government, but now retracing her steps in a more sophisticated effort to follow the true principles of growth. The writer admits that Liberia has certainly *not* yet justified the expectations and hopes of her founders and friends, but he thinks that with the more friendly attitude adopted by the Government toward the aboriginal population, and a modification of general policy, "the (American) negro put ashore on his ancestral sands would be immediately able to take up the aboriginal life of his race where his kidnapped progenitors left off." This optimistic outlook for the immigrant is not shared in America, for in the "Crisis" Dr. du Bois warns intending colonists that Liberia only requires immigrants with capital, skill, and education, and, above all, youthful health, which will withstand the ardours of an extremely trying climate. The fact is that Liberia, like the rest of West Africa, is finding that real progress cannot be effected without close co-operation with the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and that true colonisation by Afro-Americans, like colonisation by Europeans, is a problem for which no permanent solution has been, or in the near future seems likely to be, discovered.

LIBERIA BLACKS "EEP UP SLAVERY; WOMAN FOR $20

Master Can Retain Child and Sell Mother.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

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MONROVIA, Liberia, Nov. 20.—[Tribune Radio.]—A visitor soon learns that other elements of democracy are lacking in the Negro republic of Liberia. One of the saddest reflections on this free republic founded by freed slaves in the name of freedom is that it has reverted to slavery. Women and children are bought and sold. It is not called slavery, but "pawning," and, although not incorporated into the laws of the country, there are official regulations covering the practice, and proprietors of human chattels have the protection of the Liberian courts.

A woman may be bought for life for as low as $20. She may be sold to the highest bidder by her father, brother, or husband. This practice has grown out of the native marriage custom, which is by purchase. If a woman bears no children or is unsatisfactory in any way to the purchaser he may demand that his money be returned. If she runs away the courts can force a return of the purchase price or order the provision of another slave acceptable to the purchaser.

Are Human Capital.

The more women and children a man owns in Liberia the richer he is. It is one of the highest forms of capital. They can be put up as security for loans. If a man borrows $20 from another man he must leave a woman or child as a "pawn," which remains the property of the creditor until the debt is paid. Children born to the woman during her slavery belong to the creditor. Neither she nor the child are paid for the work they perform. Neither does this work go towards paying off the original loan. Slaves are not mistreated, but they live with their owners as members of the family.

Educated Liberians do not follow the practice of selling their wives and children, but many of the descendants of American slaves now own slaves who work for them on small farms around Monrovia. It is on this produce that many Monrovians live, especially during the frequent intervals when government salaries go unpaid. Such cultivation is most primitive, producing only sufficient to keep the people alive and supply the tables of their black owners, but little or nothing is done for export.

Coffee Planting Dropped.

Along the coast of east and west Monrovia are numbers of fine old coffee plantations, deserted and overgrown monuments of older days when Liberian coffee was considered as good as any in the world. These plantations were started by Negroes who had earned manual labor under white men in America. They built homesteads in Africa after the fashion of the old colonial houses occupied by their masters in the southern states. Today these homesteads are in ruin.

The reason for the decay is found in the occupations of the descendants. They are lawyers, preachers, small traders, clerks, and politicans. Their fathers, who drained the swamps, fought fevers, cleared the jungles and prospered, wanted their sons to be "gentlemen" and made no provision for carrying on the work of the pioneers.

The Second Generation.

Their sons and daughters were sent to school, where they aimed to acquire white collar habits and master professions. This generally was accepted as the definition of "gentlemen," and reveals further the popular belief that agriculture or manual labor of any kind is the function only of savages. Monrovians are strongly attracted to the benefits of civilization, but they ignore completely its responsibilities.

American missionaries, who continue to spend $250,000 annually in Liberia, have performed stout labors in the establishment of schools and churches, both on the coast and in the interior, but it appears that they are unable to get the Liberians back to productive work on the soil. Some observers of the country's plight go so far as to lay some of the blame at the doors of the missions on the ground that they continue to turn out white collared professionals, instead of fitting them for the more pressing needs of the country. Liberia is awakening to the fact that oratory, either clerical or legal, is not exportable or a sustaining product.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

The Progressive Association.

2/9/23
The Basutoland Star

His Royal Highness, Prince Arthur advices the Basutoland Progressive Association to wait and see if the recommendations of the Basutoland National Council will become effective; and it is only patriotic that the Association should wait and see so that the chiefs may not have the chance to throw blame on them as they did last year. Secondly that will be another testimony that they were not aiming at the overthrow of the authority of the Basutoland chieftainship. However the public of Basutoland would be indebted to a clearer. Explanation of His Royal Highness' inference, that: "*Any defiance of the Council and the Paramount Chief would be unconstitutional and lawless.*" Does this imply that the Paramount Chief was constitutionally qualified to be aristocratic; and is not the Council, constitutionally, an advisory institution with no executive powers? The following is the despatch no. 2946 of His Royal Highness, dated 19th December 1922:

Sir,

I have had under consideration the correspondence which you have forwarded to me with reference to the activities of the Basutoland Progressive Association. I refer particularly to the letter of the 17th September from the Association to Chief Makhaola as Acting Paramount Chief the letters of the 23rd September and the 6th October from the President of the Association to the Government Secretary, and the letter of the 18th October from the Paramount Chief to yourself. I have also read the report of the relevant proceedings at the last Session of the Basutoland Council.

2. I note that Simon Phamotse was not afforded an opportunity to reply in the Council to some of the allegations which had there been made against the Association. It will, however, presumably be open to him, as a member of the Council, to raise the matter again at the next Session, if he so desires, and the Council would doubtless then consider whether, in the light of what he might have to say, they still wished to adhere to the advice which they have tendered to the Paramount Chief.

3. In the meantime it is right that the Association should conform with the decision of the Council, even if they disagree with the view taken by the Council. Any defiance of the Council and the Paramount Chief would be unconstitutional and lawless. The Council is the proper place for the discussion of such matters, and I should not be prepared to interfere unless I thought that injustice had been done, and that there was no means of rectifying it save by my intervention.

4. I am of opinion that, for the present at anyrate, the Association will have sufficient scope for their activities in the six centres named by the Paramount Chief, and that there can be no necessity at present for them to send agents to make personal tours through districts where their presence is unwelcome to the Chiefs or to hold meetings in villages against the local chiefs' wishes. I believe that the Association have good and worthy objects in view, and that their aim is to promote the general welfare of the Basuto nation without stirring up strife or attempting to undermine the authority of the chieftainship. The Association must recognise that their influence for good will be enhanced if they conduct themselves reasonably, moderately and sensibly, and that their usefulness will be very seriously impaired if they fail to show proper respect to the Paramount Chief and the Council, and if in consequence of such failure they make themselves responsible for proceedings leading to disaffection and possibly even to breaches of the peace. There is plenty of work open to them on constitutional lines, and if they wish the council or the Paramount Chief, or the government to listen in future to their representations, they must be careful to continue to act constitutionally and with good sense and feeling.

5. So far as the immediate future is concerned, the Association should bear in mind that the principal grievance which they, among others, have brought forward, namely certain defects in the administration of justice in native courts, has received and is receiving attention. When I came to the conclusion that this grievance was to some extent well-founded, I at once asked the Council to consider it. It was discussed at great length at the last Session, and the Council made recommendations, which were intended to provide a remedy. I have decided to allow a fair trial to be given to these recommendations, and I shall now wait to see whether they prove effective. The Association should do likewise, and that is an additional reason why I consider that for the present it should suffice if their activities are confined to the six centres named by the Paramount Chief.

6. I wish copies of this despatch to be communicated to the Paramount Chief, to the Progressive Association and to the Basutoland Council.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ARTHUR FREDERICK
High Commissioner.

Pass System In Basutoland

The Basutoland Star 2/9/23

(By Haarclass)

I find it imperative upon me as a lover of my country to harp on one string, perhaps by doing so (in the name of all the gods at once) it may help to break the apathy of our government. Since writing on the above subject to the "Mochochonono" while this year was yet young, I have had the opportunity of seeing the operation of the Pass Laws with regard to women in this territory—*only* in Maseru. I do not frequent the Pass Office but whenever I happen to be there by accident I am generally confronted with an eye-sore observation, old women, middle aged women, women in their 'teens and girls either standing or squatting down under the verandah or out in the seething sun awaiting their turn of the issue of their travelling passes. One day I saw two old ladies, who had travelled nearly twenty miles on foot to get to Maseru with the intention of entraining there and proceeding to Bloemfontein to nurse a sick relation there, being turned back at the Pass Office, merely because they did not know that women were required to carry passes. These poor women had, on the previous day, been returned from the railway station because they were not provided with the necessary passes authorising them to obtain railway tickets. They had no other course to adopt but to retrace their steps Their sick relation in Bloemfontein was therefore left to the mercy of a cold stream. Several similar instances, of undue detention at the Pass Office, of outrageous searching at the bridge or station could be enumerated, but the space being limited I consider it inadvisable to do so. We are very grateful to you "Mr Editor" for the explanation you have given of the origin of this law in your issue of the 12th ultimo. There is no better interpretation of the intent and purpose of enforcing women to carry passes on their person than sheer slavery. What other nation on earth is doing it? The answer is None. Why then, should it be done in BRITISH Basutoland Maseru? Many chiefs thought (or rather decieved themselves) that they were seeking happiness in requesting the Govern-

ment to enforce this law whereas in truth and in fact they were only seeking the gratification of some particular passion, the strongest that they have. Either the authorities or the chiefs must have no illusion whatever about this, that so long as a person is not free he is still a slave and a slave is distinguished from other liberal human folk by being ear-marked—in this instance the mark is the carrying of passes.

It is absolutely no policy to keep hammering the Natives' ears by telling them that they are a free people, because they know well that they are not, and their conviction is supported to the boiling point by the enslavement of their womenfolk. Nobody would deny the sincerety of this remark, nor is the whole allega[illegible] a gratuitous impugnment on the powers that be. The system pursued by Maseru is in its entirety repugnant to the good traditions of the *British* Empire—the best and the first respect for women. Whatever the authorities do for the Basutos in this matter is not in the list dictated out of love, but rather from consideration of their own interests, hence the precipitate consent to the invitation which the chiefs held out to them in the making of this out-of-place proclamation. The Basutos are amenable people, I do not see why the authorities found it necessary to practise this stationery-wasting scheme on them Before concluding I beg to appeal to the good Basutoland Progressive Association to bring this question to bear upon the Government with a view to repealing the proclamation altogether I hope the B.P.A. being the man on the spot will endeavour to take the bull by the horns. Let there be freedom from perturbations with respect to the things which come from the external cause; and let there be justice in the things done by virtue of the internal cause.

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

West Africa 2-17-23

The names of the Wesleyan School football team which won the Governor's Cup at Cape Coast recently are, back row, from left to right, Messrs. J. H. Biney, J. K. Hanson, J. A. Quagraine (goalkeeper), K. Q. Eyison, John Gaisey; middle row, J. W. Thompson (reserve), J. A. Crentsil, K. A. E. Edmondson (headmaster), R. H. Graves (captain and secretary school sports), J. W. Anthony (reserve); front row, S. A. B. Quainoo, T. A. Croffie, J. S. Kaye, and J. A. Dadzie.

Christmas at Duala.

At Duala on Christmas Eve a football match was played, the outcome of a challenge from the local staff of Messrs. John Holt and Company (Liverpool), Ltd., to play an eleven from the rest of the community. An interesting game resulted in a win for the John Holt's team by one goal to nil, the scorer being Mr. T. G. Hattersley, who went through on his own to register a goal. For the winners every man played well, but special mention should be made of Messrs. Curtis, Taylor and T. G. Hattersley, who played good fottball.

For the opposing team Mr. Acland (Miller Bros.) was the outstanding player, and together with Mr. Brookwell (R. and W. King, Ltd.) saved his side from a heavier defeat. The game was contested in a fine sporting spirit, and was greatly enjoyed by a crowd of spectators. During the holidays a tennis tournament was also held by the staff of John Holt's, and the winners were Messrs. Luff and T. G. Hattersley, the runners up being Messrs. Howell and Proctor.

On the evening of the 24th 17 members of Messrs. Holt's staff were the guests of the company to dinner, Mr. Vincent Teale, Divisional Agent for the Cameroon, presiding. After dinner, and following the loyal toast, "the King," Mr. Teale proposed a toast to "the Company." It was seconded by Mr. A. Parsons (Duala District Agent), and responded to by Mr. Curtis on behalf of the remainder of the staff. The party broke up at 6 a.m. on Christmas morning after one of the most enjoyable entertainments in the history of Messrs. Holt at Duala.

Mr. A. S. Chown (Duala shop manager) was in charge of the catering, and displayed energy and ability in arranging the dinner on Christmas Eve and the lunch on Christmas Day. He fully deserved the special vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Teale and carried with enthusiasm by all present.

In the photograph of the football team the names, reading left to right, are, standing, Messrs. Fowden, Luff, Howell, Curtis, C. Hattersley, Proctor, and Teale, sitting, Messrs. Morris, T. G. Hattersley, Parsons, Taylor, Koch, and Gower. The Duala staff photograph shows, reading left to right, standing, Messrs. Gower, Koch, T. G. Hattersley, Morris, Taylor, Howell, Luff (Northern District Agent), Proctor, Sutcliffe, and Howden; sitting, Messrs. Fowden, C. Hattersley (Victoria District Agent), Parsons (Duala District Agent), Teale (Divisional Agent), Stott (Central District Agent), Chown, and Curtis.

A Well-Known Team.

The Osu Sports Club team, winners of the Accra African Cricket League Shield from 1920 to 1922 includes, stand ng from left to right, Messrs. C. D. K. Lokko, C. W. Quiet, C. J. Engmann (umpire), C. A. Dowuona (field captain), J. Ayiku, W. A. G. Richter (scorer), E. T. Laryea, and M. L. Augustt; sitting, Messrs. B. A. Ashiedu, Sam Nortey-Okla, Dan A. Akuffoe, L. J. Randolph (general captain), S. L. N. Omaboe, E. [illegible] N. Dowuona, and J. W. Nortey, the well-known [illegible] hand bowler.

DEATH OF KING KHAMA RECALLS MONARCH'S DEEDS

Chicago Defender 3-10-23

Was First Bone Dry Ruler; Burned His Capital at One Time to Save People

In the midst of all the restlessness that bestirs the world today, time was taken last week to chronicle, wherever men read, the death of the good King Khama of the Bamangwatos in faraway Bechuanaland.

Lack of acquaintance with the life and record of this savage king caused people to wonder that the press of the world took so much notice of his death at a grand old age. He was more than 95.

Two characteristics made him a figure of world renown—he was sagacious and he was gentlemanly.

First Prohibition King

It is believed that he was the first ruler anywhere on earth to come out and plead for prohibition for his subjects. The story is told of a time when the British were to build the Cape to Cairo railroad. King Khama objected. He claimed that this road and the bringing of so many white men into his land would bring with it rum and whisky which were not good for his people.

When the representatives of England and Africa refused to accede to his request and change the survey affecting his kingdom, he decided to go to England and place his case before Queen Victoria. Touched with the simple sincerety of the monarch, the queen agreed to Khama's request and the survey line was changed.

King Khama's views on prohibition were not those of a fanatic, but rather the feeling of a wise monarch who wished to protect his people. The king embraced Christianity when, as a lad, he met Livingstone, the famous missionary-explorer.

Spares Live Babies

But he was not a narrow-minded man. Although himself a Christian, he advocated religious liberty in his land. He introduced many reforms designed to improve the living conditions of his people and raise the standard of living. He abolished witchcraft, stopped the practice of burying live babies with dead mothers and decreed against the sale of women as cattle.

Many stories were told the world over of King Khama. One of these was of a king who sacrificed his capital for his people.

Khama had been noticing that his people were not in the best of health. Unable to attribute this to the conditions, he called in a white doctor who made a survey and reported that bad water was causing the sickness among the Bamangwatos. Unable to improve the water, King Khama determined on a novel remedy.

Sending the young men of his land to a place about 40 miles distant from Shoshong, the capital, he ordered them to build a city. When the huge work was completed he removed his people, 40,000 strong, from doomed Shoshong and installed them in the new city of Palapeye. King Khama himself lit the first torch that was applied to the thatch of Shosong and watch the city burn to the ground.

ABYSSINIAN SLAVES NOW BRING $6 EACH.

Dallas Express 3/24/23.

(By A. N. P.)

Geneva, Switzerland, March 23.—Is human slavery a thing of the past? The League of Nations has discovered that slaves may be had for a bargain. Human slaves are sold on the block in Abyssinia at prices ranging from $24 down, according to information reaching the league of nations. Jetas

Quotations on humans caught in the open, chained, grouped, and sold into slavery, for rich Mussulmans living in the interior of Asia—this in the year 1923—are given as follows:

1. Able bodied male slaves, $6 to $24 each, according to age, strength, and productive ability.
2. Female slaves, demand slight, $6 down.
3. Child slaves, absolute drug on the market. These cost so much to keep until they reach age of reproductivity they are a losing investment.

The league will tackle the problem of suppression of human slavery at the next annual assembly in September.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa

COLOR PROBLEMS IN OTHER LANDS

In a recent article in the New York WORLD, Hugh O'Connor says, 'When French newspapers told how Americans at a Montmartre night resort rose immediately at their tables and shouted angrily for the manager to 'throw out' two Negroes who had taken places, the French public was bewildered at first. It seemed a matter for an alienist. Then they were furious when it was explained what it meant." He quotes further comments of French papers and states that two resorts were closed by Paris police after the proprietors had refused to serve two Negroes because of the protest of American patrons.

Information Service
November 3, 1923.

The color problem in the British Empire seems to be assuming new complications growing out of claims of equality of status from Indians who have moved to other parts of the Empire, as pointed out by Harold Page in the NEW YORK TIMES for September 30. It seems that the acuteness of the situation began as far back as 1906 when Ghandi, now in prison in India, agitated for equal rights of East Indians in South Africa. This effort lost, Indians turned their attention to East Africa in the Kenya Colony. The wrangle there between the Indians and whites finally was referred for settlement to the Home Government which had held that the South African problem could only be dealt with by the South African Colonial Government, an independent dominion. The Home Government recently rendered a decision on the problem in Kenya Colony to the effect that the franchise in the Colony should be arranged on communal lines instead of a grant of equality of status. The Government of the country is to be entrusted to a legislative council in which the 9,000 whites are to be represented by eleven members of their own community, and the 1,000 East Indians by five representatives from their own community; 10,000 Arabs were given one representative, and "the African native colony of 2,500,000 is to be represented by one Christian missionary." Following this decision a tremendous protest has arisen in the press both in India and in Kenya Colony itself.

In the Parliamentary debates of the House of Commons on July 25, last, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that he had held a conference at the Colonial Office consisting of African governors and colonial secretaries together with educational advisors to consider the future of native education in Africa. He said, "We want to explore the experiences of the world as to what is the best and most suitable form and type of education that we can give the Africans for the purpose of giving light to New Africa. With that in view we have formed a permanent committee and I hope shortly to get a permanent secretary to advise on this issue." He stated that the Government had been led to that action largely from perusing the interesting report on Education in West and South Africa of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund and that Dr. Jones had been induced to go to East Africa for a similar survey.

Another phase of the relation of color to caste has come out in the recent admission of the Ethiopian Empire of Abyssinia to membership in the League of Nations following the abolition of slavery within her boundaries. It was also reported that the Italian Government has ordered the release of slaves within the Italian Legation in Abyssinia where it seems that the native staff of the Legation owned slaves. They are henceforth to be considered as servants.

AFRICAN PROGRESS UNION.

[*Specially reported for* WEST AFRICA.]

A comparatively small gathering—the number about thirty—which made up for its paucity by healthy self-criticism, assembled at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, on Tuesday afternoon at the annual meeting of the African Progress Union.

Dr. John Alcindor, the President, was the capable chairman, who had on his right in the early part of the meeting an interesting visitor. Dr. W. E. B. du Bois, who has African, French and Dutch blood in his veins, is a charming man, intellectual, forceful and devoted to the Pan-African movement. He has a way of taking a subject—like organisation, for instance—that seems commonplace, and investing it with extraordinary interest.

West-Africa
1923

The chairman, in a few graceful words, welcomed visitors, especially Dr. du Bois. They knew what their distinguished visitor stood for, and some of them knew Dr. du Bois better than he (the chairman) did. Therefore, what he might say of Dr. du Bois could scarcely add to his reputation; it already stood so high. His activities, anxieties and sacrifices in regard to the Pan-African Congress were illustrations of what he (the chairman) meant. Dr. Alcindor proceeded to paint a metaphorical picture. They were all too near this canvas to appreciate its beauty or its value, but the maturing hand of time would develop its qualities, and posterity would then be able to assess its value. "But I can assure you, sir," turning to Dr. du Bois, "the African Progress Union will be proud to assist you in developing and toning this picture. I should like, in the name of the African Progress Union, to help our European friends. We are all very glad to see you." The chairman went on to refer to different people concerning this occasion, including Sir Sidney Olivier, who had written to say he would be there. Mr. Harris also had been to them a good friend, giving them information that could not be obtained elsewhere. So had WEST AFRICA, always willing and anxious to give them "a leg-up." The chairman proceeded to read out a few letters. Lady Guggisberg had written that she was extremely sorry she was unable to attend. Mr. A. J. Royal, connected with the West African seamen, who had done extremely good work in the East End neighbourhood for some years, could not come. A student in Edinburgh wished them success. Mr. E. T. Jenkins, A.R.A.M., a member of the committee, was away in Paris just now. Mr. Max Thompson, who had been a bulwark to the Union, and was one of the founders, wrote to say, however wishful to be present, he feared he could not come. The Union should bestir itself and become more articulate, and he (Mr. Thompson) hoped it would be helpful to the numerous Africans who would come to this country next year for the British Empire Exhibition. M. Edouard Journaux, secretary of the International Bureau for the Protection of the Native Races, wrote in French, a letter which the chairman said he freely translated. It was of prime importance, he wrote, that the coloured races, which had by their intelligence won an honoured position in a white world, should devote all their energies for their less-favoured brethren. It was true the great Colonial Powers were animated with a general desire to protect and promote the interests of the coloured races, and the laws they enacted were destined for their development. It was equally true there were evil-minded people who had their own selfish ends. They must endeavour to promote a sense of responsibility among the civilised mem-

bers of the African races towards the less civilised. It was desirable that such an organisation as the Union should extend the hand of friendship towards white organisations with the object of bridging any difficulties between the two.

The abrogation of Rule 9 and the amendment of Rule 12 were put to the meeting and carried.

The report for 1922-23 was read by Miss Smith. It noted a marked increase in the activities of the Union. The flogging and shooting of Natives in British East Africa was referred to, representations having been made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies concerning the flogging to death of a Native by a white settler at Molo, Kenya. With reference to the formation of a branch of the African Progress Union in French Cameroon a communication was recently received from the Director of the Mandates Commission, League of Nations, to the effect that the French Government were about to undertake a subsidiary investigation in the matter.

The report was adopted.

The Treasurer, Mr. J. A. Barbour James, gave particulars of the balance-sheet. They were not well off, but the Union was popular, and they hoped the results of the efforts of Dr. Alcindor and Mrs. Alcindor would improve their financial position shortly.

Dr. Alcindor, who had vacated the chair, taken by Dr. Ojo Olaribigbe for the time being, was unanimously re-elected President for the ensuing two years. He reminded the meeting on taking the chair again of the words of Dr. Clifford that one man is no man, and that it is co-operation that matters. He (Dr. Alcindor) gave the palm to the ladies of the Union, Mrs. Pearson, Miss Coussey and others—(hear, hear)—who did the work. The Union, he was sure, would go from strength to strength.

Dr. du Bois and Mrs. Casely Hayford were elected vice-presidents, and the officers and the committee were re-elected *en bloc*.

The President then made some observations on East African questions, which met with the general approval of the meeting. He had received from a correspondent in East Africa a newspaper containing a report of the flogging of a Native. The President went into the details of the story, dealing with the various points of it, the evidence, the charges, the trial and the sentence, in a judicial manner. Defining the circumstances of the Native's escape and return to his master, Dr. Alcindor asked, "What is that but slavery?" In course of time he hoped a Native would be able to stand up in the market-place at Kenya, and say, "I am free; I am a man." (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Dr. du Bois followed with a gentle but informing homily on organisation. People learned about organisation piece-meal from one another. They were representatives of the coloured world, of all groups of African descent. They must take that responsibility. They might be individual in ideas, but despite themselves they represented others. The spirit of organisation was sacrifice for certain ends The National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured Peoples in America on one morning by newspaper advertisement made 100,000,000 people think about lynching. How were they going to get great nations to realise things unless one forced it down their throats in some way like that? Organisation would do it, and that meant great sacrifice and unfailing responsibility. (Applause.)

Dr. du Bois was heartily thanked for an inspiring address.

Mr. J. H. Harris followed with an address on the League of Nations and Native Races. He was illuminative on the subject of the Native question in Rhodesia and Kenya, which latter place, he pointed out, has a judicial system all its own among British Colonies. There it is possible during the course of a trial to change the indictment. Clearly the object of that is to restrain the action of a judge. Mr. Harris also pointed out that though the International Labour Congress was proceeding there was not present a representative of Native labour in South Africa. ("Shame.") That was a situation the Union should not tolerate. His statement regarding the loyalty of the League of Nations to the administration of the ex-German territories, and that when the inhabitants were capable of taking over the government they would be given it—that was the fundamental principle of it—met with "question" from Mr G. L. Gilkes, of Barbadoes.

Mr. Harris proceeded to make the point clearer to his interrupter, who at a later stage made the statement that only force had ever achieved such a result in history.

Mr. Harris was also interrupted by an African, who did not exactly follow his words, but Mr. Harris made his statements good, and went on to refer to the question of the Permanent Mandates Commission, of eight men and one woman, and the declaration of *domain privee* first introduced by King Leopold in certain territory of the Congo Free State. That question had now arisen in these mandated areas. Were these territories to be declared the private properties of a metropolitan Government in Europe?

Race Problem – 1923.
Africa.

Griqualand East Native Teachers' Assn.

The annual conference of the Griqualand East Native Teachers for 1922 was held in St. John's College, Umtata on the 16th Jan. 1923.

The President Mr Julius Jordan was absent from the conference on account of ill-health, and Councillor J. H. Mkatshwa was elected to the chair. By the way, Mr Mkatshwa is a teacher in Mount Frere district, and is also a member for that district in the General Council.

Among much matter that was dispensed with the following motions were brought forward :—

Mr J. M. Dippa proposed the following :—Firstly, "The Education Dept be respectfully requested to encourage local organizations of vacation courses for the purpose of giving aid and opportunity to teachers to study certain subjects that are in the Native Primary School Course." Secondly,—"That the much desired affiliation of our Native local branches to the South African Teachers' Association of Europeans teachers should either be discouraged or left in abeyance for the time being untill all Native Teachers' Associations have been amalgamated. It would be a fine thing for Native teachers to join European teachers in a mass." Thirdly,—"That teachers' annual shows be organized by the conference for the purpose of promoting interest of both teachers and pupils. In such shows exhibits to be solely and exclusively articles and things produced, made or manufactured by Native children in Native schools such prizes as shall be available be distributed amongst the schools for the best exhibits."

Mr Mapekula proposed the following motion, "that the General Council be asked to erect garden fences for the schools."

The election of office bearers was as follows:— Rev. R. A. Scott, President; Mr J. H. Mkatshwa, vice President; Mr J. M. Dippa, Gen. Secretary and Treasurer.

The J. T. Jabavu Fund

Donation in memory of the Momental National Work achieved by The Late John Tengo Jabavu.

(*Letter to the Editor, Imvo*).

We, the undersigned, have been instructed by the "King Native Teachers' Association, at its quarterly meeting held in the (U.F.C) school at Xukwane (Knox Station) on the 3rd November, 1922, to forward to you the donation of five Guineas, in aid of the proposed memorial for our widely lamented patriot and devoted leader Late John Tengo Jabavu."

All the teachers and other enlightened bodies resident in King William's Town Division painfully realise the irreparable loss sustained throughout South Africa through his death.

The late J. Tengo Jabavu was a keen prophet whose vision penetrated far into the future of the development of his race; in his age of darkness and great scepticism when the black man had very little faith in himself, he saw and brought into existence many a constructive scheme, to which Bantu advancement is to-day largely indebted. In 1884 when he started his modest journal, he achieved a noble work which spelt true manliness and devoted patriotism for a man of his age. He was a seer, who foresaw the absolute need of a Native Newspaper which would act as a mouthpiece for his oppressed race, and to the materialisation of this admirable vision he directed indefatigable efforts.

We gratefully acknowledge his boundless devotion in advancing Native education, as the South African Native College is a token of his never failing courage in this direction. In all his endeavour and striving in this direction he was ever the true patriot, thinking much of the good he might secure for others, and little of the gain for himself.

S. H. NTULI. (Sec.)
D. P. MKOSANA, (vice Sec.)
D. TIME, (Treasurer).

A LETTER FROM PRETORIA.

Growth of the Capital—Native Affairs—Administration of S.-W. Africa.

("African World" Correspondent.)

PRETORIA, April 18.

Pretoria is perceptibly growing under our very eyes, and there is none of its citizens so blind who cannot watch and rejoice in the process. We look to our building statistics to confirm the evidence that we see all round us, and we find that during the past year (1921-22) twice as many plans were passed as in the previous twelve months, and twice as many houses were built. Incidentally, these figures reveal the remarkable fall which has occurred in the cost of building. The value of the plans which were passed in 1921-22 was in fact, equal to that of the 1920-21 valuation, in spite of the 100 per cent. increase in number. So much for statistics.

Even without them it is possible to see, after a fairly comprehensive tour of the capital and its environs, how the suburbs which were only a few years ago empty veld are rapidly filling up with modern residences which speak of a solid prosperity and comfort. Hatfield, Brooklyn, and the other extensions of old Pretoria now stretch even beyond the limits of easy communication, and they have grown so energetically that they have outstripped the lighting capacities of the municipality, which is laboriously striving to overtake them. There is now more than a rumour of an extended tram service which will make living in these outlying parts, delightful as they are, even more attractive.

In the meantime there is a sign of the times in an advertisement by a local estate agent, who boldly invites us to purchase erven adjacent to the site (as he emphatically assures us) of the new Legislative Buildings of South Africa! Even if the "single capital conspiracy" (vide the "Cape Times") has miscarried—assuming that it ever existed—there is an air of conviction about this statement which makes it impressive. It is indicative of the optimistic faith which Pretorians repose in this city of theirs. The great Bourke Trust and the Southern Life Association, who are building huge blocks of offices in the centre of the town, carry the average man's optimism to its logical conclusion.

Native Affairs Criticisms.

In conversation with a leading light of the Union Public Service, who has a very real influence in the direction of South African policy, he indicated to me that the Government was deeply impressed with the immense importance and urgency of the native problem in the Union, and I certainly did not gather from him any desire on the part of the authorities to belittle the Native Affairs Administration, as has recently been stated by irresponsible persons. The reorganisation which came into effect this financial year was designed to serve the dual purpose of securing a much-needed economy and of tightening up the efficiency of the Administration.

Criticisms have been heard regarding the retirement of Mr. Barrett from the position of Secretary for Native Affairs and the appointment of Major Herbst, from Windhoek, in his stead. The most that can be said about this is that these criticisms are somewhat premature. It is generally supposed that the former Secretary presented an obdurate front against the Government's scheme of reorganisation, and in the circumstances his continuation in the post would have presented great difficulties. Major Herbst comes from South-West Africa with a sound, all-round reputation, although attempts have been made to cast some of the blame for the Bondelzwart affair on his shoulders. It seems clear, however, from the report of the Native Affairs Commission, just issued, that he was only carrying out loyally the instructions of the Administrator, who has assumed the sole responsibility for all that has happened in the mandated territory.

Administration of South-West Africa.

The new Secretary for South-West Africa is Mr. Harold P. Smit, a very popular official, who was for many years in charge of staff matters at the Department of Justice, and, more recently, was one of the Public Service Commission Inspectors. Mr. Smit is a comparatively young man, and his rise has been rapid and consistent. He is generally recognised as a most capable and level-headed officer, who should comport himself very adequately in his new post, which is by no means a bed of roses. South-West Africa has been very much in the limelight recently, and it is thought to be very doubtful whether the present Administrator, Mr. G. R. Hofmeyr, will long continue to survive the ordeal. The slings and arrows of outrageous criticism have been wielded with merciless effect against him, and it cannot be said that he has been altogether happy in his retaliation.

H. L.

"AFRICA AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH"

Address by Prof. A. P. Newton at King's College.

At King's College, Strand, on May 1st, Prof. A. P. Newton, M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc., F.S.A., gave an address on "Africa and Historical Research." It was arranged by the African Society, and was public, being given under the Department of History of the College.

Prof. Newton pointed out, at the outset, that the historian in his study of the past finds that, as a rule, the sea unites a people on its coasts rather than divides them. When we look at Africa historically, he proceeded, and from a point of view of a science that directs its attention not merely to the land, but to the living beings that it contains, the apparent unity was seen to be illusory.

North Africa from the Cape to the Isthmus of Suez is emphatically a Mediterranean land, closely linked throughout with the lands on the other side of the midland sea in history and integrally connected in every century with the politics of Southern Europe and Western Asia. As its eastern side lies Egypt and the Nile, one of the earliest cradles of civilisation. In the centre of the North African litoral lay Carthage, for centuries the rival of Rome and later one of the wealthiest and most important provinces of that Empire. The real dividing line between the Mediterranean lands and modern Africa is not the sea, the lecturer said, but lies to the south beyond the arid wastes of the Sahara and the deserts of Libya. The Africa that lies beyond the Tropic of Cancer was a story that began only with modern times and had most of its chapters within the compass of little more than 100 years.

Africa beyond the tropics was a land that had always been approached by civilised men oversea and, though within the latest years a few adventurous performers had begun to pass to it by the ancient caravan routes across the desert, or by the difficult navigation of the Upper Nile, historically these links were still of the slightest,

and they did nothing to break the political insularity of the continent.

How came it that the Africa of their inquiry possessed practically no history before the coming of Europeans? These lands had been inhabited since remote ages and offered to the anthropologist and the student of primitive customs an extremely varied field of study. All history naturally began when man took to writing. Two English scholars of first-rate authority had surveyed the story as a whole and everyone who began investigation into the history of Africa must familiarise himself with their work. Sir H. H. Johnston, besides his other authoritative books, had summarised "The Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races" and Sir Charles Lucas had added to the debt all students owe to him for his admirable volume on South Tropic Africa by his recent stimulating and suggestive book on "The Partition and Colonisation of Africa."

Monograph works on African history had been almost entirely concerned with actual happenings in Africa and had suffered to some extent from lack of connection with the only real binding link, the great history of European expansion oversea. Proceeding to speak of the history of the Middle Ages, he said some gleanings could be made from Arab geographers and chroniclers. Many new products besides slaves were introduced from Guinea by the Genoese merchants, and from Europe's scanty stock of gold was replenished by the new source of gold found in the sands of the West African rivers. The names that these shores still bore in modern maps—the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast, the Ivory Coast, and so on—dated right back to the period of their early exploration, and we should like to know more of the circumstances of the first traders there and of the founding of the Portuguese settlement which governed Sao Jorge Da Mina, St. George of the Mine, the predecessor of the modern Elmina. Christopher Columbus was said to have accompanied the expedition sent out by King John II to establish the first fort there, but we still knew little about its story.

So we might go on down the whole of the Western Coast of the continent. The Dutch contest with the Portuguese for the trade of West Africa and the subsequent entry of England as a competitor had been little studied. The rivalries of England and France in Senegambia in the late seventeenth century had been investigated by one of his students, Miss Thora Stone, and she had presented the result in a yet unpublished thesis on which the M.A. degree was granted a year or so ago. Miss Stone was continuing her research and carrying them down into the eighteenth century in a contribution to the "English Historical Review." She has shown how the earliest exploration of the Upper Nile to the Senegal was accomplished by an English trader during the reign of William III. Miss Eveline Martin, of East London College, was awarded the Alexander prize of the Royal Historical Society in 1921 for a contribution on "The Organisation of the English Forts and Factories on the Gold Coast in the eighteenth century," which was only a summary of her larger unpublished work on the subject. There was an immense field waiting exploration in the history of the slave trade and its suppression. A proper sense of proportion must be preserved in placing this subject in its true setting, and this could only be done effectively where a group of persons was engaged in historical research. As Universities organised post graduate training in history, as they had already done in natural science, it would be from the ranks of such students that the best contributors to our knowledge of the history of Africa would be found.

Wanted—A Native Policy.

An important statement was made last week bearing on the fundamentals of the Native question, by the Prime Minister in a mass meeting at the Cape Town City Hall.

Moved by strong language on the part of Dr Abdurahman, President of the African Political Organisation, on the subject of the disabilities of Coloured people, General Smuts, according to the daily press "referred to the needs of the native population of South Africa, and pointed out that the Government had passed Acts of far reaching effort on the natives and would help them to improve themselves also, and referred to the Bill dealing with natives in urban areas. The needs of the coloured population had also to be considered. A few weeks ago a coloured congress was held and put forward certain requests, some of which were unreasonable, but there was a good deal in what thay said that ought to be attended to. He felt certain that injustice had been done the coloured people in this Province, Millions had been spent on the education of the white population, a good deal on native educat on, but comparatively little on coloured educat on. He had gone very carefully into the matter, and the Government had come to the conclusion that there was a minimum which must be done, and arrangements would be made for the necessary improvement to be effected in regard to coloured people."

We would like to know what these "Acts of far-reaching effect on the Natives" are? The Act of 1920 establishing Native Councils is as dead as Queen Anne. The so-called Ciskei Commissioner with headquarters of King Williamstown has done nothing to bring it into practical politics. On the contrary his occasional excursions among the Native Headmen have accentuated division, to split the people into "educated" and "uneducated" persons, and to lessen general faith in the good intentions of the Government. The Native Urban Areas Bill is not yet passed. A new Native Education Tax is being mooted to tax Natives *alone* for the development of their education, after they paid heavily for increase of the salaries of European, Indian and Coloured teachers. Now as a result of menacing language by the President of the coloured people's political organisation the Premier intends to give a sop to the coloureds to the exclusion of Natives. Evidently the day is not yet when the Minister for Native Affairs will conduct his business with something like a policy. Governmet is still satisfied with drifting.

Native Teachers.

King Central Teachers' Association.

The above association met at King Wms Town in the Higher Mission Schoolroom on the 24th March, 1923, under the chairmanship of Mr A. Bain, M.A., Inspector of Schools of the King Wms Town district

Before the tackling of the agenda, Mr J. C. Mekute, the President of the Association opened the proceedings by welcoming the Inspector to a conference with the Association. The agenda was as follows:—

(1) Understaffing, (2) Ordinance No 10 of 1922, (3) A review of the Primary School Course by the Inspector.

Mr E. Maliza stood and elucidated to the Inspector what the Association meant by understaffing. He admited how sympathetic the Inspector was in connection with this deplorable strain. He also said that it was not the Inspector's sympathy only that the teachers wanted but his substantial aasistance in the betterment of this pressing inconvenience. The Inspector briefly illustrated how infeasible the rectification of this was owing to the present financial stringency, and that there was no likelihood of betterment of the position until July, when the Provincial Council will have, perhaps, met and bettered the funds.

Attention was directed to the second item of the agenda. The Inspector, Mr Bain having requested the Pricipals to state the difficulties they have experienced at this juncture. Mr Mekute in response explained that the difficulty he himself had experienced was that of getting money for the books which have been purchased by the children and further explained how partial the guardians take the teachers to be in determining which children are capable of purchasing the books, and which are incapable. At this moment it was found that some Principals had not received the price circulars, and Mr Bain took their names. The Inspector having learnt these difficulties, expressed how, in his opinion, both Principals and Managers appear reluctant to carry out the terms of this ordinance as they are aware of the friction that may be wrought by the same. But it was necessary that the Principals and Managers should abide by the terms of this ordinance until it was amended. After a long discussion by the teachers explaining the critical situation they are apt to be cast upon by the terms of this ordinance a resolution was moved by Mr E. Maliza and adopted that:—

"In the opinion of this meeting the free supply of books in Primary Schools should still be continued as endeavours to comply with the terms of ordinance no 10 of 1922 have been made but proved a failure."

Lastly but not least the Inspector Mr Bain had the kindness to review the PrimarySchool Course in which he explained the teachers' inabilities, he had experienced in his rounds. Briefly he evinced how desirable it is that the children should be taught with intelligence. At this juncture, Mr Mbuya moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Inspector for the devoted interest he showed in Native Education, and expressed on behalf of the meeting the ecstasy the teachers felt, that this long desired opportunity has been arrived at. The motion was seconded by Mr J. Tyamzashe, who expressed the wishes of most teachers when he suggested that the Inspector during his rounds should endeavour to find out the best teachers in the several subjects of the curriculum with a view of holding annual meetings with them where they should give demonstration lessons in order to help other teachers along right and proper lines.

The happy proceedings came to a close at 1.15 p.m.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

WE are more than t. at; we are hypocrites. Last week *The Nation* deferred to the controversy in Kenya Colony, British East Africa, where 9,000 Englishmen rule 2,000,000 black Africans, and are fighting to bar 30,000 Indians from civil rights. These Englishmen are of the dominant Nordic, Anglo-Saxon type which America celebrates in the *Saturday Evening Post*, in Arrow-collar advertisements, and in Ku Klux Klan demonstrations. They plead the necessity for their control on the ground of superior interest in the welfare of the natives, just as we justify lynchings, tar-and-featherings, and the conquest of Haiti and Nicaragua on similar moral grounds. And then comes such a revelation of the indecency of the kind of man who pleads the "white man's burden" as this Reuter dispatch from Nairobi, in the Kenya Colony:

A painful affair, which resulted in the death of a native farm worker up country, has aroused general indignation here. It is alleged that the native concerned rode a mare in foal without permission, thus causing the animal's death, and that the European owner of the farm, a settler at Molo, was so enraged that he and three assistants thrashed the culprit, with the result that the man died.

SOUTH AFRICA

The African National Congress, an amalgamation of several political organizations in session at Bloemfontein, on July 9 adopted resolutions expressing "no confidence" in General Smuts and demanding a separate portfolio for native affairs. In view of the British Government's declarations to several African deputations on behalf of the aboriginal races, that it could not interfere in the internal affairs of self-governing Dominions, the Congress declared that the time had come for the Bantu people to support a republican form of government.

In a white paper issued on July 13, relating to the future of Southern and Northern Rhodesia the chief features of a proposed settlement of the claims of the British South Africa Company were outlined as follows: The payment to the company of £3,750,000; the vesting of the unalienated lands in Southern Rhodesia in the responsible Government to be set up on Oct. 1; the transfer of the administration of Northern Rhodesia to the Crown; the payment of £2,000,000 by the new Rhodesian Government to the British Government, and the repayment by the Rhodesian Government of £300,000 advanced to the administration of Southern Rhodesia by the Imperial Exchequer.

THE W.A.F.F.

TIME was when the West African Frontier Force was, perhaps, even to those in authority in London, one of the least-known military organisations of the Empire; but those who were privileged to be present at the W.A.F.F. dinner last week must have been greatly impressed with the increasing numbers of the officers claiming personal connection with one or other of our fine battalions on the Coast. To Sir James Willcocks, who, with Sir Frederick Lugard, was the distinguished originator of the Force in its present form, the position of chairman at such a gathering must have been a pleasure unsurpassed perhaps by any of the many successes of his distinguished career, while to the officers of a Force where economy is in these days carried almost to the verge of parsimony the pleasure of joining forces for the nonce with Finance—the Earl of Selborne, Chairman of the Bank of British West Africa, and a personality well known to the Coast, was the guest of the evening—must also have been not inconsiderable.

At such a time, it is not out of place to glance back at the origins and history of what is now the W.A.F.F. As with the majority of successful British organisations in West Africa, it is the result of a slow, natural growth, and the roots from which it has arisen permeate the whole of the early military and police organisations of the West Coast. It is noteworthy that the inception of an indigenous military force in West Africa was the direct outcome, not of a policy of defence for ourselves, or of offence against our neighbours, but of the defence of Africans against Africans. It was in 1862 that Stanhope Freeman, Governor of the British West African Colonies, wrote to the Colonial Secretary pointing out that our agreement with King Docemo included a clause guaranteeing the defence of the people of Lagos against the slave-raiding tribes around them. In the following year a first unit of 30 men—Hausas and Yorubas—was raised, which was increased in 1864 to 600. The success of the new force led in 1865 to the formation of the Lagos Hausa Constabulary, who, as "Glover's Hausas," served with distinction in the Ashanti Campaign of 1873-4. In 1905 they became the 2nd Southern Nigeria Regiment, which six years later became merged with the Oil Rivers Protectorate Constabulary and some of the Royal Niger Company's police in the Southern Nigeria Regiment, redividing in 1914, when the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria was proclaimed, into the 3rd and 4th Nigeria Regiment.

In Northern Nigeria, the weakness of the Royal Niger Company's Police led to the formation in 1897 by Sir Frederick Lugard and Sir James Willcocks of a force called the Royal Niger Constabulary. This absorbed further portions of the constabularies of the Oil Rivers and Niger Coast Protectorates. In 1900, this force became the 1st and 2nd Nigeria Regiment, and in 1901 the military forces of West Africa were amalgamated into the present W.A.F.F., a mounted infantry battalion being added in Northern Nigeria two years later. The Gold Coast Regiment has had a much more direct growth from the old Gold Coast Constabulary, and is recruited largely from the Hausa-speaking tribes of the Northern Territories, while Sierra Leone also has a battalion, which supplies a company for duty in the Gambia.

The active service record of the W.A.F.F. is as varied as the sources from which the recruits are drawn, and even to this day some small portion of "The Regiment" is always "at war." On several occasions the Force has been honoured for its gallantry and endurance by a mention in the King's Speech at the Opening of Parliament, and the following brief list of its principal activities within the past thirty years cannot but be of interest:—

1893.—Sofa Expedition against Samory's followers (Sierra Leone).
1897.—Benin City Expedition, following the Benin massacre.
1898.—Hut Tax Rebellion in Sierra Leone.
1900.—Relief of Coomassie, under Sir J. Willcocks.
1901.—Expedition against Marabuts and Soninkes (Gambia).
1901-2.—Aro Expedition, and destruction of the "Long Juju."
1902.—Bornu Expedition against Malam Jibrella.
1903.—Kano and Sokoto Expedition.
1908-9.—Niger-Cross River Expedition.
1914-18.—Togo, Cameroon, and German East Africa campaigns, and the regrettable Abeokuta rising.

In the Great War the Gold Coast Regiment claims the distinction of being the first British force to enter enemy territory, and the capture of Togoland was one of the most rapid operations of the period. In the Cameroon campaign perhaps the most glorious events were the capture of Banyo and the heroic stand of the little garrison of Nsanakang until its destruction by overwhelming forces of the enemy, while in East Africa such varied tests as the famine in the Rufiji area, the defence of Beho Chini, and the battles of Mahiwa and Mkwera have added imperishable fame to the records of our African army. Co-existent with the troops, sharing equally their dangers, and suffering to a greater degree their hardships, that unrecognised but heroic band, the carriers, must not be omitted from any notice of the W.A.F.F. Without the carriers, extended military operations in tropical Africa are even now impossible, and while the soldier has his regimental colours, his medals, and perhaps a gratuity, to mark his service for the Empire, the carrier has often in the past been unable even to obtain his pay.

Of the character of the European *personnel* nothing need be said, for the efficiency and the discipline of the Force, both on parade and in "the Bush," form a sufficiently eloquent testimony to the quality of the training imparted. The value of the work performed by these officers and European N.C.O.s cannot be too highly estimated, producing as they are doing in their African subordinates trained leaders possessed not only of a fair knowledge of English, but of such subjects as sanitation and hygiene. These leaders will in due course return to their own towns, where, even if they put their knowledge to no direct use, they may at least awaken some more active mind to the value of their information.

KENYA AND THE AFRICANS' LAND RIGHTS.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Although I am not a member of the delegation from Kenya Colony at present attending the Colonial Office, I am accompanying them at the request of the Governor, and I have been selected by my fellow-missionaries in Kenya to express the point of view of the Natives throughout the Colony. I should therefore esteem it a courtesy if you would allow me to state that a report, widely circulated, suggesting that Africans are favourable to the claims of the Indians, does not correctly represent the true attitude of our Native people.

The Native point of view is the one which we missionaries of Kenya are emphasising, and it has to be admitted that, as he sees it, this Indian question is subsidiary to the land question. He thinks of his land first and foremost. Now, in the past a good deal of land owned by Natives has been taken away from them, and naturally, they are exceedingly afraid of any continuation of that policy. The first thing that they want is that their land should be secured to them inalienably.

I may say that the recent judgment of the High Court in which it was stated that they were only "tenants at the will of the Crown" has upset them very much.

While it is true, however, both that the land question is the most important question for the Natives of Kenya and that here they have what I believe to be a real grievance, it is also true that they recognise that the presence of Indians in Kenya is hindering their own development. I can speak for the majority of missionaries when I say that the particular type of Indian in closest touch with the Native peoples has not an uplifting influence upon them. We recognise all that

the Indian trader has done to meet the needs of the Native view, I am confident that the mass of Natives in providing markets for them, yet, at the same time, we should much prefer the Natives to carry on this trade themselves. Very many Natives have expressed that view to me. They feel, too, that the presence of Indians as clerks, telegraphists and so on in subordinate Government posts is, like the Indian occupation of artisans' billets on the railway and in industrial concerns, keeping the African Native from work which otherwise he would have been taught to do.

This being the state of Native feeling towards the Indians, it will naturally be asked why any section of them should now be supporting the Indian claims. The explanation is that a rumour which has been given currency in this ocuntry is the work of the East African Association, a comparative handful of young, educated and irresponsible Natives at Nairobi. This is the association which created the Thuku trouble of last year resulting in the unfortunate Nairobi riot in which some Natives were killed. At the time we missionaries took a strong attitude against the Thuku movement, as being really inimical to the best interests of the Natives themselves.

A large section of the Kikuyu tribe, whom I know, are against the claims of the Indians, and it is true to say that the East African Association is not by any means representative of Native opinion throughout the country. It is disowned by a large section of the Kenya people, and, should it now claim to represent the general Native view, I am confident that the mass of Natives would insist upon expressing through their own representatives their attitude towards the questions at issue

Yours faithfully,

JOHN W. ARTHUR.

London, June 11th.

[It will be seen that Dr. Arthur practically endorses the view expressed in WEST AFRICA when the delegations arrived, namely, that while the Indians' proper rights and privileges should be justly dealt with, there should be no question of introducing any system which will place predominant political power in the hands of any country but Great Britain, and that the Colonial Office should apply in East Africa the same principles and methods of government which have proved so successful in another part of tropical Africa, namely, British West Africa.—ED. "W.A."]

THE SLAVE TRADE IN ABYSSINIA.

In connection with the question of slave-raiding in Abyssinia, recently discussed in the British press, Ras Tafari, the Regent of Abyssinia, has given for publication an important statement. In this he remarks that in his opinion the League of Nations cannot properly send a commission of inquiry to investigate slave-raiding in Abyssina unless a similar inquiry is carried out in French Somaliland and the British territory bordering part of Abyssinia. The Regent, while stating that the Abyssinian Government is willing heartily to co-operate with the League of Nations for the suppression of slave-raiding, maintained that responsibility for the present traffic rests as much with the British and French authorities as with Abyssinia.

SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTIONS.

The following leaderette from the "Times" of Tuesday reflects the position of affairs in South Africa so correctly that we have pleasure in reproducing it:—

General Smuts is back in South Africa once again, and, for a time at least, is likely to find sufficient occupation in the politics of his own country. His position is still rather precarious, but the danger seems less imminent than it did a few months ago. The unnatural alliance between the Nationalists and the Labour Party has been strained almost to breaking point during his absence between the embarrassingly Republican tendencies of Mr. Tielman Roos and the equally embarrassing disavowals of Mr. Barlow. It is true that General Hertzog and Colonel Creswell have worked feverishly to repair the breach made in their pact by their too outspoken lieutenants; but it is becoming more and more evident that a purely destructive alliance formed on a common ambition to defeat the Prime Minister, is not yet popular with the great bulk of the electorate.

Additional proof of this fact is found in the results of the recent provincial elections, both in the Transvaal and in the Cape. In both cases the Nationalists, fortified by their pact with Labour, hoped for a sweeping victory over the South African Party. In the Cape Province the Government had made itself unpopular by embarking on a courageous attempt to restore the province to solvency, which resulted, amongst other things, in the raising of school fees. Nevertheless, the South African Party succeeded in holding its own. The elections in the Transvaal were a still greater disappointment to Nationalist hopes. Far from being swept away, the South African Party actually succeeded in increasing its strength by the gain of four seats, and its victories in the country districts are particularly significant. There can be no doubt that the staid and conservative Boer farmer views with abhorrence such violent ideas as the spread of Bolshevist propaganda among the natives which has been advocated openly in extreme Labour circles. Moreover, the character of the rural population is gradually changing owing to the influx of the large number of British settlers who have taken up land for citrus-growing and mixed farming. These new arrivals have mixed freely with the more progressive of the old settlers, and the South African Party have thus gained steady reinforcement. In the Witwatersburg Division, for instance, there was the encouraging situation that young Englishmen worked whole-heartedly to secure the return of the Dutch-speaking South African Party candidate. The Provincial elections are certainly encouraging omens for General Smuts, for the future of his party, and for a united South Africa, which has room for neither the Republican nor the Communist.

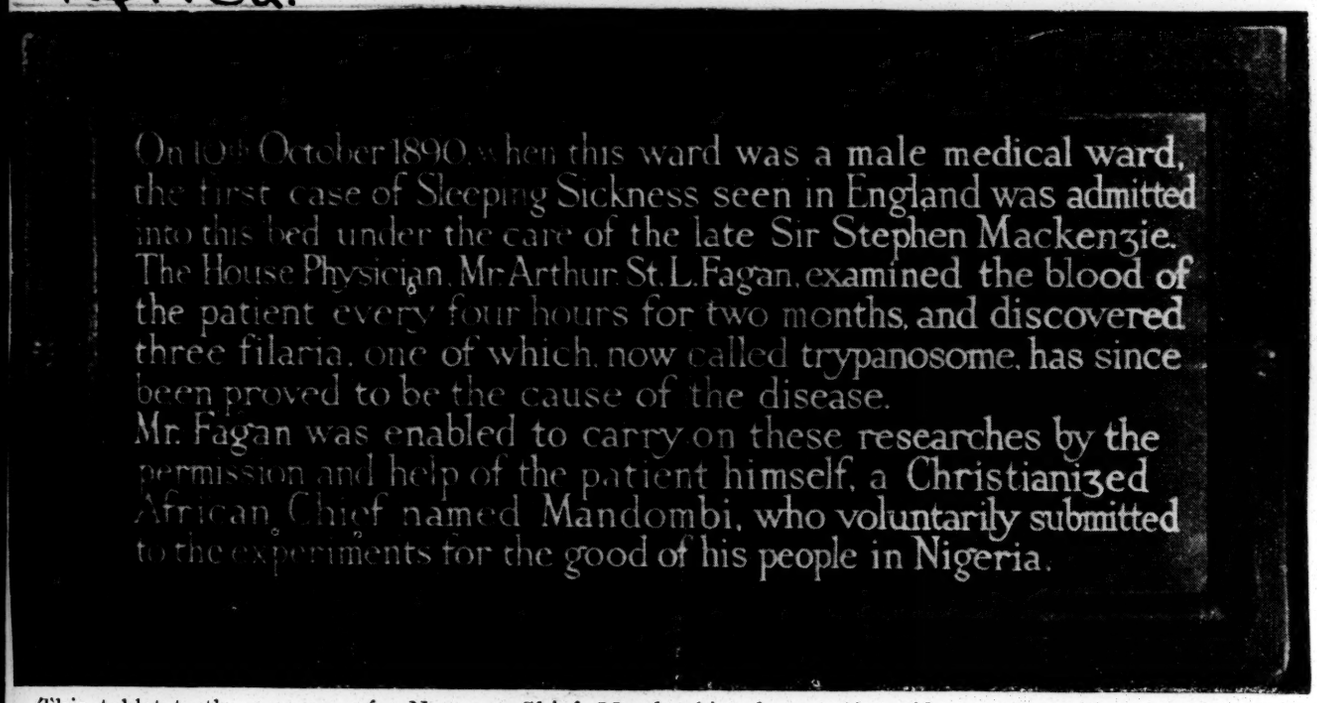
"Contemporary Review."

From an African point of view the two most interesting articles in the "Contemporary" are one by Colonel C. F. Hawkes on the old Timbuctu trail (which receives separate treatment) and one by Sir Sydney Olivier, on colour prejudice. Members of African races ought to be cheered by Sir Sydney's remark that he knows of "no moral ingredient in colour prejudice which is not or has not been displayed in race prejudice between races of common colour or between tribes of the same race, families of the same tribe, or even individuals of the same family." This is a great truth too often lost sight of by members of African races; though scientific truth does not go far in comforting one if one is suffering under a strong sense of personal injustice. All the same, it is true, as Sir Sydney says, that "many English men and women are capable of as strong a prejudice against Welshmen, Jews or Germans as a West Indian white woman has against black people; also that many men have quite an analogous prejudice against all the race of women, and many women against the whole race of men." In another passage Sir Sydney gives it as his opinion that while "white men are doubtless intellectually and morally capable of the most exalted equity, as a race they have not always such a well generalised sense of justice as has the Chinaman or the Negro, whilst the Semite, against whom the Nordic has prejudices as strong as any colour prejudice, has repeatedly been his teacher in justice, mercy, medicine, mathematics, and religious and artistic inspiration." Another remark which will certainly have endorsement by many at work in Africa is that "it is not devotion to duty that causes explorers and missionaries, or even many people that have to endure the vexations of the struggle to make profits out of their labour, not seldom to find African people more lovable than their own countrymen." Sir Sydney concludes with the remark that the coloured races everywhere are doing exactly what British women have done, namely, trying to show that they are capable of playing their part in the work of government, and, he adds in words wise and patriotic: "If things are to go smoothly, we must see clearly, and to see clearly it is essential to purge our hearts of racial or colour prejudices which at present mischievously distort our vision and judgment." In other words, we must treat the African on his merits. It is all that he asks.

"Cornhill."

The same writer, Mr. R. Macdonald, who contributed to a previous number of the "Cornhill" a description of opal mining in Queensland, the most haphazard way of making a fortune in the world, writes now a story of gold mining, "With the Gold Seekers in New Guinea." We call it a story because the gold seekers after having been attacked by Natives and having found by chance a pocket of osmiridium—a discovery akin to that of Bret Harte's miner who struck gold while failing to find water—return nearly penniless to Port Moresby. It is not a bad story, though it falls short in realism of Capt. Monckton's recollection of the New Guinea gold miners who, having had their burial ground consecrated by Bishop Stone-Wigg, called for "three cheers for the Bish!" The October number of the magazine is rather dull of short stories; we like best of them Mr. D. C. Stokes's sketch of "Krishna Gowda," one of the typical pastemen of the Gowdas of Northern Mysore—the inhabitants of the paddy lands that carpet the valleys running between the wooded hills of the jungle lands. Krishna had a great admiration for monkeys, and hoped that after his own death he might be reincarnated as one; a simple and pious aspiration. The late Mr. Maurice Hewlett's pen adorns an article on that "gay and hardy little sinner"—the Cardinal de Retz. He was the author of one great aphorism: "The most common source of disaster among men is that they are too much afraid of the present and not enough of the future."

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.



This tablet to the memory of a Nigerian Chief, Mandombi, whose self-sacrifice, 33 years ago, enabled the discovery to be made of the cause of sleeping sickness, has been placed in the Princess Beatrice Ward of the London Hospital. Chief Mandombi, a victim of the disease, offered himself for experimental purposes, and through his supreme bravery researches were made which have resulted in the saving of thousands of lives. Dr. Fagan, it is interesting to note, is a practitioner in London to-day.

The West Africa 7-28-23.

"COLOUR" AND SOCIAL USAGE IN FRANCE.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued the following statement for publication :—

Some foreign tourists, forgetting that they are our guests and that they, therefore, owe respect to our customs and our laws, have lately, on several occasions, violently shown their disapproval when they have found men of colour from French Colonies sitting near them in public places. They have even gone so far as to demand their expulsion in insulting terms. If similar incident recur measures of redress will be taken.

Writing from Paris on the action taken by the authorities there, the special correspondent of the "Daily Mail" says :—

The principal incident to which the statement refers took place some weeks ago, when a party of American tourists were about to set out on a motor-coach tour of the battlefields. Two French coloured officers, both of them decorated with the Legion of Honour and the Military Cross for war services, had seats in the motor-coach.

The American tourists objected to travelling with these officers and wished them to be removed.

In another case some Americans demanded that an African of high rank should leave a restaurant in which they were dining.

It will be remembered by readers that WEST AFRICA some time ago published details of an incident at a London restaurant similar to that which took place in Paris. At Simpson's in the Strand an Afro-American was dining when two Americans took exception to his presence and requested the management to turn him out. The management promptly refused, and informed the Americans that they could go elsewhere if they were not satisfied. They had no intention, they said, of turning out a man whom they knew to be a well-behaved, respectable customer. The Americans remained; so did the Afro-American.

BOOKSELLERS' ROW.

Book Recommended.

"Koffi." The Romance of a Negro. By Gaston-Joseph (John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., London. 5s net.)

West Africa

Those who enjoyed "Batouala" will find a double enjoyment in the perusal of "Koffi." M. Gaston-Joseph, who was a Colonial administrator for 15 years in Senegal (Ivory Coast), writes with deep sympathy for the African, and paints him as he is. This is not M. Gaston-Joseph's first literary work. In 1917 he published in Paris "The Ivory Coast," a geographical and literary essay, and followed it in 1919 by an interesting work entitled "Handbook for Palavers." This book has proved of great assistance to Europeans and Africans, inasmuch as it contains words, sentences and speeches suitable for those living in West Africa. It has been said that M. Gaston-Joseph wrote "Koffi" as a kind of "anti-Batouala." This is not the case, for "Koffi" was written as far back as 1913, when its author was still in the jungle. Perhaps the report has arisen through the fact that both "Batouala" and "Koffi" became uproariously drunk on gin on many occasions, and harangued their comrades in similar language.

The great fact about "Koffi" is that it is a human story, so real and so accurate in its details that one feels that the exact locality of many of the scenes could be named by those who have visited West Africa. The history of Koffi is that of many Africans who, deserting their villages, take service in towns with European officials, returning eventually to the old home to direct the affairs of their own race. The author thus describes the flight of Koffi, a boy of 12, from his village :—

> "The dull, mournful roll of the alarm drum awoke the villagers of Konan Kuassi Kro at dawn on a very foggy day. A village urchin had disappeared during the night. Despairingly the father and mother incessantly howled their son's name, 'Koffi'! 'Koffi'! 'Koffi'!

August 18, 1923

And this is the description of Koffi's village :—

> "Two score of isolated human beings, primitive and without wants, lived there in the Idénie country, in the western part of the Ivory Coast. They buried their dead close to the surface of the ground, inside their sordid, ramshackle huts. They waited till the jungle grass grew high enough to conceal the accumulated heaps of filth surrounding the dwellings, whence emanated pestilential odours. It never struck them to make any efforts to free the village from the suffocating encroachment of the forest. A wider horizon, more air and light, were useless luxuries, even a threat to their safety and independence."

This was the home that Koffi (excited by tales he had heard from Yao, a house-boy residing at Aboisso) fled from. As the boy hurried towards Aboisso, his mind was agitated by many thoughts. Would he, like Yao, rise to the dignity of a suit of clothes, a collar, soft felt hat, shoes and walking-stick? As he ran along two words haunted him. They were, "white customs," and as he repeated them to himself in his Agni dialect as taught him by Yao, he wondered what they meant.

As the book continues Koffi's life is unfolded, and the various actions which mark its stages. To the reader Koffi, with his thirst for information, his gratitude to his European master and his loyalty to his African friends, becomes a pathetic figure, and one closes the book with a genuine sigh of regret. For Koffi's end was not a noble one. After filling the offices of house-boy, cook, interpreter, he becomes king of the Assankafoue tribe, under the orders of the District Commissioner. His happiness is not increased, for, torn between the wish that his people should learn the benefits of our civilisation and his dread of witch doctors, who threaten him with untold tortures he arranges to be sent to Gaboon, where he ends his life with excessive drinking.

Unlike "Batouala," "Koffi" is not written in a spirit of hopelessness. The author of "Koffi" has thoroughly studied the African question, and his work shows that he is not one of those who, having come into contact slightly with Africans, see only defects and vices. On the contrary, he has been in close contact with them and knows how frequently loyalty and devotion lie underneath.

The Report on Native Opinion.

"Musinga, on his side, wrote to the Resident a few days before the cession, insisting that his rights should be safeguarded, and protesting his loyalty to Belgium, whatever might happen. His attitude has never varied since, but one may believe that it is not without deep rancour that he has inclined before the inevitable.

"The good feelings towards the native king and the Belgian Administration of the chiefs who had land, relatives, and herds on either side of the frontier soon began to change. They had hoped to see little change in the native life and to continue to enjoy their goods. But the frontier appeared as a fact. Some of the notables who remained in Belgian territory suffered from having a great part of their property under British rule. Several of them found it in their interest to go and settle on the other side, others are hesitating as to which allegiance to choose, while all complain of finding themselves in an inferior condition. If one adds to this old hatreds, dissensions, and ancient claims which had slumbered under a régime of unity, but which had been reawakened by separation, one can easily understand that deep uneasiness prevails on the frontier line and that quarrels, robberies, and attempts at robbery are continuous and give much trouble to the Belgian authorities.

"Further, there is a rumour in the North-East that a new part of the Gatisbar territory, corresponding to the strip mentioned in the Orts-Milner Convention in the event of the construction of a railway line less than 16 kilometres from the frontier, will shortly be ceded. This incertitude does nothing to reassure the population."

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The African World

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The African World 8-4-23



THE RICHEST SOIL IN EAST AFRICA.

"The maize export from Beira up to December 11th, 1921, was over 1,000,000 bags for the year This total includes about 600,000 bags from Rhodesia and 400,000 from the territory of the Companhia de Mocambique. These heavy shipments indicate that Beira is the second grain port in Southern Africa."

—"The Times" Trade Supplement, *14th January, 1922.*

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

The Forest Department.

The Government will be well advised to pay practical attention to a position of peculiar hardship brought upon the Natives of the Keiskama Hoek area by an unwise and unsympathetic policy on the part of the Department of Forests, a position calculated to bring discredit upon its handling of the Native question. The problem is summarised in the current number of the *S. A. Outlook*, thus:—

The methods of the Forest Department in the Keiskama Hoek grazing area have done much to alienate the feelings of the Native people who dwell there. About the middle of the nineteenth century certain Fingo tribes were granted free settlement and pasturage there as a reward by the British Government entering into a definite understanding as recorded in the Kaffrarian Ordinance, with certain species of timber reserved for Government Forestry by mutual agreement. During the last fifteen years, however, the Forest Department has instituted and pursued a policy of encroachment, unwarranted in the eyes of the Natives concerned or any impartial observer, culminating in a serious diminution of their grazing land. On top of this injustice, heavy grazing charges have been imposed under what the Department calls a Ministerial Agreement of 1909, an agreement unknown to the people in general except some headmen who met Mr. F. S. Malan, then Minister of Native Affairs, in King William's Town, and who to-day aver they did not understand what they were being committed to. To decrease the pasturage for a growing population and then impose heavy grazing charges is, to put it mildly, devoid of sympathy. There is no justification for this under the circumstances. This grievance on the score of the curtailment of Native grazing areas extends as far as Mabandla's Location, Auckland, Newazi (Zibi's Location), and Amatole Basin.

As a direct outcome of this, Chief Zibi has decided to move away with some of his people and buy land elsewhere for cash. This kind of thing is not a pleasant omen for the future relations of Natives and Europeans. The consequence is that the Government is shown to be an inconsistent father taking away without reason what was freely granted. How will these injured people in future look upon the promises of a European Government? The loyalty of these Fingo tribes who earned this territory by the sacrifice of their blood is now strained to breaking point through a deliberate and shortsighted policy. If the object is to conserve the sponge sources of the Tyumie and Keiskama rivers, as is sometimes alleged, then why tax the people for grazing? Would it not be more logical for the Government to close the whole area against all occupation and grant these perplexed Natives land elsewhere? This is a genuine case for the responsible Minister for Native Affairs to investigate and to frame a decision that will allay present dissatisfaction.

A Widespread Delusion.

The innate conservatism of the aborigines is here tenacious. The agencies of Christianity have not yet spread far, nor have they wrought any fundamental changes in the habits of these people. Witchcraft still reigns supreme—a sign of backwardness in any race. The unsophisticated common people regard their so called educated fellowmen with a secret suspicion of being traitors. The few who can read and write, including school teachers, read no newspapers. Even the "Imvo" a vernacular newspaper established 39 years ago, has not much of a circulation among them. Consequently their information is gleaned from irresponsible village gossip. This makes them a prey to pleasant sounding revolutionary propaganda such as Garveyism. When I exposed the hollowness of theories of Americans coming to fight and drive the white man out to the sea, bringing free bags of maize and wheat, my meeting at Riverside was considerably disturbed by injured interrupters who pinned their faith in that widespread delusion.

Descendants of Kaptyn Adam Kok

Despite the extensive fields and gardens at their disposal, the crops have been so poor of late years that, but for the help of the local storekeepers who import bags of mealies by thousands from the Orange Free State, their lot would certainly have been little better than that of Russia to-day. Their agricultural methods are certainly not in keeping with the times nor with the demands of the present generation. It was solely with the object of awakening them to these home truths that I undertook my recent trip there on my own charges, in the hope that these people could be made at least self supporting by adopting improved ways of cultivation, instead of being a burden to the country generally by consuming the surplus crops of maize needed for export purposes.

In my travels I was incidentally repaid by the gain of new knowledge in the direction of Bantu ethnology, among the Ama Xesibe with their musical gifts, the Ama Baca with their bellicose instincts, and the Intlangwini (my original stock) with their aptitude in herbs and potent medicines. The Griquas were not so populous as I was led to expect. To view the monumental grave of Paramount Chief Adam Kok and actually to shake hands with his descendants and those of his contemporaries was a real privilege. The havoc, however, wrought by indebtedness and alcohol with the resultant loss of big farms among the earlier Griquas is a lesson deserving to be learnt by all the neighbouring tribes of Natives who are still fortunate enough to possess large tracts of land to day.

Possibilities of Development.

East Griqualand, it seems to me, is full of possibilities of development. There are cattle in great numbers nearly useless for sale on account of East Coast Fever restrictions on their movements. A frozen meat factory and an abattoir like that at Cape Town with a tinned meat trade would be a profitable concern while it would give employment to whites and blacks alike. With an abundant water supply such as that of Mount Currie. Water power ought to be cheap for various kinds of industries such as jam preserving, electric generation, fruit canning, paper, mills, and so forth. The mining of coal and other reputed minerals will probably be a good proposition when the railway is carried to and past Kokstad down to Umtata. Similarly there seems to be a chance of Native village industries such as spinning and weaving of wool leading to the manufacture of blankets, tweed and cloths for which there is a good and permanent market.

One can see also great scope for the development of Native agriculture. This takes us at once to the need of a Director of Native Development such as they have in Rhodesia. For this we need a real live Union Department of Native Affairs with an all-time Minister and more adequate funds than are at present expended thereon. These questions must be squarely faced sooner or later by both the Government and public-spirited men who have the welfare of the future of this country at heart.

Basutoland Granary And The National Council.

(by Black Patriot)

Fiat justitia ruat Coelum. The course of human affairs, the progress of a development once begun, presents an aspect of undeviating persistency. But on examining more closely, we not unfrequently perceive that the principal cause on which the fabric of events lies is but frail and yeilding; merely some personal inclination, perhaps, whether of attachment or aversion, and which may be shaken without any difficulty. Are we going to be locked in perpetual submission by our chiefs with their restrictive laws and instituitions of permanent *ex parte* efficiency? Some people might think me very loquacious or so to speak very uncommunicative. This is solely because I happen to be inventive. The course of civilisation, christianity has gone far too much deep into inner cores of Basuto; and yet the system of preservation of our crops has been utterly left to us by the Government as well as by the Basutoland National Council Should any person be ignorant of my arguement surely he has not the welfare of this country at heart.

The christianisation of Basuto has never been camourflaged, and yet today people who go to Parliament are the selected champions of the chiefs. If it were that Parliament members were voted for, today we would not have heard of the political chaos which the Basuto chieftainship is facing. The campaign is scarce, so the population increases by leaps and bounds. My "literary sword" needs some influence for it is rather blunt, however, I shall by all means voice my opinion. If the members were not favoured few by the chiefs there would not be persistent starvation down here. The chiefs speak

only about their own affairs; and they really forget the American clarion-slogan Equality; Freedom and fraternity. The premises being arranged thus it should be recalled that eve're British subjects and that under British universal constitution a fair system of government is essential It is ripe time the present European traders are shown that we're grown up nation to do what is right with crops. Why could'n't "granaries" be established throughout the country where our crops will be carried to people migh say why don't you independently raise up such an organisation. The truth is that raw Basuto are very callous, and they will not for a moment listen to a man of their kith and kin, this is indisputable

What is the policy of the Basutoland Government? The answer is plain economic strangulation of our raw people. This is shown by strides of the Principal Veterinary Surgeon who has been going about advocating for the erection of dipping tanks throughout the Border superintended by white "Baas". Surely they are many intelligent Basutos who can do the work better than those "Baases" why today people are being arrested for failing to pay *Poll Tax* and those who have animals are deprived of their wealth of animals. The point of fact is that the government could have supported these unfortunate with work. The money to relieve them can be got from the National Councils' interest. Now the first words of my article might suck salutary effect hitherto untouched this is a merely presumption. But those of my readers who understand that under British sway there is *carte blanche*, will agree with me however the person who are members of parliament should strive that during the forthcoming session this question be given a broader view, and also that the agenda for the session be published in all the newspapers also be circulated by the agency of magistrate

Being not an observant politician I might harp on one's string, and this will be caused by lack of mental co-operation.

The question of running a systematic Basutoland Granary is the one that I must conveniently and profoundly deal with. We have first to observe that the system of trade now negotiated by European traders is for the deprivation of work, and now it must be done by Basuto. My opinion is that the policy of Basutoland Government has an inclination to acquire the supreme administration of affairs ecclesiastical political and with the money collected enrich their kinsfolks It is only right that leading characteristics of the Basuto administration should be alive to justice naturally enjoyed. Now that PC is administering reformation; and purely—humanitys' resuscitation, he should be aided by those people who are race leaders; howbeit race-consciousness is becoming to be predominal fact.

In my opinion, our government could run granaries in Basutoland with the national revenue, in order that people could be given, help, in times of need. The most lamentable, short sighted view is the law that has been passed by the National Council and really if these law makers think at all this law must needs be repealed I am referring to the clause which deals with the stoppage of sale of kaffir beer in Basutoland. Well to avoid being misunderstood I will be brief. These people who made this preposterous enactment should have done amicably-have they brought another provision which should help the paupers in their ever-present financial complexities. The real fact is, that there are people who cannot for a moment be able to cross the border for the purpose—reasons of domestic household.

Now a man reaps 8 bags of corn 10 of mealies and from these he has to clothe the family. When he goes to the trader he will sell a bag of corn weighing 200 lbs at 10/- and that of mealies at 5/-. What does he get? Whereas if he were to brew it he would get £3 10 and surely he would be able to support the whole family If the P.C. does not try to make a provision when our people ought to get work, surely this law must be repealed. What about the widows and parentless children? The system of land tenure in Basutoland is favourable, admirable, and really satisfying except in Government Reserves where children who are born and grown up there cannot get "Stands" i.e., Lits'a. Notwithstanding that it is easy for foreign people to get stands. I wonder truly if the P.C. and R.C. are made conversant with housing administration in th Government Reserves' throughout Basutoland

This appears to be a reality, that Basutoland whites are familiarised with our habits, customs and mentality of the Basuto with whom they live. Some people do not understand that Basutoland has an odd fascination inasmuch as her Switzerland mountainous scenery shows its beautious pastures and valleys. Speaking broadly I must tell the chiefs that *ipso facto* "fine words butter no parsnips." In my own opinion I should only like to impress this idea into the best intellectual calibres that are got in this lovely territory that there is no reformation whatever so long as the members of Parliament are elected by the chiefs. I wish educated and intelligent Basutos could tell the chiefs that European officials will not allow educated Basuto in Parliament for fear that those enlightened will speak for the upliftment of their common "darkies" as well as for the chiefs. Why could'nt a number of certain youths who have matriculated or passed P. T. 3 be sent over seas for divergent trades as well as professions.

We wish our chiefs a success in their future dealings-but above all let justice be done even if the heavens fall to you enlightened Basutos organise Basutoland Farmers Association or even building granaries throughout the country. I wish this article be given full publicity. It appears inexplicable if the country of Moshesh should be ruled or be under system of plutocrary, why do I speak about plutocracy? It is because the present system of taxation does not conform to certain Canons of Adam Smith, ie "convenience of taxation." We ought to have specialists in Sociology which is a concrete science, descriptive historical and explanatory, I think that this implies that the field of observation is the whole history of mankind that certain signs are found associated with certain phenomena, that a similar association is inferred to have existed in times past, I associated the European officials of our country because they brought the western civilisation to us although we never troubled ourselves about their religion and civilisation. The Basuto alike the other aborigines had their peculiarity of worshipping even in civilisation absolutely they had natural inclanations as well as instinct peculiar to their modes of living.

It is high time the Government be approached by the Basutos in order that the authorities run us agricultural schools. In the columns of this very paper I once perused these lines: "Agriculture is economic evolution of of the Bantu race," so I add and say particularly agriculture is an economic asset of the Basutos. Let justice be done even if the heavens may fall, why cannot we unite like the S. A. N. N. Congress. I appeal to Basuto leaders men like Mr Phamotse and others to advocate for our own tribal or national interests Ha re kopaneng joaloka letsopa la sekhoa le bitsoang samente (cement).

Race Problem — 1923.

Africa.

The Pan-African Congress.

There are to be two sessions of the third Pan-African Congress this month. One is in London on November 7th and November 8th, at from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., and 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. respectively in the Council Chamber, Denison House, 296, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. The second session is to be at Lisbon in the last week of the month.

West Africa 1/13/23

Pan-African Congress Is Criticized by the English

Archibald Johnson, American, Living in Europe, Writes of Impression Made Upon English Editor by Congress. Presided Over by Dr. DuBois, Held in London.

The recent Pan-African Congress held in London, England, is referred to as "a sort of a play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out" by Archibald Johnson, contributor to The Age, who writing from Montreux, Switzerland, says no Africans were present.

Mr. Johnson quotes the editor of *The Christian*, one of London's leading religious periodicals, who writes:

"The Pan-African Congress, which met in London last week was hardly of a sufficiently representative character to be regarded as carrying any great weight. Dr. DuBois acted as chairman, and the delegates to the Congress are said to be mainly American and French Nationalists. The movement begun under Franco-American auspices, the first congress having been held in Paris four years ago.

"Last week's speeches were characterized by the strongly anti-Saxon prejudice and wild assertions were made as to the white man's injustice toward the black races. It is much to be regretted that a movement should be dominated by a spirit of hostility and resentment, inasmuch as disaffected groups among the colored people of Africa and the East will be disposed to rally to any standard of disaffection, unrepresentative as it may be."

Comments Mr. Johnson: "I never intended to notice further the silly chimerical annual performance of DuBois, but *The Christian* has of its own accord taken up the matter and expresses the opinion of all unprejudiced Englishmen. The convener of this socalled Pan-African Congress seems to lack practical knowledge and experience as to the African and the political disabilities under which he labors. Englishmen who are friends to African men and women are complaining that foreign men from the Republic of America and France come over here to try to force their hands in dealing with the African subjects of the King.

"Why this man is acting in a useless job. If he and his coterie come over here and abuse these Europeans every year for the rest of his and their lives they cannot help nor improve the political or economic status of a single man, woman or child in any part of Africa.

"DuBois is doing two things: first, He is causing a prejudice to arise here against any political or economic improvement of the African's condition, because it is being forced down Englishmen's throats by a foreign Negro; second, He, by this high-sounding title, Pan-African Congress, is raising false hopes in the minds of the colored people of America and the West Indies that some benefit is about to accrue to people in Africa. Nothing of the sort will happen.

"Let me go over the ground onde more: The entire land surface of Africa has been parcelled out between England, France, Belgium and Portugal. Not a single move is allowed by either of these Nations in contravention to their political and economic customs of the native people.

"The idea DuBois has of bearding the lion in his den, by holding meetings in Belgium and Portugal has only this effect. It makes these nations clutch the poor native all the tighter by the throat.

"Dr. DuBois tells us that some woman's society is financing his effort this year. Let these women know that no possible good can come to the natives by their efforts. A man acting in such matters seems to seek limelight and nothing else; for he seems a visionary relying on book-knowledge. He came to Geneva and gave it out in the press he would lecture on the misuse of the tropics. What does he know of the tropics? He was never there. I have lived in the tropics. I saw no misuse there.

Pan-African Congress.

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS OPENS IN LONDON; GREAT QUESTIONS RAISED

PLEA IS MADE FOR THE LIBERTIES OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF THE WORLD—CONGRESS CALLS ON EUROPE TO ABOLISH SLAVERY AMONG THE AFRICANS.

Birmingham Reporter 12-1-23

(By The Associated Negro Press)

London, England, Nov. 02.—The Pan African Congress held its third biennial session in the council chamber of the Denison House, London, England, November 7th and 8th. Dr. Wm. Burghart Du Bois, of New York as chairman, presided, voiced the opinion that the papers and speeches were on the whole better than in 1921. In particular, the speeches by Larki, Bishop Vernon and Oliver were masterpieces.

The Pan African Congress which is an attempt to unite in periodical conference representatives of the main groups of people of African descent for purposes of information and co-operation, held its first meeting in Paris in 1919. Subsequent sessions were held in Paris, London and Brussels in 1921. The French delegates, however, were present. It convened this year after surmounting a series of obstacles due to the temporary failure of the European end of the organization to function effectively. The present session was held in London and another session wil be held the 25th of this month in Lisbon(Portugal, under the auspices of the Liga Africana, an organization of Portuguese Negroes. English papers, particularly The Manchester Guardian, have given detailed and interesting accounts of the meetings. Among the speakers programmed were: Rayford Logan, B. F. Seldon, Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt, Bishop Vernon of the A. M. E. Church, Harold Laski, Sir Sidney Oliver, Dr. Alcindor, Chief Omoah III, Gold Coast, Africa, and Dr. Wm. Dubois. Prominent Englishmen among whom was H. G. Wells, were present at some of the sessions. The resolutions adopted by the Congress follow:

The Executive Committee of the Third Pan-African Congress, meeting in London and Lisbon in November, 1923, regards the following matters as those which seem to them to embody the legitimate and immediate needs of the peoples of African descent.

1. A voice in their own government.

2. The right of access to the land and its resources.

3. Trial by juries of their peers under established form of laws.

4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique; and higher training of selected talent.

5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.

6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.

7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.

8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many, rather than enriching of the few.

These seem to us the eight general and irreducible needs of our people.

Specifically, and in particular we ask for the civilized British subjects in WEST AFRICA and in the WEST INDIES the institution of home rule and responsible government, without discrimination as to race and color.

We ask for such areas as NORTHERN NIGERIA, UGANDA and BASUTOLAND, a development of native law, industry and education with the specific object of training them in home rule and economic independence, and for eventual participation in the general government of the land.

We ask for FRENCH AFRICA, the extension of the citizenship rights of voting and of representation in Parliament from Senegal and the West Indies to other parts of the colonies as rapidly as the present comprehensive plans of education can be realized.

We demand for Kenya, Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa the restoration of rights to the land to the natives, a recognition of their right to a voice in their own government and the abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority, and even to prevent their appeal, to the civilized world.

In the Belgian Congo we fail yet to see any decisive change from a regimine of profit-making and exploitation, to an attempt to build modern civilization among human beings for their own good and the good of the world. We demand a system of state education, the recognition of native law, a voice in government and the curbing of commercial exploitation in that great land.

For the independent nations of Abyssinia, Haiti and Liberia, we ask not merely political integrity, but their emancipation from the grip of economic monopoly and usury at the hands of the money-masters of the world.

For the Negroes of the United States of America we ask the suppression of lynching and mob-law, the end of caste and the recognition of full citizenship despite race and color.

We demand the restoration of the Egyptian Sudan to an independent Egypt.

We demand for Portugese Africa release from the slave-trading industrial monopolies financed in England France, which today nullify the liberal Portugese Code in Mozambique.

We urge in Brazil and Central American that peoples of African descent be no longer satisfied with a solution of the Negro problem which involves their absorption into another race, without allowing Negroes as such, full recognition of their manhood and right to be.

We ask the League of Nations to appoint direct diplomatc representatives in the Mandated territories with duties to investigate and report conditions.

We ask the appointment of representatives of the Negro race on the Mandates commission and in the International Labor Bureau.

In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men. We can see eno other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African State striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans.

The committee was composed of Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt, Rayford Logan, W. E. B. DuBois.

The Pan-African Congress

The ideals and aspirations of the Pan-African Congress deserve not only sympathy but adequate attention. We should all wish, however, first, that the voice of the Congress would shew less tendency to treat all Africans as upon one level and would shew a wider practical acquaintance with the multitudinous kinds of Africans, and not generalise as to their needs. To help Africa in any practical way by means of a Congress, not fully representative of the life and thought of all Africans, would be to concentrate on either some homogeneous community or some single unit of administration, and press forward by all legitimate means of propaganda for the amelioration of the inequitable and the unsound. For this, intimate knowledge of internal conditions is necessary.

The African World
Sept 9/1923

Their Irreducible Needs.

The voice of the Congress defines "eight general and irreducible needs" for peoples of African descent. The first is a voice in their own government; the second, the right of access to their land and its resources; the third, trial by jury; the fourth, free elementary education; the fifth, the development of Africa for the benefit of Africans; the sixth, the abolition of the slave and liquor trades; the seventh the abolition of war; and the eighth, the organisation of commerce and industry so that capital and labour may be devoted to the welfare of the many. These are principles with which no fault can be found, but where in Africa is it that the application of some if not all, of them is not to be found? The abolition of war may be put outside practical politics for the moment. It waits upon the lead of the civilised world. But with regard to other generalisations there is at least in large tracts of Africa slow but steady progress towards these ideals. African administration has not been standing still as the voice of the Pan-African Congress would have the public believe.

Not all Stagnation.

But we do not write in this fashion to discount sympathy or to belittle aspirations, but to suggest a closer and more particular application of ideals in better harmony with facts as they exist. And in this respect the manifesto of the Congress has a practical tendency when it comes to concrete instances. For example, the demands of the people of Northern Nigeria, Uganda and Basutoland are for the "development of Native law, industry and education with the specific object of training them in home rule and economic independence." To attain these ends means a long road to travel, but surely it cannot be maintained that the methods in operation in British West Africa at least frustrate fulfilment ultimately.

One other demand is a little difficult to understand. It is to the effect that Liberia should be delivered from the grip "of usury at the hands of the money-masters of the world." If wealthy Africans overseas could promote in our altruistic spirit a loan for the assistance of Liberia it would be an easy thing to relax such a grip if it exists.

The conscience of the nations which control the administration of Africa is awake. What we would like to see from a Pan-African Congress is not only active propaganda against legitimate grievances, but some sense of active co-operation in the work for the utmost welfare of the African peoples in their charge which high-minded African administrators are whole-heartedly carrying out to-day. And herein is no note of censure or of blame.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

CO-OPERATION.

THERE never was a time in British history wnen co-operation with the darker races of the Empire was so necessary as now. World affairs indicate the British Empire as a steadying factor in international complexities by reason of the proved elasticity of her constitution and the power of winning confidence and sympathy where others fail. That very fact imposes upon the guardians of the Imperial destiny the care and the vigilance necessary to retain the respect of weaker peoples for British justice and fairplay. But for co-operation to be possible there must be an intelligent recognition of basic facts, and among such facts there is none of such primary importance, as for example, that the people of British West Africa have outstripped the period when their thinking could be done for them by others. We have, indeed, alighted upon days when European and African alike in their several communities are bent upon probing into things for themselves and accepting no ready-made theories intended for them to gulp down. We point this out since, if it were once recognised, it would save waste of energy and time of both the official and unofficial diplomat.

Dealing specifically with the Gold Coast, we are pleased to note that Governor Guggisberg recognises that there must be co-operation not only between the Chiefs and the Provincial Commissioners, but also between the intelligentsia and the Government. Intelligentsia is a convenient word denoting the educated and more intelligent sections of the community. It is in that sense we have used, and will continue to use, it. It is a false acceptation to attribute to the educated portion of the African community of British West Africa any attempt or intention of leading the masses away from loyalty to constituted authority. It is true, in fact, to say that hitherto it has been the task of the educated classes to teach the people the method and the practice of constitutional agitation and appeal, and it must be conceded that it is due to that circumstance that the path of British Administration has hitherto been so smooth. These things being so, and it being an axiomatic truth that in every progressive community the best minds eventually must lead, it stands to reason that the Administration must perforce co-operate with the intelligentsia to make Government at all possible. It further follows that if the mind of the community is expressed by what is popularly known as public opinion, an administration must be obdurate and, indeed, obtuse to set aside or ignore public opinion. And the more pronounced such opinion, the more culpable [illegible] administration becomes.

Now, applying these considerations to Gold Coast conditions, what are the facts as to certain vital issues in Gold Coast affairs? We are taking only such issues as to which there is absolute unanimity in principle. The first is Elective Representation. It may be safely stated, that apart from the old controversy as to the method of presenting the demand, which has died a natural death, every single Chief, paramount or otherwise, the educated classes and the people generally are loud in their clamour for it. As far as we know, the European unofficial members of the Legislative Council are not opposed to it, as may be gathered from the views expressed on the subject. Indeed, it is well known that such leading political and commercial figures as Mr. James H. Batty and General Grey of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation were prepared to have accompanied the London Delegates of the Congress to Downing Street in support of the petition for Elective Representation. And as for Nana Ofori Atta and Mr. E. J. P. Brown they seem to have long ago repented in sackcloth and ashes, for a reference to the last Estimates Debate but one will reveal them as warm supporters and suppliants for Elective Representation. These things being so, and in our last issue having tried to clear up the misapprehension as to the so-called conflict as to the "rule of the Oman," whatever that phrase means, and Elective Representation, may not the people fairly request in the spirit of genuine co-operation that their prayer be now granted? To us it appears reasonable, and we trust the reasonableness will also appeal to his Majesty's responsible Ministers and to his Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast.

Take again the question of the Native Jurisdiction Bill. It is the one primary, essential vital issue with the people of this country. It may be described as like the apple of the eye to the people. So sensitive are they in this regard that there will be positive chaos if badly and tactlessly handled. Here there is perfect unanimity among the classes, as signally revealed in the last Legislative Council debate upon the subject. The Hon. Mr. MacKay, the senior European unofficial member of Council, put the matter tersely. Said he, summing up the situation aptly: "I think a new Bill might be introduced after due consideration leaving out the objectionable parts of the 1910 Ordinance and getting back to the Ordinance of 1883 as nearly as possible or to something even simpler than that." That is the whole matter in a nutshell. In fact the Governor in his letter to the Eastern Province petitioners, bearing date March 10, 1920, stated "that the Government does not assume the right to refuse recognition of any Chief who has been elected and installed in accordance with Native Customary Law, nor does it assume the right to refuse recognition of the fact that a Chief is no longer on the Stool if he has been deposed by his people in accordance with Native Customary Law." His Excellency further states: "In view of the above points it is quite clear that the Government is making no attempt to create any source from which such right or power should emanate, as you point out in paragraph V.—A. of your petition." All this surely tends to simplify the situation, and we expect Government co-operation in a simple Bill devoid of controversy and without dangerous elements—elements prejudicial to the integrity of our Institutions. Lastly, as regards the separation of judicial functions from executive. It was opposed by the Chiefs at their last Conference and found voice by Counsel engaged by them in opposition to the Bill. Almost all the unofficial members of Council are of like view. Here too co-operation is invited, and we trust Government will respond.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES.

NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL, 1922.

(continued from our last.)

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: I must say, Your Excellency, that I deeply regret that the Honourable the Attorney-General has not seen his way to view favourably the proposed amendment made and at the same time does not appear quite to realise that in the view of the whole community there is a very important principle—a principle which strikes at the very roots of our institutions—underlying the present Native Jurisdiction Bill. It is true that several ordinances had been put together. But we do say that if the Bill, as it stands, is passed, it will shake the very foundations of the institutions of this country. The Attorney-General has not addressed himself to the question that I raised as regards the Bill being referred to Select Committee after the second reading. I thought he would have enlightened us upon that if the second reading is to be taken. We all know that as a matter of fact when once a Bill passes the second reading it becomes law; the third reading is only formal. If the second reading is to be taken now and then refer the Bill to Select Committee, then I ask, in all reason: what possible good would the arguments of Counsel in Select Committee do? I go back to the argument that the intention of Government should be to give the public full opportunity of presenting their strong and well-considered views upon this important matter, and I am again asking, respectfully, that I may be allowed to amend my motions, and after that, that Your Excellency in Council may hear the arguments of Counsel upon this important Bill.

GOVERNOR: I am not quite clear as to what exactly the Honourable Member proposes. Does he propose that the Counsel address this Council and afterwards again the Select Committee on the clauses of the Bill?

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: What I say is that Counsel be heard in full Council. Our proposition is that Counsel appear before this Council, and, as the presiding officer over this Council, you will then be able to give your views one way or the other upon the argument adduced.

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS: On the question whether Counsel should address the Council or the Select Committee I am indifferent. There is a precedent in the case of the Native Jurisdiction Bill of 1906 which after being read a second time was referred to a Special Committee, and it was before that Committee that Counsel appeared.

COLONIAL SECRETARY: The point which has been raised as an amendment to the original motion is a matter of very considerable importance and one which one would not like to give a vote on in a hurry. I would suggest, therefore, if it is in order, that further consideration of these motions be deferred till this afternoon and that the Council proceed with the business of the day.

The Council resumes at 2.30 p.m., the same members with the exception of Mr. Makinson, being present.

GOVERNOR: I have carefully considered the motion of the Honourable Mr. Casely Hayford and as amended by him. The motion covers the petitions of the Members of the Bars of the Eastern and Western Province, and the petition of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society. It is Government's earnest desire, in discussing this Bill that we should get to the bottom of all the various details included in the proposed legislation. It is far and away from being the Government's desire to interfere with the native institutions of the country and certainly far from their desire to lower the powers of the paramount chiefs. I am therefore in favour of the proposal that Counsel should be heard by the full Council and I think a favourable opportunity for that moment will occur tomorrow morning on Mr. Casely Hayford's motion and before the Bill is introduced into the Council. This will give the whole of the Council ample opportunity of hearing the views of those bodies the Counsel represent. I think the Honourable Mr. Brown has also petitions under Rule 11.

MR. BROWN: I have instructions, Sir, that if permission is given, Counsel will be instructed to submit their views. I may mention that I have already formally handed in the petition.

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: I should like to thank Your Excellency for the kind consideration you have given to our proposal.

MR. McKAY: Speaking for myself, and I think I voice the opinion of the European unofficial element, I am personally very pleased that Your Excellency has found it possible to accede to the request that Counsel shall be heard by the whole of the Council. I think this is an occasion on which, perhaps, a broader issue is likely to be raised than was at first anticipated and I think it would have been a very great misfortune if, so strong a view having been expressed by native members, it had not been made possible. I think that is also the view of all the unofficial members.

GOVERNOR: The Honourable Mr. Brown's motion has yet to be seconded.

DR. QUARTEY PAPAFIO: I will second the motion.

The petition of the Bar Association of the Central Province is then laid on the Table.

(To be continued.)

Heated Debate In Parliament Ov Rights Of Natives And Mixed Breed

The Christian Science Monitor's correspondent in Cape Town has sent the following to his paper:

The color question is ever the great question in South Africa. While there is a definite attitude toward the pure native in this country, there is the ever increasing problem of the colored folk, that unfortunate mixture of white and native blood looms large over the future of South Africa. This half-breed population totals about 800,000, and in this province they are granted the privilege of the vote. But outside the Cape the vote is resrticted to born or naturalized white subjects.

Quite recently the problem was brought before the Union Parliament by Mr. Alexander, member for Cradock. He said:

White Man Privileged

Remember that the white is responsible for our mixed race, and yet we say to them: "No matter how high you develop we will never encourage you or reward you while no matter how low a white man sinks he shall go on posessing his national privileges, because his skin is white." That i sthe position we are setting up in this country, and I say it is a bad and unstable foundation for us to rest on. The color bar in the Act of Union is like the brand of Cain to the colored people of this country. . . .

TheHouse was discussing a petition from the president of the African People's organization, praying for the removal of the color bar to franchise rights in all provinces of the Union and election as members of the Legislature.

The Transvaal will oppose such ideas as one man," interposed Commandant van Heerden, member for Ventersdorp.

But Mr. Alexander was not to be perturbed. He went on:

If the member will only look round the Cape Province I am sure he will be surprised at the standard of civilization of these people, who, I may point out, have the greatest difficulty in securing proper education for their children. Only the mission schools and the university will take them. And what is the result? They have to send their children abroad to be educated. Yet, in spite of all these difficulties they have become a sober, well-educated people, many of them, indeed, having qualified for the professions.

It remained for Mr. Merriman, the grand old man of the House, to point out the big danger that lay in this problem. It was only on condition that the Cape did not insist on the extension of franchise, he pointed out, that union was made possible. He continued:

On that occasion we had to take a narrow view so that we could take a large view—and that is our difficulty. But I certainly do think it is a shame that when a man is a highly-educated, valuable citizen of this country he should be restricted from the vote simply because of his skin. Look at the United States. In the greatest Republic of the world the Negro is not prevented from exercising the franchise, or filling a seat in the House—providing he can get the votes.

Members Sympathetic

Other members spoke in a similar, sympathetic manner. One member showed that the danger was not in giving these people who had reached civilized standards the vote, but in denying them the opportunity of expressing their political views.

Only one Nationalist member expressed an opinion on the subject, but that one member spoke with every air of conviction and authority. He was the Nationalist leader himself—General Hertzog. He said:

"These speeches may have sounded all very beautiful, devoted, and idealistic, but I am afraid they will absolutely cut no ice with white South Africa. I fully agree that this problem is one of extreme importance—a problem asking for a practical solution will have to be found. The policy of the Prime Minister last year was to import immigrants as a counter-weight againts the non-white element, but we, the Nationalists, still adhere to segregation as the better policy."

And this finished the debate for the time, the House adjourning. But the problem is merely postponed.

Aneho bearing on the constitutional case will not exhaust the incidents or many subjects which are various and interminable in narration. I disagree with Monsieur Bonnecarrere and his officials in terming this case political. The term is as misleading as "the man on the spot" misrepresentations to Paris are misleading. The Asamangkese case for example, is more political than the constitutional case of Aneho, relatively. And, even, in vesting the Aneho stool case with constitutionalism, the term is still misapplied; neither the Kuajo Jiyohue, nor the Lawson, party ever took an action in any court of law against each other, claiming the stool of Aneho. The various Kings, Princes and Chiefs have never been called by either party to assemble at Fante-Kome, as the practice has been from time immemorial, to settle a case between the two families, at the time of the French or during the French regime since 1922. But I do remember that in 1905 the late Herr Oberleutnant Preil decided such a case against the house of Lawson and in favour of Kuajo Jiyohue and, later in the year 1908, during the administration of Graf von Zech auf Neuhofen, when the Lawsons brought up the same pretensions the former decision was read to them at Fante-Kome. The records of all those are in the hands of the present Government of Togoland which were presumably suppressed in order that neither justice nor right might rule. In my previous articles I showed that there was really no regular investigation of the age-long dispute, settled more than a dozen times not only by Germans but also by Monsieur Bonnecarrere's predecessor, Monsieur Woelffel; and it is untrue to say that for Monsieur Bonnecarrere, or any inspired organ of his to state, 'that "the case has been investigated (a) by Humblot (b) by the administrator and (c) by Bonnecarrere himself."

What I insist upon and what I expect any man with a fair mind would insist upon, is a thorough review of Bonnecarre's actions since his arrival in Togoland. And this review can only be impartial, if disinterested parties are appointed by the League of Nations, or its pressure brought upon Monsieur Sarraut to appoint a commission of enquiry to investigate French scandals in Togoland. But Togolanders have to thank the League of Nations for the fact that when the whole country demanded British protection and took the proper steps to make known their wishes, it turned to them a deaf ear and for that disregard of the popular wish, we have "French scandals" in Togoland to-day. Togoland has never been a conquered country and not an inch of its territory ever sold to the Germans. On what basis a whole territory with over a million of inhabitants was handed over to a European power, not of their choice, is incomprehensible. As stated elsewhere, the Lawson pretensions are perennial, and have always caused disturbances. I remember when Monsieur Woelffel was the Commandant of the French zone at Aneho, Mr. J. F. Creppy, the leader of the Lawson party, brought before him forcibly these pretensions and he seemed to have taken it for granted that the party indeed were the rulers of the country. Woelffel's ignorance had been preyed upon and Mr Creppy danced his "Majesty King Lawson" before him. After some time, it seemed, Mr Woelffel wanted to know more about the history of Aneho and how "King Lawson" became King and ruler of the country. The name Lawson itself was sufficient to arouse the suspicion that the possessors of the name were Sierra Leoneans or other foreigners. It was apparent Mr. Creppy could not satisfy the curiosity of Woelffel and, perhaps, some one had pointed to him the name of Mr. F. J. Gaba as the man likely to give satisfaction he being the nephew of Kuajo Jiyohue; and, it may be inferred that from this interview sprang up the friendship which created, or rather added to the enmity between Messrs Creppy and Gaba which had existed for about thirty years. But this friendship did more than that, it helped France to press for and to be given the mandate for Togoland which was unfortunate for the country.

Race Problem—1923
Africa

SMUTS LOOKS TO U. S. FOR HELI
Negro-Hating Boer General Thinks ....This Country "Will Rush to Europe's Rescue.

Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, Aug. 20.—Premier Smuts of The Union of South Africa, advocate of a white South Africa and exponent of a policy of disarming the natives of Africa, in an address today made an appeal for all nations, especially America, to help Great Britain in her effort to save the imperiliats system of Europe from destruction and avert another world-wide war between the nations quarreling over the spoils of Africa and Asia.

He said he had faith that the United States would again rush to the rescue of Eurrope and help prevent a breakup the effect of which might not be overcome (by Europe) in a century. The whole world must see that Germany was going under, and Great Britain was taking the lead in an attempt to prevent a disaster which would be ever more serious than the collapse of Czarist Russia (to the imperialist shystem.),

Editor's Note.—Colored reaaders of the speeches o fSmuts and other white imperialists shoould alway bear in mind that the interests of the imperialists system, under whicl Africa is partitoioned and the Negro oppressed and exploited, are diam etrically opposed to the interests o the Negro Race, and that what ma be a catastrophe for the white im perialist yowers may be of great ac tual benefit to the Negro.

ARE U. S. NEGROES AHEAD OF AFRICANS?

(Crusader Service.)

Chicago, June 27.—Speaking before members of Grace Presbyterian Church here, W. S. Scruby, U. S. Consul to Senegal, French West Africa, declared that the Africans of today in the sections he had visited were accomplishing the essentials of progress more rapidly than the race in America. He complained of the lack of thrift and business enterprise in the United States.

"There are more trade shops and business houses among the Senegalese than among all the members of the race in America," he declared. "You people in America throw away your money. The natives of the Gold Coast are making much more use of their lower opportunities."

AFRICAN BLACKS STRIVE TO END WHITE MAN RULE

Drink In Propaganda of U. S. Colored Leader.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

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[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

ST. LOUIS, Senegal, Aug. 25.—[Tribune Radio.]—The name of Marcus Garvey, a "provisional president of the Republic of Africa," who recently was sentenced by a New York judge to five years in prison for fraud, and reports of fabulous financial backing by American Negros, are being used in an attempt to foment an uprising among the blacks of northern Nigeria, according to information reaching white river settlements in the French Sudan.

Garvey's proclamations, translated in Arabic, have been circulated throughout Nigeria, and are being used to urge the natives to revolt against the British authorities in the northern provinces. In the southern provinces where thousand of Negroes have become English speaking, the propaganda is reported to be even more widespread, due to the awakening desire among the partially educated blacks to possess more of the white men's liberty and culture.

Spread Propaganda.

The British have discharged telegraph and postoffice employës from the southern provinces who held jobs in the northern provinces because it was found that the southerners disseminated revolutionary doctrines. Other measures have been adopted in an effort to stamp out the spread of propaganda for a revolt, which was set for August. The French authorities in Nigeria, Dahomey, and the Cameroons report that the population is loyal and tranquil.

In the Sudan I found the Nigerian revolutionary movement known among the natives, but not supported on account of religious differences. Among the Sudanese, both Musselmans and pagans scorn black converts to Christianity, and all the Nigerian agitation is considered by them to be of Christian origin.

The French Catholic order of White Fathers has opened several cloisters in the French west and equatorial Africa, but no white Protestant missionary work has been tried. The French keep to their policy of not interfering with matters of native religion, morals, and customs.

Bigamy and divorce are easy. In one village I talked with a Negro merchant who had twenty-eight wives and 135 children.

Call Garvey a Saint.

Garvey is pictured as a great patron saint and an emancipator of the black race in propaganda credited with being of American origin. This propaganda has for its slogan, "Africa for the blacks," and refers to the capabilities of American Negroes who hold directing positions in educational, banking, political, commercial, and transportation fields. It states that these Americans are ready and willing to supplant the white men who now occupy the controlling positions on the black man's continent. In America the Negroes claim that prejudice prevents their racial development, and they crave an opportunity to develop a country of their own.

There is considerable to indicate that this propaganda may be as much anti-British as pro-black, and some East Indian and Egyptian independence influences are finding their way from Abyssinia and across the English Soudan to the affected territory in northern Nigeria. As usual, the Turks also are suspected. Propaganda reports the existence in New York of a "supreme council," which is said to be composed of representatives of the black and yellow subject races of Asia and Africa who are trying to work for their common interest and to prevent elements of one subject race from being used as soldiers against another subject race.

Eight Hundred Miles Up the Niger.

These are some of the disturbing echoes which reached THE TRIBUNE'S trans-Saharan expedition after 1,300 miles of travel from east to west French Sudan. From Timbuctoo the expedition poled or paddled its way or was towed 800 miles up the Niger, which well deserves the name of the French Nile. Small experimental stations for cotton cultivation have been established along this rich river territory, which some day will produce France's entire cotton supply. I found one American cotton expert from the University of Arizona working for the French government, and he exhibited small experimental fields of cotton grown with American seed and cultivated with American machines after American tractors had cleared the brush.

The country abounds in peanuts, which grow side by side with cotton, and the French have a newly perfected motor, which they claim uses peanut oil as fuel.

Many Violent Storms.

The swift river current impeded our upstream progress, which was further retarded by a number of violent tornadoes and equatorial storms, accompanied by startling electrical activities. This is the height of the rainy season and the rivers in Nigeria have raised more than fifteen feet. In northwest Mopti the river Gad left the banks, inundating vast areas on its sides.

The expedition crossed the great Niger basin, and in some places our small boat was entirely out of sight of land, although in many regions the water was not more than four feet deep.

The storms were followed by intense humidity and heat. Our garments and beds were drenched night and day, while the atmosphere was stifling hot, like the interior of a steam laundry. A noxious ground vapor rose from the steaming banks, spangled with tropical vegetation. Hordes of mosquitoes, flies, and gnats contributed to the discomforts of the expedition. We were constantly cleaning, disinfecting, and preventing destruction of photographic materials by ravenous ants.

Buy Quinine by Pound.

As we reached Koulikoro we ran into a tornado, which increased the turbulence of the water, already foaming from its passage through the Bamako rapids. One wave hit the stern of our boat and swept half our kitchen supplies overboard.

In purchasing supplies the expedition bought quinine by the pound, but we had to replenish our stocks at Niger, where yellow fever killed hundreds of natives during the rainy season at this time last year. Of sixteen whites taken with the fever last year seven died within five days and were buried in a small plot near the town. Most of them were sturdy young French agricultural engineers engaged in assuring the future of France's cotton supply.

Crews and passengers of boats arriving in any towns in the fever zone are subjected to close examination before being allowed to land. If suspected of having fever they are quarantined in midstream under armed guards. When the townsfolk themselves go into quarantine no whites or blacks are allowed out of the house at night when the mosquitoes begin to work.

Meets a Chicagoan.

When Chicagoans meet by chance in the interior of Africa it is time to tell stories, and this was the case when THE TRIBUNE expedition encountered J. L. Wingfield of Chicago, who was reducing the hippopotamus population and giving the attention of his hunting iron to elephant, crocodile, antelopes, gazelles and pythons. Mr. Wingfield entered this country from the Guinea coast, having landed at Konakry the same day that the French military executed thirteen natives there for cannibalism.

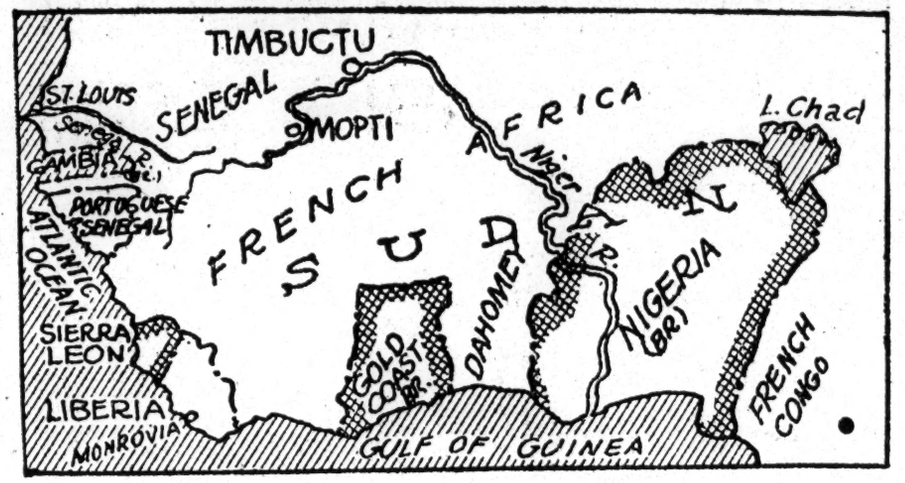
Man eating is still practiced in some parts of the Sudan by fetish worshipers, particularly during the storm season, when human feasts are offered as sacrifices to evil spirits. Since the French have made participation in these feasts punishable by death, they are held only with the deepest secrecy.

We depart today by boat to descend the river to the Atlantic, four miles west. Mozabit, our cook, the only native remaining from the original expedition, which started south from the Mediterranean last March to cross the Sahara, caught fever on the Niger and has been in the hospital here for the last five days while we have been awaiting our boat.

KING CLEANS OUT LIBERIA POST OFFICE

Monrovia, Liberia, Aug. 14.—President King, who was recently re-elected by a very large majority seems to be making good his pre-election pledge to secure honesty in all the departments of the Government.

Two weeks ago nine arrests were made of postal employees, who were charged with rifling letters and pilfering parcels. Their trials are now in progress.



The name of Marcus Garvey, convicted "provisional president of the Republic of Africa," is being used to foment uprisings among the Negro tribes of northern Nigeria.

The Winter School.

In the last week of this month there will be an important Winter School arranged conjointly by Fort Hare and Lovedale for the benefit of Native, Coloured and Indian ministers, teachers, farmers, clerks and others interested.

A fascinating booklet syllabus has been published obtainable free on application to the Principal, Fort Hare, Alice, showing all directions and the names of lecturers thus: Course for ministers: Rev. J. Bruce Gardiner, B.D. of Johannesburg; Rev Max Yergan B.A. of Cape Town; Rev. J. W. W. Owen of Thaba Nchu; Rev. J. S. Bazeley B.D., of Grahamstown; for teachers: Chief Inspector W. G. Bennie B.A. of Cape Town, Insp K. A. H. Houghton M. A. of Umtata; Rt. Rev. Bishop Smyth M.A, M.B of Fort Hare, Miss Lily Vilakazi of Natal; Mrs Tulloch and Miss Goetham of Lovedale; for farmers: Mr H. C. Matthews of Alice, Mr S. G. Butler of Tsolo; Mr P. Germond of Fort Hare; Mr C Tallack of Lovedale; General: Miss MacWilliam M.A. of Rhodes University, Grahamstown; Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts D Sc.; Dr C. T. Loram LL.B., M.A. Ph D. Dr A B Taylor L.R.C.S & L R.C.P and Dr. T. Gray M.B. Ch. B.

In the evenings there will be conferences held by the Health Society, Native Farmers' Congress; Teachers' Christian Association with an interesting array of public speakers to address them. The fee for the whole is the remarkably modest figure of one pound and as Professor Kerr rightly says "if this school is adequately supported, the way may be open in future years for still further extensions of the work." We trust that our progressive non-European friends will justify this admirable piece of enterprise on the part of two of our leading institutions by turning up in numbers that will fully fill up available accommodation.

The Cost of Ignorance

One wonders how many people realise how costly ignorance is to the state and to others. Our Native people are probably the greatest suffers from serious loss in the way of health, protection of their legitimate liberties, loss of opportunity and general improvidence. Through their neglect to read newspapers they have this year lost possibly thousands of pounds to the railway department by being unaware of the numerous facilities for cheap travelling periodically offered in advertisements. Hue and cry against the wolf of hunger, year in, year out. Social reformers in their thousands die an untimely death through their breaking some of the simplest rules of hygiene. Many of them have lost their stock and lands and commonages through ignorance of modern methods of agriculture, but does this convey any meaning to the averages? Not in the least. To the wiser white races through their illiterate inability to claim their rights at the right time and in the right manner by a Native student in the "Sanc Magazine" the latest number published by the Fort Hare students. 6/26/23

Much stress has always been laid upon the cost of education. In this case the price of ignorance says the writer; while on the other hand little or nothing has been said about the cost of ignorance. To my mind the cost of ignorance is far greater than that of education, for the sole reason that an ignorant man has to pay for his ignorance throughout life.

To be able to estimate what ignorance costs in life we need to look into one or two different departments of life and see the price we have to pay in each case for our ignorance.

In social life we do not need to look far for the price exacted by ignorance. At present social reformers are agitating for better housing of our people; every rational man sees and acknowledges this pressing need, and yet to the ignorant this need does not appeal. He does not see why he should waste his goods and money in building what is called a decent house. He has no complaints to make against his hut, and is almost sure he will live just as long, if not longer than the man who lives in a decent house. Why should he entail the unnecessary expense then? The hut is so easy to make (so easy that the making of it is almost entirely the women's job.)

In this manner the ignorant man forfeits the pleasures of a decent house with all the comforts that it can provide. In his ignorance he cannot picture a magnificent house surrounded by flower-beds from which is wafted the fragrance of flowers which refreshes the soul with its sweetness.

What a price to pay for ignorance!

We find that our people are out-done in this agglomeration. The Standard Bank left the double-fronted shop in which they have operated for the past three or four years and entered their new building. The barber removed into the premises vacated by the bank. The photographer left his place, constructed originally of wood and iron, but now consisting of rat-holes and ant-lacework, for a plateglass-fronted establishment across the way. The fittings and furniture were removed and the door locked, and so was it with the stationery store. These places are all within a few steps of each other and situated at the business heart of the town.

This does not coincide with the actual centre of Elisabethville any more than Cheapside does with the centre of London, although its position has been decided by the same cause. It is the principal traffic junction, and consequently has become the business centre. The main street, the Avenue de l'Etoile, running south-west through the town towards Lubumbashi, crosses at right angles another important thoroughfare, the Avenue du Sankuru. This crossing is intersected, at an angle of about thirty degrees, by the Avenue Royale, which curves from the railway station to the Place Royale, where Vice-Governors and other exalted personages stand under an awning and take the salute on King's birthday and similar occasions from red-capped and barefooted little black soldiers.

The space at the point of intersection of the three avenues just mentioned has nothing ornamental about it, although from the space looking down any one of the six avenues at this time of year, the end of the rainy season the vista is beautiful. At the north corner on the parcelle bounded by "l'Etoile" and the "Sankuru," the Standard Bank of South Africa has erected a splendid ornament.

It is about three years ago since four architects of first repute were invited to submit designs for a suitable bank building. The four plans and elevations were forwarded to Cape Town, and that of Mr. C. H. Henderickx, the architect of the cathedral inaugurated last Christmas eve, was selected. This gentleman then supplied fully detailed drawings and specifications. Tenders were called for, but the work was not put in hand; there was a considerable amount of building proceeding at that time. Later on fresh tenders were called for and six were received. That of a group of relatives, Italian, was successful, and it should be mentioned in connection with the tendering that between the lowest and the highest total of the figures the difference did not exceed 1 per cent. Such close tendering has not been known before in this territory, and probably such a thing has not been known throughout South Africa regarding any public building of similar importance, £10,000 value. This must be highly satisfactory to the feelings of the architect.

The Italian contractors—there are ten relatives—it is stated, are all high-class workers in various parts of the building trade, and, with the addition of a couple of superior Belgian carpenters, the whole of the work has been done by them personally, so that the skilled work of the bank building has been done entirely by white labour, in spite of the fact that the colour-bar does not exist here.

The net result of this combination of the best workers is the production of the best public building in the Katanga. It is best not only in appearance but in quality; and not only is it best to-day, but in the opinion of several of the leading experts it will probably remain the best for some decades. There is no building stone obtainable locally, so an unusually large portion of cement has been employed. The colouring of this does not glare in dazzling white as in so many other public buildings here. It blends creamily with the brown of the woodwork and the grey of the pillars and pairs the whole making one harmonious picture. It is a corner building, double-storied, of proportions noble without being massive. The style is a modernised Louis Seize, much modernised perhaps, probably in order to meet local possibilities, but certainly not debased. The whole erection reflects great credit to the designer in appearance, and to the contractors in execution and when it is remembered that it is built in the heart of mid-African forest some credit is due to the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.

G. N. H. WHALES.

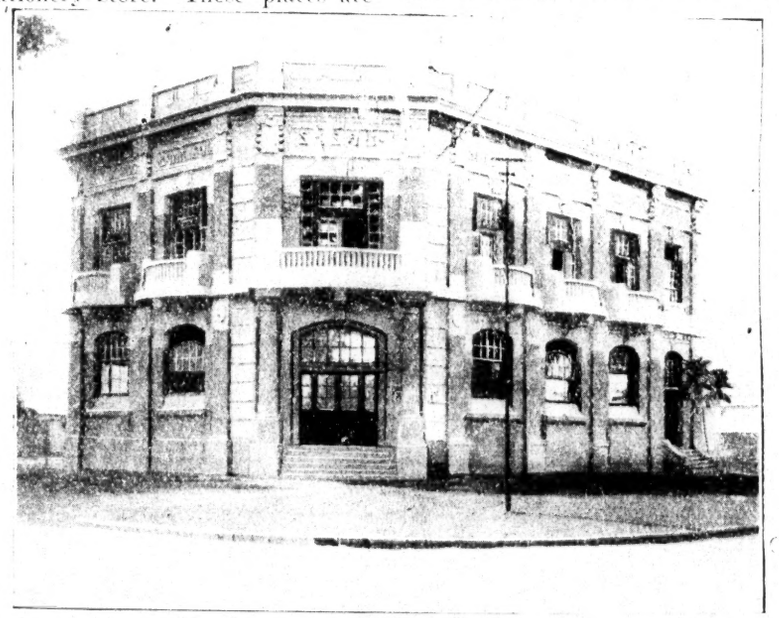
THE BELGIAN CONGO.

NOTES FROM ELISABETHVILLE.

The New Standard Bank Building.

("African World" Correspondent.)

On Saturday, March 31, the local pantechnicons (vans, i.e., open motor-lorries and hand-carts, were busily occupied doing more removals than have been probably on one day on this agglomeration. The Standard Bank left the double-fronted shop in which they have operated for the past three or four years and entered their new building. The barber removed into the premises vacated by the bank. The photographer left his place, constructed originally of wood and iron, but now consisting of rat-holes and ant-lacework, for a plateglass-fronted establishment across the way. The fittings and furniture were removed and the door locked, and so was it with the stationery store. These places are



The commanding New Premises of the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., at Elisabethville.

Race Problem—1923.

Africa

A NEW ENGLISH-SWAHILI DICTIONARY.

Books available for students of African languages continue to multiply—a testimony to the activity of workers in all spheres of African life, administrative, missionary, and educational. The work under notice is a revised and enlarged edition of a dictionary of the Swahili tongue, originally compiled for the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. In its fuller and more elaborate form it has a substantial value for students. It is the result of the author's long residence in Zanzibar, and is therefore based upon the Zanzibar dialect of the language, which contains perhaps the largest proportion of Arabic importations.

As Hausa is the language of trade in vast areas of the Western Sudan and would carry a traveller from Tripoli to the Guinea Coast, so Swahili is the commercial tongue of a large part of Central Africa and a traveller may find it spoken from the coasts of Arabia and Madagascar right across Central Africa. Bantu in its origin, its grammatical flexibility, and the ease with which it incorporates Arabic words, render its adaptability to the expression of new ideas so extensive that it will continue to be the *lingua franca* of Central Africa. The author of this work is, however, careful to remark that the practical importance of the Zanzibar dialect may diminish with the shifting of commercial centres from that ancient emporium of trade to ports on the mainland.

By the publication of this volume Mr. Madan has put students of African linguistics in his debt. Attention is drawn in his Preface to the special effort made in the work to "meet the wants of English students of Swahili by a careful distinction of the different meanings conveyed by the same English word, which may be a help in avoiding serious blunders in translation." An examination of the contents points to a successful achievement of this effort; and its practical value will be apparent to all those engaged in the study of the languages of Africa. A concrete instance, in this connection, of the difficulties encountered in grasping such distinctions is afforded by the numerous "howlers" in the translation of hymns by missionaries themselves which are exposed from time to time. Mr. Madan's Dictionary of Swahili helps materially in the avoidance of such distressing pitfalls, which afford excellent opportunity for those who come to scoff.

J. W. G.

CONGO RAILWAY COMPANY.

Leopoldville, Capital of Congo.

The Congo Railway Company gave a banquet at Brussels on Wednesday of last week to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Matadi-Stanley Pool line, states Reuter. King Albert was represented, and the guests included M. Theunis, the Prime Minister, and M. Francqui, Minister of Colonies, and the Spanish and French Ambassadors. In the course of a speech M. Philippson, Chairman of the company, said that thanks to the convention just concluded with the Minister of the Colonies, the company hoped to extend its services. Replying on behalf of the Belgian Government, M. Franck gave the history of the important works carried out in the Congo, and spoke of others still in hand or projected, including the electrification of the Matadi railway. He announced, too, that a decree had been signed that day making Leopoldville the capital of the colony.

Uganda.

THE WHITE FATHERS.

Success of Forty-five Years' Labours in Uganda.

An interesting account of the work of the White Fathers in the Uganda district of Africa was given at one of the sectional meetings of the Catholic Congress by a member of the Order, Fr. L. Lauru, W.F., being prevented from reading his paper by the serious illness of his brother.

The speaker traced the history of the coming of his Order to Uganda, recounted the difficulties experienced for many years in the progress of their labours, and their ultimate success both in conversions to the Faith, the formation of a native priesthood, and the establishment of schools.

There are now 300,000 Catholics in the district, and thirty-five native priests. Whether a native could be qualified for the priesthood was established by the fact that no less than 120 natives gave their lives for the faith during the time the White Fathers have been working in Uganda. It was due to Cardinal Lavigerie that these Fathers undertook the work.

Since 1878, the date of their arrival in Uganda, a portion of the district has been assigned to the priests from St. Joseph's, Mill Hill. This was done to break down the prejudice created by non-Catholic missionaries, who were constantly assuring the natives that Catholicity was the religion of only a small part of Europe.

The English and all the other great peoples of that Continent, he said, were Protestants. The division of the district and the intervisiting of the French and English clergy, the uniformity of religious services, and the use of the same hymns produced the desired effect, and what had proved a serious obstacle to missionary success was overcome.

The Educated African.

As was to be expected, Sir Gordon Guggisberg's sweeping criticism of the value to the educated African of the education he has acquired are receiving much public attention on the Coast. Especially is this so with regard to his strictures on the attainments and usefulness of the African doctors, to which I have previously referred. Appeal is made to the open minds of Englishmen, who are acquainted with representatives of the general class of educated Africans, as to the value of His Excellency's appraisement. And it is hinted that the Governor's strictures are due to the lack of tame submission on the Africans' part to official schemes of development, which they hold themselves at liberty to criticise and to some extent oppose. The truth, of course, as usual, lies in the middle; there is much superficial education to deplore as there are many highly-educated elements in an African community, whose co-operation in administrative acts would act beneficially. If His Excellency's strictures end in a thorough reform of educational policies they will not have done much harm. And we have the assurance of the Colonial Office that these educational policies are now to be subject to drastic review and serious consideration. The subject of education in Africa is as absorbing as it is important, and it has taken the report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to waken public and official interest in a matter that many of us of African experience have written strongly about in the past.

"Blackwood" and "Cornhill."

"Blackwood's" and the "Cornhill Magazines" of this month contain articles of interest to West Africans. Colonel Yockney tells, in the former, a tale of a Nigerian episode of nineteen years ago of the rounding up of lawless pagans, which, with its usual accompaniment of grim passages, will awake lively recollections with many of us who were familiar with the common occurrences of like character in past days. "Cornhill" has a very striking article on "Certain Facets of the Central African's Mentality," which will strike chords of acquiescence from all who have had personal intimacy with African peoples. The temperament that neither law nor education can change is illustrated by concrete instances that provoke the old conclusions most of us have come to through experience. Further amusing and instructive examples of the African's evasiveness in meeting questions are given which are highly suggestive. The "Cornhill" article is timely now that there is so much talk about the training of character in educational schemes for West Africa.

J. W. G.

With the reported arrival of Chinamen into Sierra Leone, the question of the restriction of alien immigration into that colony has become once more acute. The descent of the Syrian "like a wolf on the fold" has long been a distinct grievance and, as we know, has once led to riotous disorder. The Creole trader has seen himself ousted from what he regards as his legitimate inheritance by Asiatic aliens who bring nothing into the country but their Levantine astuteness; but Syrian astuteness pales into insignificance before that of the Chinaman, and one can understand and sympathise with the perfectly natural alarm which the possibility of the advent of Chinese traders arouses. To the Creoles it is a "yellow peril" indeed. The trading profits which the middle man Sierra Leonean spends in the country of his birth leave it entirely when they are harassed by Asiatics. Small wonder is it that the local Press is urgent in its demands for some form of protection. The matter should have some official attention. One of the leading Sierra Leone papers concludes its plea for this attention in the following: "The European firms bring large capital interests with them, the Syrian brings nothing. Let the Government see to it that he goes as empty as he came." Only as clerk or artizan does the Sierra Leonean visualise his future, and of them there are too many already.

Industrial Revival Follows Slump.

While there can be no doubt that manufacturing industries in Durban and, to a lesser degree, in other industrial areas in the Union are now enjoying a revival which holds great promise for the future, one cannot forbear to glance at certain figures which indicate how hard has been the blow dealt at South African industries by the slump which set in towards the end of 1920 and at the beginning of 1921. The industrial census results for 1921-22 which have just been published, reveal the extent of the setback, in comparison with the previous year's figures. It is true that the number of establishments shows an increase of fifty, but this is apparent only, as the 1921-22 figures include laundries, which had previously not been enumerated. There was actually a fall in the number of factories, and, further, there were decreases all round—in value of output, number of persons employed, and amounts paid away in wages. Nearly 3,000 Europeans less were employed, and about 6,000 coloured persons less.

Nearly £2,000,000 less wages were paid, with consequent effects on the purchasing power of the community. There was a decline of about £15,000,000 in the amount spent on raw materials, and of this decline more than half was in respect of South African commodities.

While every allowance must be made for a fall in prices, it is evident that the figures indicate a reduced purchasing by manufacturers and a reduction in activity. The production figures bear this conclusion out. The gross output fell by nearly £19,000,000, and reached the lowest level since 1918-19. The value added by process of manufacture, which represents to some extent the true value of the output, declined by over £3,000,000. The most noteworthy fall was in the production of food and drink, and the next in importance was in the case of the metals and engineering group.

DEATH PENALTY FOR CANNIBALS

France Issues Orders Intended to Extirpate Practice in African Possessions.

Paris.—Albert Sarraut, French minister of colonies, who was one of France's representatives at the Washington naval armament limitation and pacific conference, has just signed two decrees intended to extirpate the practice of cannibalism in the French African possessions. The death penalty is imposed on any one killing or trying to kill human beings for the purpose of eating their flesh. Imprisonment of from one to ten years and a fine of from 100 to 1,000 francs are to be the punishment for complicity in such crimes or for eating human flesh. Cannibalism survives, M. Sarraut says, principally under the form of ritual rites or acts of sorcery.

Discussing this subject in Le Journal, M. Fernand Hauser writes:

"Doctor Cureau, formerly a colonial governor, assured us some years ago in a work on the primitive peoples of equatorial Africa that cannibalism, as practiced there (and it is practiced, even in regions rich in food resources of all sorts, vegetable and animal), is not due to privation or famine. 'It is simply a matter of taste,' he said, 'a predilection for a certain kind of meat.'

Cannibalism Called Instinct.

"Cannibalism is then, according to Doctor Cureau, an instinct. It is a custom. The man who indulges in it is not necessarily ferocious. 'He may be a man who is gentle, gay, cheerful and friendly in his ordinary relations'—at least with those about him.

"Doctor Cureau added that he had several times seen evidences that certain tribes make prisoners of war or buy slaves to hold them in reserve, and then kill them and eat them in accordance with their needs.

"Pere Martron, who also made a close-range study of the African negroes, declared, on the contrary, that the cannibals did not hunt men to satisfy hunger. They eat, he said, only the bodies of enemies killed in war and, more rarely, the bodies of those on whom they wish to wreak a terrible vengeance.

"However that may be, Pere Martron and Doctor Cureau both stated that cannibalism is dying out. Coming into intercourse with more civilized tribes, the cannibals feel a sense of shame and soon refuse to admit that human flesh is eaten by them.

Reports for Many Years.

"These are reports dating back some years. M. J. Brevie, chief administrator of colonies, director of political and administrative affairs in the government of French West Africa, says in his 'Islamisme contre Naturisme au Soudan Francais'—a penetrating essay on native psychology which he has published—that many blacks still practice cannibalism, less from any real need than from an attachment to ancient rites, which, divorced from their primitive significance, appear unintelligible to us, and which they themselves can no longer explain.

"'We are dealing here,' he declares, 'with human sacrifices, intended to disarm hostile spirits, or to produce a sort of physical and moral transsubstaniation from the person sacrificed—to the person who eats, the latter thus assimilating the former's strength and qualities.'"

But whatever may be the reasons which have kept cannibalism alive, the French government is now determined to make an end of it.

KING OF ABYSSINIA TOILS WITH PEOPLE, SAYS MISSIONARY

ADDIS ABABA, Abyssinia, July 30—(By Crusader Service)—His Royal Highness, Ras Tafri, King of Abyssinia, is not above going to the rock pile and carrying stones to mend a road, and doing so with the humblest of his followers, according to Dr. Thomas Lambie an American medical missionary.

Dr. Lambie, who recently returned to his field of labor from the United States, declares that he has been an eye-witness many times of the king's

Race Problem — 1923
Africa.

Race Consciousness In South Africa Shows Marked Increase

Natives Adopt European Method of Adjusting Grievances. Education Stir Africans to Realization of Potential Capacities.

Special to Journal and Guide

Cape Town, South Africa.—The rise of race consciousness among the natives of South Africa is now apparent and there is a growing realization that the native problem must now be faced in all seriousness. Legislation is before Parliament, dealing with native affairs, and General Smuts, the Premier, has insisted that this legislation shall be passed during the present session.

Reports from South Africa state that it is remarkable how much more clearly and intelligently expressed have been the grievances of the natives since the war. It is a sign, which the years of silence during the war have emphasized, that race consciousness of the South African native is steadily growing, and the spread of education is bringing a realization of the disabilities under which the natives labor.

The whites have profoundly changed their attitude toward the natives since the realization that race consciousness was increasing in leaps and bounds, but it is reported that before schemes for the improvement of the natives can be effectually carried out, there must be a much wider diffusion of knowledge with regard to natives and native modes of thought. And it is emphasized that education of the white race in this sense is no less essential to the progressive solution of the native problem than the education of the black race.

The report, altho, praising the work of missionaries in South Africa in educating the natives, it points out, that the otherwise noble record of missionary enterprises is occasionally actuated by jealousy among the different denominations, resulting in not only the overlapping of effort, but the presentation to the native races of a spirit not wholly compatible with the doctrine it was sought to inculcate.

The natives show a surprising readiness to adopt European methods in the adjustment of their grievances, particularly in the deplorable misinterpretation of the word "strike," is a marked feature of their race consciousness, says the report.

The inclination of the natives to adopt the European methods of adjusting their grievances, real or fancied, is noticeable and also is the attempt of the Communists and Bolshevists to spread the doctrine of the subversion of the present form of government.

Propaganda from American Negro organizations of various shades has found some footing in Cape Town and Johannesburg, but the results obtained do not seem to have justified the promoters in the belief that the Bantu of the Union would welcome salvation for the race under a regime imported from the western continent, continues the report.

But it is clear to all in touch with the situation in South Africa that the inevitable development of a race consciousness has begun and is showing itself in the formation of associations for all kinds of purposes—religious, political, industrial and social. These may be at present short-lived and unstable—the product of immature thought—but they indicate how the wind blows and what importance is attached to European example.

This growth of a sense of manhood in the natives cannot be deplored, for only through the realization by the natives of their potential capacities will it be possible to secure their necessary co-operation in the development of the country.

The danger to Europe lies in the probable tendencies of the development of race consciousness to become anti-European and to seek expression in action subversive of European law.

The Late King Khama.

The demise of the King of the Bechuana is a greater blow to Natives of South Africa than many people imagine. Born in 1832 he early came into contact with European traders, hunters and missionaries and was clever enough to guage the psychology of the white man. He grasped the great fact that the white skinned man was both a blessing and a curse to Africa; that along with his Christian Gospel full of the noblest ideals of moral rectitude there coexisted his vices and alcohol capable of destroying the strongest subject races. His conception of the power of England was that it was a kingdom with unconquerable bulwarks against which it was folly for a culturally backward race to fight. Therefore, deeming discretion the better part of valour, he submitted his country unconquered to the tender mercies of the never-to-be-forgotten Queen Victoria. To his dying day he kept his faith and loyalty to Britain.

Of all untutored Bantu potentates history will award him first place as a master of benevolent autocracy: "Why should a ruler consult with those whom he rules?" Said he last year to the Native Affairs Commission when they explained how the Union Government was consulting Natives on the forthcoming Native Education Tax. "The duty of those who are ruled is simply to obey the laws as they are dictated by the ruler." Notwithstanding this antiquated philosophy, his wise autonomous methods preserved the integrity of his race intact and the sobriety of his subjects with unmatched success.

The disappearance of such a strong man in the politics of a rather illiterate principality may possibly bring about disruption among the Bama Ngwato leading to the undesired and undesirable annexation of that spacious territory to a Union which has yet to prove its success in the manipulation of subject aborigines. This is a positive danger to Basutoland and Swaziland for it is an open secret that our Government is casting furtive and envious eyes on these countries notwithstanding its failure to govern the Natives of the Orange Free State and Transvaal along lines of equity.

While we await a full story of King Khama from the pen of an able Native author such as Dr. S. Modiri Molema M.B., Ch.B. of Mafeking our readers may find a good account of him from the following books:—"The Story of an African Chief by Mrs. Wyndham Knight-Bruce (Kegan Paul 1894); "Twenty years in Khama's Country by J. D. Hepburn (Hodder and Stoughton 1895), "Three Great African Chiefs by Edwin Lloyd (T. Fisher Unwin 1895) and "Khama" by Chas. Pylor (Friends' Tract Association 1897).

Long live the example of Khama amongst all Bantu races.

E. Pondoland Agriculture.

[By A. M. Mda.]

May I remind some of my native people, that the native peoples of this country depend for their livelihood solely upon agricultural pursuits. Hence the big demand for an elevated and well grounded science of agriculture in all its bearings on the said natives. The extent of land set aside for native agriculture covers about a third of the total area, therefore, as agriculture is the sole industry of any progressive race in modern life, it is logical that the Government should provide no limited assistance to any nation. It is no matter of dubiety, that our Government's interest in agriculture has no limit towards its "White brothers," and that his assistance financially or otherwise is no meagre effort towards the success of European Agriculture. The evidence of this statement could be proved from the fact that just now, in the Union, there are five large agricultural institutions established to train European youths: The Government encourages European students, whose exertions are to collect wider knowledge re agriculture overseas: Over and above these, there is a bilingual Government Gazette edited in English and in Dutch, and a vast amount of agricultural information-bearing pamphlets supplied to European farmers. The total annual Government expenditure on the Department of Agriculture approaches a million pounds for these precautions. Every one must owe the Government no pretended gratitude for this offer, as the sole existence of any nation is closely dependent on zealous efforts in agriculture. All industries, other than agriculture would apply but a marked recognition to any nation financially for, even Gold-mining has sometimes to fail, whereas soil-produce may be continued for over two thousand years if conducted under modern devices.

I know, as well as any other individual does, that the Government owes us (nations) no pronounced or general hatred under any circumstances. The Government is, as it were, our guardian, as many people may determine, but I differ from this opinion only in that the Government is *not* our father. No! on this point I differ from you altogether. I therefore beg you to allow me to submit my views about our Government: Will you go as far back as one of the Standard I. Readers, where you will notice the Story of the Old Dame with her Grandchildren. You will notice as the story goes on, that old Dame loved all her grandchildren, but she had not sufficient bread to feed them all. The consequent result was that Old Dame, supplied bread only to those children who cried aloud in their hunger. This she did in order to maintain quietism. I must now appeal to you fellow-readers: Supposing among these children, there was a silent, modest child that held peace while all the others were screaming and crying for their rations, and consequently this poor creature's hunger was not brought to the notice of Old Dame, was there justice in the operation? Was this child being fairly treated? You are aware that this child will at last be so hungry that its jaws will be clenched together, thus unabling it to cry aloud. Certainly this child would die in utter disaster. Please take special note of this allusion.

Native Pass Laws.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Transvaal Native Congress at Pretoria, at which were present members of the Transvaal Native Teachers' Association, and of the Inter-denominational Native Ministers' Association, the following resolutions on the Native Registration and Protection Bill were passed:—(1) That the age limit provided for in sub section 2 of section 1 be altered so as to make it 21 years instead of 18 years, on the ground that the latter is contrary to the prescribed age under the common law of this and any other civilised country. (2) That clause (b) of sub section 2 of section 1 be deleted on the ground that it is likely to cause unnecessary inconvenience and the most illiterate among the natives are bound to be confused thereby by the reason of the fact that they will not be able to differentiate between a temporary and a regular registration certificate. (3) (a) Exemptions: That sub-section (a) of section 1, in so far as it creates a bar against children of excepted natives should be deleted as children

under common Law assume the status of the parents excepting in the case of the illegitimate children. Anything likely to deprive the children of the status of their parents does in effect declare such children to be illegitimate. (b) That the Bill should not apply to the Cape Province as it is likely to encroach upon the rights hitherto enjoyed by the natives of that Province under the franchise, and that a native registered voter should be treated as a citizen of the Union. That the exemption and relief laws in force in the various provinces should not be repealed as the repeal of these laws, is an encroachment on the higher rights conferred by the present laws. (3) That the Minister for Native Affairs should not constitute the final court of appeal in the matter of granting and cancellation of exemptions, but that that right should be left to the ordinary courts of justice. (4) Contract of Service.—That any report affecting the engagement of any native and for the cancellation of such engagement should be made by the employer within seven days of such engagement and for termination of such contract. (5) Home Areas.—That home areas in all the provinces except the Cape should mean magisterial districts in which any native is permanently resident. (6) Other Objections.—That as there is nothing definitely set in all provisions of the Bill, other powers being delegated to the Governor-General, who may make further regulations and prescribe certain things or acts, all matters affecting contracts of service exemptions are ambiguous and uncertain, and it is strongly felt that they cannot be acceptable to natives who in the meantime are and may be committed to buying a cat in a bag.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

The Value of Anthropology.

It is a question if the awakening to the value of anthropology for the wise administration of native races is not too belated to be of much service in West Africa. For years I have insisted on it as a subject which it is to be seriously taken up. Without an understanding of native customs and native psychology the preservation of much that renders native existence tolerable when in contact with Europeans is impossible. The native point of view, the realisation of which is the main asset of good and sound administration, is only attained after profound study and long acquaintance. Dr. Rivers has with great plausibility that the [illegible] out of native races in many parts of the world is due not to the white man's diseases but to the white man's injudicious handling of their beliefs and customs. That tropical areas, where whites can neither labour nor settle, tend to become depopulated because modern innovations deprive the people of much interest in existence. Close students of native mentality will welcome this revival of interest in anthropology *vis-a-vis* administration with the hope that it is not a casual burst of scientific enthusiasm, subject to barren reaction.

Empire Cotton.

All information on the subject of cotton growing within the Empire is of interest to West Africa, especially to Nigeria. We make no apology therefore for intruding here a reference to the important conclusions come to by Mr. H. W. Himbury, managing director of the British Cotton Growing Association, as the result of his tour of the cotton acreas in India and the Sudan. Mr. Himbury is of opinion that the proposed enlargement of the cotton growing acreage in India and the Sudan, "combined with what is being produced in Uganda and Nigeria," could make in the long run the Empire self-supporting, besides meeting the needs of Lancashire. Mr. Himbury quoted enormous figures covering the present and prospective world deficiency in cotton. The falling-off in American production is progressive, and his hopeful prognostication of Empire-produced cotton are most reassuring. Another suggestive comment for West Africa's consideration referred to the admirable work of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate in "sharing the development work with the tenants and dividing the result of the subsequent crops on a percentage basis between the Government, the cultivator, and the syndicate." An arrangement of this kind will bear looking into as adaptable to West African cotton fields, especially now that the formation of "cotton colonies" is being mooted.

History and the Drum.

In Captain Rattray's fascinating lecture on "The Drum Language of West Africa" he described that one of the manifold uses to which the drum in Ashanti was put was to recount the history of the race on ceremonial occasions: and he rightly pleaded for the encouragement of this side of the art of drumming. Oral tradition is of great ethnological value in West Africa, and that it is being conserved in the drum language makes for greater permanence than the memories of the aged. It is a most valuable side-light on native custom for the preservation of racial history. The suggestions which it provokes ought to stimulate investigators in other parts of British West Africa to further study on similar lines. The idea ought to be useful to those who, for example, are engaged in amplifying the ethnological and anthropological notes scattered in rich profusion through Mrs. Temple's "Notes on the Tribes, etc., of Nigeria." Here is a method of acquiring additional evidences of an historical character. To mention one aspect alone in which these evidences need amplification we may refer to the fertile subject of the migrations of the peoples of the Western Sudan. Tradition conserved in drum language is a fascinating thought, provocative of all kinds of alluring investigations. Captain Rattray's lecture was a great *agitator mentis*.

The Gold Coast Scouts.

In connection with the Boy Scout movement on the Gold Coast, I may mention a very excellent little manual on physical training which has been brought to my notice. "The New Era Handbook of Physical Exercises" is its title, and the author is Major F. W. Stevens, late of the Essex Regiment, whose expert assistance in the closing years of the Great War in assisting in the restoration to muscular activity of injured soldiers was of incalculable benefit to the nation. The author by an admirable method claims to expound the art of blending science, interest, and harmony in physical training. Perusal of the book and examination of the numerous illustrations with which it is embellished point to the success of this claim. Instructors in physical training throughout the country are enthusiastic over the usefulness of Major Stevens' manual, and I recommend it cordially to the Scout masters of the Gold Coast. An idea of the lines upon which Major Stevens' little book is prepared will be gathered from the following extract from the preface:—"The author is convinced that better work will be accomplished by the ase of a standardised series of movements scientifically planned, graded, and arranged than is at present the case, where the recognised movements of the educational system are disregarded in favour of movements put into exercises unscientific in composition, wildly original, and without definite purpose, grouping, or sequence."

Burutu.

A correspondent informs me that a thoroughly up-to-date *entrepôt* and port is rising from the ashes of the conflagration which destroyed the old Burutu in 1917. This erstwhile mangrove swamp is rapidly being covered with warehouses, shipways, engineering yards, wharves, and offices of modern type. Reinforced concrete replaces the old unsightly corrugated iron—that abomination of civilisation which is a blot on many an African landscape, and has been the coffin of many a stout-hearted pioneer. One recalls the "tin coffin" which housed the British Consul at Lagos in Sir Richard Burton's day. Provision in every way adapted for a stupendous tropical trade is now being made by the Niger Company at Burutu, and I am informed that the dwellings for Europeans are equally efficient for the health and comfort of the staff in their design as are the warehouses and wharves for the effective handling of exported and imported products. I remember Burutu as a dismal, heart-breaking spot. It is now a hive of busy activity, and as healthy as a reclaimed swamp with all the amenities of civilised life can possibly hope to be.

African Gratitude.

A memorial raised spontaneously by chiefs and people to a white administrator is unique in West Africa. This distinction applies to the stone obelisk erected at Batkanu, Sierra Leone, to the memory of Colonel Warren, District Commissioner of Karene, 1901-1919. When the Governor unveiled this memorial the spokesman on behalf of the chiefs referred to Col. Warren's "unfailing justice, patience, and kindness." These three qualities strike deep into the hearts of all primitive peoples—especially patience—and the administrator who practises them earns the undying respect and gratitude of the people amongst whom he lives, as this memorial testifies.

Export Duties.

The Governor of Nigeria is of opinion that the baleful prophesies of harm to production and trade through the imposition of export duties is much exaggerated, and his announcement at Ibadan that he had no present intention of abolishing them is alarming. An unsound fiscal policy is never wise. It is, under the circumstances, opportune to keep on record what these duties yield, and an answer in the House of Commons before it rose neatly summarises the figures so that he who runs may read. Mr. Ormsby-Gore gave the following succinct summary of the case:—

"In Nigeria there are export duties of £3 per ton on palm oil and £2 per ton on palm kernels. The amounts realised by these duties in 1920 and 1921 were on palm oil £240,404 and £158,315, and on palm kernels £436,172 and £311,286.

J. W. G.

Kenya Colony (B.E.A.)

Indian Claims in Kenya.

Lord Delamere, Mr. C. Kennett Archer, and Mr. T. A. Wood have been chosen as delegates to accompany Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya, to London to discuss with the Colonial Secretary Indian claims in Kenya.

The Reverend C. F. Andrews was appointed adviser to the Kenya Indian deputation at a meeting at Bombay on April 10, and will leave with a deputation for London on April 14, cables Reuter. After the Kenya Conference in London, Mr. Andrews hopes to visit South Africa, returning to India by way of East Africa.

The Voi-Taveta Railway.

There is considerable outcry in Nairobi, cables Reuter on April 7, at the proposal to pull up the Voi-Taveta Railway. The opposition is based on the effect that the destruction of the line would have on the export trade via Mombasa from the large coffee and sisal areas around Moshi and Arusha. The Associated Chambers of Commerce have cabled to the Secretary of State for the Colonies protesting, from the Imperial and economic standpoint, against the carrying out of the proposal without prior consultation, as they state the curtailment of communication with the adjoining territories would be disastrous. They request that the service be maintained at least till Sir R. Coryndon, the Governor of Kenya Colony, arrives in London and the receipt of a despatch stating Kenya's case.

Kenya Railway Extension.

The interesting information is forthcoming that the survey work for Kenya's next railway extension—the Thika-Nyeri line—is now almost completed, and it is expected that tenders will be called for this month. It will be an extension of the line which already runs to Ruiru, on the Thika River, and which passes through a rich agricultural district where there are large sisal plantations. It will tap vast slopes where there are large expanses of fertile lands and valuable forests, and where a great many farms have already been cultivated by settlers. The second section, which will be more expensive owing to the characteristics of the country, will be surveyed by June or July. It will eventually reach the base of Mount Kenya, from which point a considerable amount of goods traffic may be expected for the main line to and from Mombasa.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

THE NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NIGERIA

Press of Nigeria

It si announced for general information that His Excellency the Governor has summoned a meeting of the Nigerian Council to be held in the Council Chamber on the 26th of February at 11 a m.

As foreshadowed in the Governor's address to the Legislative Council on the 29th of March 1922 this will be the last meeting of the Nigerian Council. It is further announced that by order in council dated the 21st of November 1922 and entitled the Nigeria (Legislative Council) order in Council 1922 His Majesty the King has been pleased to create a Legislative Council for the Colony and the Southern Provinces of the protectorate of Nigeria Feb. 12th-19th, 1923

The Council will consist of—The Governor as President 26 official Members

3 Elected Unofficial Members representing the municipal area of Lagos 1 Elected Unofficial Member representing the municipal area of Calabar and not more than 15 Nominated Unofficial Members.

The Official Members of the Council will be

The Members of the Executive Council

The Senior Residents

The Deputy Chief Secretary to the Government

The Secretary Northern Provinces

The Secretary Southern Province

The General Manager of the Railway

The Director of Public works and

The Postmaster-General

The Nominated Unofficial Members of the Council will be such persons not holding Office in Nigeria as the Governor may from time to time appoint subject to disallowance confirmation by His Majesty

The appointment will be for five years or such shorter period as may be specified by the instrument of appointment

The Nominated Unoffical Members of the Council will be selected whenever possible so as to comprise

One member nominated by the Lagos Chamber of Commerce

One Member nominated by the Port Harecourt Chamber of Commerce

On Member nominated by the Kano Chamber of Commerce

One member nominated by the local Chamber of Mines

One Member to represent Banking interests in Nigeria

One member to represent shipping interests in Nigeria

Eight member to represent African interests in parts of the Colony and the Southern Provinces of the Protectorate which do not return elected representatives to the Legislatives Council

The Order in Council provides for the appointment of provisional members and extraodinary members

Any person registered as an elector will be qualified to be elected as a member of the Council provided that

1 he has not been sentenced by a competant British Court for an offence pnuishable by death hard labour or imprisement fer one year or if so sentenced has not received a free pardon for such offence

2 he is not undischarged bankrupt

3 he has not received charitable relief in Nigeria from any public sourse wityin five years before the election

4 he is not of unsound mind

5 he is not receiving salary from the public revenue of Nigeria

Every male person will be entitled to be registered as an elector and when registered to vote at the election of Elected Members of the Council who

(1) Is a British subject, or a native of the Protectorate of Nigeria

(2) Is of the age of twenty—one years upwards

(3) Has been ordinarily resident for the twelve months immdiately preceding the date of registration in municipal area for which the election is being held;

(4) And was during the calendar year immediately preceding registration, in possession of a gross annual income, from all cources of not less than one hundred pounds provided that

(1) He has not been sentenced by any competent British Court whether in Nigeria or not for any crime punishable by death hard labour for any period or imprisonment for any period exceeding one year or if so sentenced has not received free pardon for such offence

(2) He is not of unsound mind

Regulations for the registration and election of members have already been published—see Gazette of the 10th February 1923 and will come into force simultaneously the order in council, His Exellency proposes to bring the Order in Council into force on the 1st June and to summon the first meeting of the Council on the earliest convenient date in October which will be fixed incidentally with reference to the arrival in Lagos of the Express Steamer from Calabar. Between these dates the registers of electors will be prepared and elections will be held in Lagos and Calabar according to the following approximate programme.—

1 June 15th "prescribed date" referred to in Regulation 1
Notice to persons claiming to be registered — To be dated 15th June (Reg 4)

3 Delivery of claims 30th June (Reg 4)

4 List of electors to be ready 16 July (Reg 6)

5 Lists to be open to inspection until 31st July (Reg 62)

6 Revising Barristers Court to be held not later than 15 August (Reg 9)

7 Register to be completed by 31st August Reg 12 1

8 Appointment of day of election 1st September Reg 14

9 Delivery Nomination papers 6 th September Reg 20

10 Date of election 20th September

The above dates are only approximate

The Governor will continue to legislate for the Northern Provices of the Protectorate, as he does now for whole of the Protectorate

The Power of taxation in the Northern Provinces has been left with the Governor and the scope of the Legislative Council in financial affairs is Confined to the Colony and Southern Province, except that the sanction of the council will be require for all expenditure out of the funds and revenues of the central Government which is incurred throughout the Colony and Protectorate.

As the result of these changes in the constitution, the existing Letters Patent the Nigeria Order in Council, 1914, the Nigeria Protectorate Order in council 1913 the Nigeria Protectorate Order in Council 1917 and the Royal Instruction relating to the Colony Protectorate respectively have been replaced by new instruments which will come into operation on the 1st June. Proclamaton fixing that date for the commencement of these instruments will be issued by the Governor in due course.

The changes may briefly besurrarised as follows:—

1 As from June 1st 1923. The Legislative Council of the Colony will cease to exist.

2 The Nigeria council will cease to exist.

3 There will be a new Legislative council which will legislate for the colony and Southern Province

4 The Governor will legislate for the Northern Provinces.

5 The new council will exercise comlete financial control over the Colony and Southern Provinces, and limited control (in respect of expenditure of central Govern mnet only) over the Northern Provinces.

The new Letters Patent, order in council, Royal Instructions, and Regulations under Nigeria (Legislative council) order in council, 1922, have been published in the Gazette of the 10th February 1923. As mentioned above they will not come into force tall June 1st.

General Notes

We have been informed that Messrs A. S. Tlale; Raekoa Mokase; and Labane Chokobane, some of the prominent leaders and spokesmen of the Basutoland Progressive Association, have received invitations from the Paramount Chief to go and assist him in the trial of cases at his court, They were to report at that court on the 27th ultimo; and as we write they have already been two weeks engaged in the administration of justice at that native High Court of justice.

So far we have heard that in as much as they are concerned, are not satisfied with the composition of the court in which they are included. They would have been pleased if they held a separate court from that of the Paramount Chief's old courtiers. But, foolishly enough, they have not made any representation to the Paramount Chief to that effect, and wherefore if they failed in their efforts to better the state of affairs at that court the blame will still fall on them, and through that foclish mistake of theirs the Association may also be liable to condemnation although they held no brief from it. They have been invited to the court as any Mosuto man in Basutoland would be. However it is only commonsense to be on the

Star of Basutoland 2-9-23

lookout, as this may turn out to be a political trap to the Association.

The Progressive Association in order to clear its political ground, though it is itself that prompted the initiated developments at the Paramount Chiefs' Court, should have its card ready. The association should not place much confidence in those three men or any others that may be called to succeed them. To err is human. Though these men are among the leading spirits of the association and know exactly what the association wished to be done in order to restore the public's confidence in the native courts, they might find the atmostphere there disagreeable and the difficulties unsurmountable, and then do things which the association would not have.

It has pleased His Honour, the Paramount Chief to either replace or replenish his old courtiers by extending his invitation even to the Progressive Association, and it is therefore expedient that the Progressive Association should make its programme public to guard itself against probable snares.

CAPE NATIVE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

Imvo 3-20-23

The General Conference will be held at King W. Town, 4th July at 8:30 p.m., Presidential Address by Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., (London); 5th and 6th General business, Friday evening a Grand Concert in the interests of the Association. Meetings in the Wesleyan Church. All affiliated Associations are reminded to remit their subscriptions to the Treasurer, Principal, Lovedale; and to send in their motions to the Secretary not later than 15th June. Associations not yet affiliated are kindly requested to do so at once. "Unity is strength."

C. RAKHOSI MOIKANGOA.
Secretary General,
Lovedale.

Correspondence.

(Letter to the Editor, Imvo).

Dear Sir,—I have been informed that a meeting of Natives was recently held before the local Magistrate to discuss the granting of Titles to Traders in Crown Lands and that a resolution was passed that Titles be not granted.

The natives appear to be under a misunderstanding in that I am told they are under the impression Traders are demanding 10 acres of ground.

The petition to Parliament praying for the issue of Titles made no mention of the extent of grant. I have received a telegram from our member Major Ballantine conveying the information that Government has no intention of granting more ground other than the extent held under the respective Certificate Occupation.

Thus it is obvious, the granting of Titles will not be detrimental to the natives in respect to the extent of ground under the respective Titles.

I take it, it is the intention of Government to survey the stations just as they are at present and the natives have only to express an unanimous desire for individual tenure where the locations would be surveyed. In the past the Native Affairs Department would not entertain the granting of Titles to Traders, solely on the ground that the natives had not expressed a desire for individual tenure.

I thank you to give this letter publication in your valued medium.

Yours truly,
RICHARD WALLACE,
General Secretary,
K.W.T. and District
Traders' Association.

NEGRO LEARNING CAPACITY HIGH

Kansas City Sun
Kansas City, Mo.

The learning capacity of Negroes native to Central Africa is on a level with the average to be found among any other race including white, under the same conditions. In fact, if there is any difference it is in favor of the Central African folk, who, in many instances equal American Negroes and whites in natural capacity in spite of the woeful lack of background. These are the conclusions of the Reverend Coleman S. Hartzler and Reverend W. A. Miller, missionaries under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Congo Belge, and colleagues at the mission station at Kabongo in the heart of the Luba cannibal country.

"It is a mistaken idea to think that these people lack the capacity of learning, or are inferior in this respect," said Mr. Hartzler, who sails soon for Capetown for another five years service as missionary. "Considering the lack of back-ground, the almost blank environment of the black children in our schools, they are surprisingly apt. It must be remembered that these little boys and girls have had absolutely no training, even of the crudest kind, to train their minds or control their attention. No home training, no example of their elders worth imitating in any intellectual way.

"If any other race of people were placed in this same position for the same length of time it is very doubtful if their children would be any brighter than the pupils in our mission school in the heart of Darkest Africa. Our task with them is to begin at the very bottom and build up all the fundamentals of civilization in their minds which children in America get at home and from merely living in the community. The idea of exactness in construction has never appeared necessary in their living. Without some of the sophistication that is the heritage of civilized folk everywhere, these people lack comprehension of values which are commonly accepted by us because of the experience of others which come to us by reading, observation and community practice. Our hardest task is building these foundations of knowledge. After that we will match them with pupils anywhere.

"We are teaching them practical things as well as the elements of education," continued Mr. Hartzler "The ivory carvers do work any American school-boy could well be proud of. Nat-making, basket-weaving, pottery and scientific gardening are taught so that the young men and women will be able to produce something of value and earn a better living than has been the lot of their people for generations. Natives have been developed to teach classes in these subjects, save the gardening which Mr. Hartzler personally handles. Carpentry and other forms of manual training as classified in this country, are taught by Mr. Miller."

"We find substantially the same situation confronting us as stated by Mr. Hartzler," said Mr. Miller. "The task of impressing the need of exactness in fitting things together is a difficult one. In the making of their axes, hoes, musical instruments, the building of their simple huts of poles and mud, the native folk have felt the necessity of exactness. But in progressing beyond their present stage, it must be shown them as a fundamental. After this point is passed they seem to go much faster in their development in trades.

"The big point which we are demonstrating there is," said Mr. Miller with enthusiastic emphasis, "is that these folk are undoubtedly capable of high grade work as craftsmen and of a high state of civilization, provided they have the opportunity. The natives themselves still have the idea that, because they are not white men, they cannot attain the white man's standards. When we urge a young native to pay more attention and make greater efforts to accomplish a certain thing, he often replies, "Why, I can't. I am only a black man. You are white." We are always quick to contradict this and are gradually uprooting the idea in the minds of the Negro folk there with whom we come in contact."

Mr. Hartzler has been in this country for the past year. Among his activities here he has been studying scientific play as a means of further teaching his school boys and girls in the Congo. Both he and Mr. Miller declares they have devoted their lives to the education of the Negroes of the remote African interior and both are enthusiastic about their work and its rewards in the development of Negro intelligence.

SOUTH AFR[illegible]S NEGRO PROBLEM.

Throughout British possessions in South Africa, according to an English observer, the white man and the Negro are having an uncomfortable time of it. The white man is uncomfortable because of the economic competition of the colored man. The latter can live on an income "one-third of what the white man needs." He is almost or quite as useful in unskilled, semi-skilled, and—where permitted to engage in it—skilled work. He is four times as numerous as the white man. Result: he has made "poor whites" of over 100,000 men and women of European descent.

N Y C GLOBE
APRIL 12, 1923

The Negro, on the other hand, is uncomfortable because of the resentment and alarm such a success has awakened in South African white men. South Africa, like Australia, is a "white man's country." So the Negro is barred from some occupations and denied the vote in certain districts. It is proposed to segregate him in reser[illegible] limit his jobs by law, to keep him uneducat[illegible]ppressed.

Students [illegible]merican Negro problem will find

Race Problem—1923
Africa

THE CONQUEST OF THE SAHARA.

FULL STORY OF A GREAT ENTERPRISE.

Special to "The African World" by M. GEORGES BRUNI.

TOUGGOURT (ALGIERS), March 7, 1923.

The Citröen tractors have successfully crossed the desert. Starting from Touggourt, about 300 miles from the Mediterranean coast, on December 17, 1922, the autos arrived in Timbuktu on January 7, 1923, having covered about 2,000 miles in twenty-one days, an average of 100 miles daily, whatever the ground had been, sand or rock. The mission was directed by M. C. M. Haarot and M. Audouin-Dubreuil, the latter having only a little experience of Africa. They had five auto-chenills to drive. Lieut. Estienne, M. Castelnau, and five men—Maurice Penand, Maurice Billy, Fernand Billy, Prudhomme, and Rabaud—completed the expedition.

The autos stopped three weeks in Timbuktu; they travelled very slowly until reaching Bourem, a big village on the River Niger, where they met with the members of the mission who had come there from Timbuktu by means of boats. The expedition started for the return journey from Bourem on February 10, and on March 6 the cars were in Touggourt again, without having any trouble anyhow during a 4,000 miles journey.

Necessity for Trans-Saharan Communications.

The details of this remarkable performance have been given by all papers in the world, and especially by the French Press. In fact, the regularity of the trip and its apparent easiness, in spite of the well-known difficulties encountered by the way, have produced a great impression. Frenchmen have a great Colonial Empire in Africa, and therefore they take the greatest interest in regard to the means of making it more productive. Between the North, West, and South possessions the wide Sahara spreads its mysterious and terrifying sea of sand. It is a necessity for the French nation to establish a quick and sure means of communication between the north of Africa and the regions where the Senegal and the Niger flow. Many have thought the Citröen expedition was nothing but a very intelligent and audacious publicity enterprise. It certainly is, because the motors have proved they are wonderful engines, and because the "caterpillar" invented by M. Kegresse has given what they were waiting for; but still, the real importance of the trans-Saharan mission is not a commercial one, but more an economic and French one. This explains why the French Government has given so many instructions in order to prepare the way and to help the travellers.

The Inventor of the "Chenille."

The machines were ordinary 10-h.p. Citröens, with special arrangements to carry water, petrol, and camping material. They weighed about 2,000 kilos each. M. Kegresse, the inventor of the well-known "chenille," is a French engineer who stayed a long time in Russia as the director of the Imperial Auto-Cars Service. In Russia M. Kegresse had had to study the problem of the autos running on the snow; his first experience took place in 1909. One of the victims of the Russian revolution, M. Kegresse and his wife and children miraculously escaped, and came back to France, where he showed his plans to several constructors. One of them, M. André Citröen, whose large, open mind is always ready to make practical application of novelties, was conquered at once, and after having made several experiments in France, he decided to undertake the big Saharan enterprise.

Since the war ordinary automobiles with tyres had already tried to reach the Hoggar, but the cars had been obliged to stop south of Tu Salah, and most of them had been abandoned on the way. These trials proved clearly that special engines were necessary to cross the desert.

The success of the Haarot mission will have several important results.

Firstly, there are many regions of the globe where there are no possible communications, neither by earth, air, or water. In spite of the progress realised by the aerial transport, it will be for many years to come a dangerous illusion to believe that many passengers can be found for tropical traffic, for instance. Aviation in many countries where there is no railway cannot produce a sure traffic. Certain aerial trips may be considered as a sporting performance, but not as a commercial proposition. With the auto-chenills it is quite different. These wonderful machines are able to reach the most difficult parts of the earth, can stop everywhere, choose the best way, and carry sufficient provisions for a long and difficult journey.

Thus begins a new industry whose development may be unlimited. Before the trans-Saharan trip began, and since it has been accomplished, M. Kegresse and M. Citröen have received from all parts of the world a great number of propositions for making demonstrations, because people understand the effects of this invention and foresee the modifications it is going to bring about in the economic conditions of their life.

A Personal Experience.

For instance, I am able to speak of a personal experience I have had with the "chenille." Having to stop two days in Touggourt, I resolved to reach el Wad. This village is situated sixty miles east of Touggourt, in the direction of Tanzeur, the terminus of the South Tunisian Railway, as Touggourt is the terminus in the south of the Algerian railway system.

The way from Touggourt to Tanzeur, and especially from Touggourt to el Wad, is reputed to be absolutely trackless. On account of its touring importance, an automobile service on this part of the "erg" is to be desired, because visitors would be able to go directly from the south of Algeria to the south of Tunisia without being obliged to make a great detour in the North. But, as I have said, the way is so difficult that people do not believe it will ever be possible to entertain a line between Touggourt and Tanzeur. They say it is easier to cross the Sahara than to travel over the mountains of sand which stand on that way. Well, I have been with the "chenilles" from Touggourt to el Wad. I do not venture to say it was an easy and very agreeable business, for I found big and abrupt dunes, and, machine and driver not being specially prepared, it was rather hard work to jump over sand mountains of more than a hundred feet in height, whose sides were more vertical than horizontal. The sand was very dry and inconsistent, and the "chenilles" had a great task; however, I got to el Wad, a very typical village, where there is a French military post.

When I came back, and people told me I had crossed one of the most difficult parts of the desert, I was convinced that this marvellous engine is the proper machine for the country.

The second result of the Haarot mission has been to again direct French attention towards the problem of a trans-Saharan railway.

Trans-Saharan Railway Plant.

Many years ago the first plan for a trans-Saharan railway was made, when the engineer Duponchel had the idea of building a line, but the principal plans are the following: M. Souleyre thinks it would be better to go from Philippeville to Timbuktu via Constantine Biskra, Touggourt (this former part is already in full activity), Fort Flatters, and the Hoggar, with a side line towards Lake Chad, and following then towards the Niger. M. Camille Sabatier would prefer to start from Oran for reaching afterward Collonel-Bechar, Adrar, and the Niger. The project of M. Berthelot is: Algiers, Collonel-Bechar, the Saoura, the Ahnett Mountains, the Hoggar, Agades, and Lake Chad, with a line towards Bourem on the Niger. Another one, that of Colonel Godfrey, practically follows the route of the Haarot mission: Biskra, Touggourt, Hoggar, Niger.

General Estienne, whose son, Lieut. Estienne, went with the Haarot mission, has another plan. He would start from Collonel-Bechar, follow the palm-tree route south-east-south, reach the Niger at Tossaye, and cross the river east from Timbuktu in order to establish a communication with the fertile land south of the Niger.

Lately, in Paris, General Estienne has given details of his plans. He estimates that the cost of construction of such a line would not be more than one milliard of francs. He thinks it could be built in five or ten years, and would be productive in less than ten years. Of course, it is very difficult to make precise estimates upon such traffic. General Estienne estimates that this line would transport 80,000 travellers per year and 300,000 tons of goods. It may be, but it will not be reasonable to count upon such wonderful prosperity in so short a time.

Political Significance.

It may be said that the different plans actually looked at have had no economic reason, but a political one. France has a great African Empire, which is yet separated in the middle by the Sahara. It is a necessity for her to have good communication. Should the French Government have one trans-Saharan route only, or two? Should they be specially French lines—that is, military lines only, or may we hope that the two greatest European nations in Africa, Great Britain and France, will try to work together in order to get the best out of their African colonies?

The French trans-Saharan must be considered as a part of the great trans-African railway, of which the Cairo-Cape line would be the main line. Both lines should have a common point in the neighbourhood of Lake Chad.

M. Haarot, whom I met three days ago in Ouargla, thinks that it would be the best solution of all. The trans-Saharan railway has not been built hitherto because the difficulties were too great. But the auto-chenille can immensely facilitate the preparation of the ground and the entertainment of the line. The appearance of these autos gives the certitude that the last "Dychou" that infested the desert twenty years ago will be obliged to disappear. Yet the region is very well pacified. The quickest Mehari will not be able to escape when an auto-chenille gives chase. Therefore we may consider that this country will be safer than many parts of London.

In fact, this wonderful invention that will still be improved upon can be considered as a revolution. Vital questions for the European African Empires that remain without solution are sure to be solved. Therefore, we can think that the inventor, M. Kegresse, the great technical business man, M. André Citröen, who assumed the heavy cost of the enterprise, and MM. Haarot, Audouin-Dubreuil, and Estienne, an heroic group, have done a great work in a few days.

SOUTH AFRICAN CABLES.

the african world

BONDELZWART REBELLION.

4/14/23

CAPE TOWN, April 10.

In the House of Assembly to-day General Smuts laid on the table the report of the Commission on the Bondelzwart rebellion in the South-West Protectorate, and also the report of Mr. Hofmeyr, the Administrator. General Smuts intimated that he proposed to forward both documents to the League of Nations.

The Commission's report declares that the Bondelzwarts by reason of their characteristics, traditions, and history, never easily adjusted themselves to a position subordinate to the white man, and trouble with them because of this might reasonably have been expected by any administration; and it also points out the necessity for the officials in charge being the best possible. The administration's choice of officials was, however, restricted, and some of them were therefore not possessed in a sufficiently high degree of the qualities necessary for successful administration.

Extraordinary hopes some of which were unreasonable, of improved conditions under British rule, not having been realised, the

resentment of the Bondelzwarts against the Germans was directed against the British. The Bondelzwarts were further irritated by various administrative measures, such as the dog tax and the unwillingness of the administration to depart from the boundary conditions imposed by the German Government, and accepted by the Bondelzwarts. The Commission, however, says it cannot find anything unjust or blameworthy in the action of the administration in this matter.

Dealing with the return of the Bondelzwart leader, Abraham Morris, to the territory, the Commission says that it would seem clear that he expected to lead the Bondelzwarts in an agitation for the betterment of their condition, and that the people, as a whole, did not intend to assume hostilities at the time of the arrival of Morris. Their determination to rise was reached after the arrival of a certain police official to arrest Morris.

The Commissioner, General Lemmer, dissents from this finding, and states that he is convinced that Morris deliberately returned to the territory with the object of doing everything in his power, even to the taking up of arms against the Government, to try and restore the Bondelzwarts to the status they enjoyed prior to the German occupation.

ARRIVAL OF MORRIS.

The people had been worked up, and the arrival of Morris was the signal for a rebellion. The Commission declares that the refusal of the Bondelzwarts to surrender Morris and their resistance to the Government were entirely wrong and unjustifiable, and seemed to be the action of people driven to extremity by poverty, and an acute sense of injury, real or imaginary. General Lemmer declares that the people were not driven to extremity, but were influenced by leaders, who, misunderstanding the position resulting from a great war, and disappointed in their hopes desired to regain for the tribe the status it had prior to the German occupation.

Commenting upon the military operations, the Commission says that the general plan was sound, and if it had been carried out as planned resistance would probably have been crushed without so great a loss of life. The pursuit of the Bondelzwarts in their escape from Guruchas was carried out with great dash and courage by the troops, and probably prevented a lingering guerilla war.

BOMBING FROM AEROPLANES.

Dealing with the bombing from aeroplanes at Guruchas, the Commission considers that some warning should have been given to the Bondelzwarts accompanied by a formal demand for surrender, enabling the separation of the women and children from the fighters, and, possibly, surrender. General Lemmer again dissents here, and points out that the administration's forces had already suffered loss of life in severe fighting. The Bondelzwarts had to be encircled rapidly with the least possible additional loss of life, and it was not known that women and children were mixed up with the fighters. Morris was well acquainted with the usages of war as waged by the British, and should have separated the women and children knowing they would be safe. The aeroplanes had bombed the stock before the positions occupied by the Bondelzwarts were attacked, and the latter had been able to judge of the power of the aeroplanes. After being bombed, the Bondelzwarts had preferred to escape in the night, which showed that a warning and a request to surrender would not have induced them to lay down their arms in the afternoon. The Commission recommends certain remedial measures, and welcomes the appointment by the Administrator of a Natives Reserves Commission, whose report contains many valuable suggestions, and could be made the basis of a new policy.

ADMINISTRATOR'S POSITION.

Commenting upon the situation as regards the natives General Lemmer says it seemed to him that the Administrator, as soon as the status of the territory had been definitely settled, acted, as far as the evidence showed, in a manner to indicate that he fully realised his obligation under the mandate in this direction, and states "his attitude in certain specific matters has been noted with satisfaction by both my colleagues and myself."

It is stated in the body of the report that the Commission felt when considering the evidence dealing with the period between the visit of the police official to arrest Morris and the outbreak of hostilities, that the Administrator wished for peace, and throughout the whole of the negotiations he desired to effect a settlement without recourse to arms, and that he showed patience and forbearance.—Reuter.

NATIVE LABOUR: ITS WORTH.

The African World

("African World" Correspondent.)

4/4/23. KAMPALA, March 10.

There is no standard at home by which you can judge or compare native labour. The only comparable standard is the native labour in other Colonies. I have no personal experience of natives in countries other than Africa, and one tribe is pretty much the same as the others in the three Colonies of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika.

But we know from personal experience that certain parties at Home consider the native a downtrodden, ill-treated, and scandalously under-paid individual. Is he? Just hold on a moment!

Prominent amongst these are the supporters of the various Missions, for whom probably in their infatuation there is some excuse; but what can be said of the Labour Party, who screech and howl about the conditions under which the natives exist on every conceivable opportunity presented?

Let us examine these conditions, and, possibly, when I state a few home truths about the real state of affairs our friends the Trade Unionists will probably sit up and commence to take notice.

First of all I would like to preface my remarks by again reiterating in these columns that there is no stronger supporter of Trade Unionism in the ranks of the Labour Party than I. There is no more ardent admirer of the progress made by the same party against seemingly insuperable difficulties than I.

With that preamble we will get down to facts, which are facts, and with the assistance of which I will show the Labour Party that when it raises the war cry in defence of the "ill-paid" native, it is barking up the wrong tree, and advocating the cause of those who act in direct opposition to the principles of trade unionism.

Native Clerks Well Off.

Like the wages of labour at Home, there are grades for different work, but with the difference that whereas many a struggling and learned man is working as a clerk at Home for scarcely a living wage, many a labourer being better off, here the conditions are reversed. A native "clerk" is one of the best paid individuals, and is never on a par with the labourer. A clerk's duties on an estate consists mainly in marking in the names of the porters working daily, and keeping a check on them. But as for being able to make up the total of the wages at the end of the month, there isn't one of them—not one—whom you could trust to add up a sum of three figures wide and twenty long!

So much for the work of the "clerk," who often in Government service is paid as much as 60s. to 80s. a month! Is he worth it? Well, I have known learned men at Home who have acted as clerks, and who were in receipt of the munificent sum of 15s. per week.

Now let us take the other extreme—the common labourer. In comparisons of this nature it must always be remembered that the economic conditions of Uganda do not compel any native to work. Food outside the towns grows in abundance, and is remarkably cheap. In the towns it is not so, but in the towns wages are considerably higher than in the outlying districts.

The wages of the common labourer usually run from about 8s. to 12s. per month. On many plantations—in most of any size, I would say—native food is grown on the estate and given to the workers free. I will admit that their wants are few, and the variety of the food limited. But in all cases the employer, where he grows food for the native, grows the class of food the native affects.

Can any of the Labour Party point to a case in England where the common labourer is in receipt of as much food as he and his family can consume, and in addition receives a wage equivalent in the circumstances to that mentioned above? Not a bit of it!

I remember, when I lived in Ireland some years ago, that an ordinary farm labourer or a mason's labourer was considered lucky if he got work at any price all the year round, and often his weekly "salary" amounted to 12s. a week, from which he had to pay rent and feed himself and his family. Is there any comparison between the two?

Of recent years I will admit that the native has been taxed very heavily. One is inclined to sympathise with him, and help him in his fight against these taxes, until one comes into actual contact with him. Then one sees the true nature of the individual, with him, whose sole idea in life is to dodge work—tax or no tax. The native won't work if he can get out of it—he will beg, borrow, or steal; but work, never, if he can help it!

We will come now to a different class of workman—the "skilled" worker. God save the mark!

This individual is the aristocrat of labour. He may be a mason or a carpenter, an engineer, a motor-car driver, a compositor, a tailor, a tinker, etc. Some of them are clever; the majority of them know as much about their individual work as a dog does about aeroplanes, and the whole of them suffer from swollen heads.

But how did they gain whatever knowledge they possess which qualified them in their own estimation to be considered "skilled" men?

You Labour men, this is where the tilt at Trade Unionism comes in. At Home an apprentice has to serve five to seven years before he becomes qualified in whatever trade he affects. Until he serves this apprenticeship he will not be admitted to the ranks of Trade Unionism. At least, that was the condition of affairs when I was at Home before the war. I haven't heard that it has been changed.

How long an apprenticeship does the native serve here? Not a day, not an hour. Take compositors, for instance. A native arrives at the office and asks for work. He wants to learn how to set type. Does he come for nothing; does he pay a premium; does he bind himself to serve five or seven years? Not a bit of it. From the moment he comes into the composing-room he is paid a wage, and in about three months he is a full-blown comp., or thinks he is, for he immediately demands an increase in his wages; and ten chances to one if he doesn't get it he leaves, and all the trouble taken in teaching him what he does know has gone for nothing.

A full-blown comp! In three months! Think of it in envy, ye members of the London Typographical Association!

But the case of the "mason" is even worse. The full-blown comp. may have a job in getting employment at his own figure—printing offices are few and far between—but the "mason"! Why, all he has to do is to apply to the Public Works Department of the Government, and it is a thousand chances to one that he will be snapped up at his own figure—and the duffer mightn't know the difference between a rip saw and a trowel! Yet he's a tradesman, and can command anything from 20s. to 80s. a month, and the foreman or superintendent daren't looked crooked at him for fear of him taking the huff and leaving! So with the carpenter, so with the engineer, so with the tailor, so with the coffee-tree pruner, so with the rubber-tree tapper. Speak cross to him, and he's off. And unlike at home, where the unemployed tradesmen are as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa, these swollen-headed aristocrats are few and far between, and receiving such a high wage are, in a month or two, independent for the next six!

Are these people to be pitied? Is there anything to raise heaven and earth over on their behalf?

Cunning, perverse, thieving rogues are the bulk of them. Dodgers of the first water, they go home at night to think out how they will do you the next day.

Women, money, and drink are the main topics of their conversation, and as for gratitude, genuine gratitude is as foreign to their nature as is honesty of purpose.

What is the worth of native labour in Uganda? Well, the majority of employers here have only one term for it, and that is that it's damnable!

Abyssinia.

The African World

4/12/23

Queen Pro-British?

Queen Waizera Zauditu, Queen of Abyssinia, contrary to reports emanating from various Italian sources, is eminently well disposed toward Great Britain and France, states a Paris correspondent. She is anti-German. This worthy Queen of a land having an area twice as large as Turkey, with a population of about 8,000,000 persons, is aged 47. She is the daughter of the late Emperor Menelik, who, it may be recalled, was succeeded by his nephew, one Lij Yasu, who was deposed by public proclamation, and his aunt, the worthy Waizeru Zauditu, elevated to the throne. Incidentally, she is a member of the Semitic group known as Shoans, from which the ruling class springs. About this group more anon.

Race Problem—1923
Africa

The Natives Urban Areas Bill

Trans. 3-4-23

(The following article has been written to the "Cape Argus" by D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., and throws interesting side lights on this all absorbing subject.)

While the Native Urban Areas Bill is in the hands of the Select Committee it might interest the readers of the "Cape Argus" to read the opinion of the Natives themselves on the Bill.

The Natives in most towns of the Union have for decades lived under conditions that would have been intolerable to Europeans in the same stage of civilisation. They have endured the conditions in silence for many reasons: they were in many instances only temporary workers having come into the towns to supply the immediate needs of the white population. That is the origin of the locations at Cape Town, Kroonstadt, East London, Bloemfontein and so forth.

In the course of natural evolution in education, social life and intelligence they grew to combine in Congresses and Vigilance Associations which organised their public opinion in the form of deputations to the authorities on various heads of grievances. Some of the municipalities (such as that of Bloemfontein) responded with sympathy to their petitions for improved social conditions. Elsewhere the Natives remained silent and did not harrass their town councils until the Europeans themselves (e.g. the Municipal Congress in the Cape) and the white press began to take the subject up seriously. This was largely due to the menacing movements for increased wages by organised Natives during the acute economic pinch created by the Great War.

To meet the situation, the Government in 1918 drafted the predecessor of the bill now in question.

The three things that have concerned thinking Natives in this bill are the following:—

(*a*). Revenue from Native Locations. Native people have vaguely believed that Municipalities employ the revenue derived from locations not for improving their locations but as a piece of exploitation for the benefit of the European town. This has been proved to be true in a table of statistics collected by the Native Affairs Commission.

(*b*). Security of Tenure. In most towns Natives are denied the privilege to purchase the plot of land on which their dwellings stand. This automatically leads to the putting up of tin hovels and neglect of one's surroundings as the occupiers are liable to be removed at short notice. Hence there is no motive for improving one's property.

(*c*). Drink. The almost free circulation of Kafir Beer and European intoxicants has rendered most locations regular dons of orgies and excess. To escape from these the better class Natives have chosen to live within the European area of towns much against their desire.

Now, the Native Affairs Commission with their first hand knowledge of conditions have redrafted this measure with these facts uppermost in their minds. The Government has shown its good faith by arranging to consult the people concerned before the subject was brought for consideration by parliament. A conference of twenty leading Natives met the Commission with the Secretary for Native Affairs last May at Bloemfontein for a free discussion of the bill.

The twenty delegates were not directly chosen by the Natives in general (except in the case of those representing the Transkeian Territories General Council) but were picked by the Commission who presumably possess a "Who's Who" compendium of prominent Natives in the Union. This method of selection is too arbitrary to satisfy the people concerned in these days of democracy and the voting system. The choice was, however, not an unfair one and the opinions expressed may be relied upon as representative of Native feeling throughout the Union.

Assuming that the views of the Bloemfontein conference reflect true Native opinion, one may discuss the three chief subjects mentioned above along the following lines:—

(*a*). REVENUE.—Under the bill all revenue accruing from the new Native townships and villages is to be devoted to the improvements of the said villages and townships. This is a welcome gain to the Natives and they are thankful to the Commission therefor. But the request that the Native Advisory Board should weild some degree of control over the management of revenue has somehow or other not been granted in the actual bill, though promised at Bloemfontein by the Commission. This is a distinct drawback, and we trust to the Select Committee or Parliament to meet the wishes of Natives in this regard.

(*b*). SECURITY OF TENURE. We were promised security of tenure and title to the lots on which stood private houses and other property owned by the Natives. This has been incorporated in the bill, but we have reason for alarm because the Prime Minister in his reply to the second reading of the bill seemed to be somewhat yeilding to the pressure brought to bear against this principle by the Orange Free State members who seem to overlook the fact that the difficulties that arise in their province in particular are due to the harsh operation of the Native Lands Act of 1913.

(*c*) MUNICIPAL KAFIR BEER. The opinion of the delegates, some of whom were not total abstainers, was, with the exception of one, wholly opposed to the system of the sale of Kafir Beer by municipalities. They gave divers reasons and were unanimous that Kafir Beer was of little value and was not necessary but had been introduced into the bill merely as a money-making machine to the general detriment of their people. A resolution in the form of a compromise was passed abolishing the sale of Kafir Beer and limiting its use to one gallon per family for purely domestic use. Under this compromise it was hoped that thousands of women in towns like Queenstown and Bloemfontein who had left their homes and husbands in the countryside for the purpose of living on the sale of this beer-brewing could be repatriated, whilst an effective police system with a strong temperance campaign would be enabled materially to reduce the use of Kafir Beer to its primitive domestic dimensions. That is the object of the present clause fifteen. But the law-makers who had only been convinced against their will succeeded in outwitting the delegates by introducing the Durban system with a new clause sixteen as an exception in cases where clause 15 was shown to have been abused. The conference also expressed the feeling that in any case the Municipal Beer System should not be introduced anywhere unless a majority of the Native Advisory Board voted in its favour. This just safeguard was promised but has unfortunately NOT been included in the bill. Here too our last hope lies with the Select Committee or Parliament.

The present working of the Municipal Beer System found no support from the two delegates from Durban itself.—Mr. Charles Dube, B.A., said in the Joint Council of Europeans and Natives in Durban (of which he was a member) feeling was now decidedly going against the Municipal Canteen system, two whites in ten being against it on the ground that it demoralised and injured the splendid physique of the Zulu people. Seven of the ten Natives voted against it too. The whole of their Native Congress in Natal was unanimously opposed to it. They did not regard the so-called grand buildings as a blessing because the people were virtually taxed double for them. Durban Native women were doing quite well without Kafir Beer, and so could the men. All Zulus could do without it; it was not essential to their food. Under the system, moreover, even young boys now learnt to drink, who otherwise would have grown free of the taste for drink.

Mr. Mark S. Radebe, a typical Zulu orator, described the position of the Durban Municipality as this: "We [municipality] take away the licence from you [Natives]; it is we who will now sell Kafir Beer to you; we shall direct you how to drink and after we have made you drunk we shall, out of the proceeds, build you nice churches, schools and a beauteous location." "This is anomalous! No, I condemn the Durban system and refuse to be a party in giving municipalities the monopoly to brew and sell beer for Natives." Mr. Radebe continued and gave a most damaging account of Native social conditions as they to-day obtain in the Bachelors' and Married Quarters and Eating Houses in the location under the widely advertised Durban System. On my visit to Durban I found this to be a true account. So that there is no mistake about the Native view on the Municipal Beer question.

The conference also asked that the number of members selected by the municipality to the Native Advisory Board should be restricted to one-third of the total number, so as to ensure that the majority shall be those directly elected by the vote of the people. This also does not figure in the bill. It is a pity, because this omission leaves room for abuse, for members appointed by the town councils may not always follow their conscience when there is a conflict between their view and that of the Town Council.

There was much debate also on the question of coloured people, because while it was clear that some of them would prefer to be treated and ranked as whites, for the purpose of the bill, there were others who throw in their lot with the Natives; and the conference wished that the door should be opened for such to be allowed to be classed as Natives. Mr. Meshach Pelem pithily summed up the position thus, "Let us divide the spoils!" This thorny question has also been left unsolved, perhaps for obvious reasons.

There are, of course, many other minor points which one might take up; but those stated above constitute the most important. And if the wishes of Natives can be respected by the Select Committee and by Parliament on the lines herein indicated, I have no doubt but that this will prove a highly satisfactory measure, contributing not a little in the development of the Native races on right lines.

A Memorial to the Late J. T. Jabavu.

For the benefit of our European readers who are probably interested in the memorial we believe it should be shown that there is a movement amongst the admirers of the late John Tengo Jabavu to raise a fund with the object of perpetuating his memory in tangible form for future generations of the Bantu of South Africa. What the exact form of the memorial must be will be decided by the vote of the actual subscribers on the basis of one vote per £1 paid in to the Treasurer, Mr J. G. Weir of King Williamstown who has graciousl consented to act in that capacity with Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, Imvo Office, King Williamstown as Secretary to the fund. Up to the present over £22 has been received, as acknowledged from time to time in our vernacular columns There is no need here to expatiate on the worthiness of the subject of the memorial for that has been done by many correspondents and in the biography of our esteemed late editor now on sale at the Lovedale Bookstore. It is therefore for our friends to swell the fund with contributions to the Treasurer, however modest these may be so that something enduring may be achieved.

An excellent example has been set by the Wesleyan Methodist Church through the Rev. T. R. Curnick of Willowvale who has from various sympathisers already raised a considerable sum towards a Memorial Tablet in memory of John Tengo Jabavu to be placed in the Native Wesleyan Church at King Williamstown to be unveiled in a public ceremony on Sunday 29th April next during the sitting of the Wesleyan Conference.

We make no apology in publishing from the private appeal circulated recently by Mr Curnick, the following tribute:—"For more than thirty years he was lay representative to Conference and a member of important committees, in which capacity he always proved himself a loyal Methodist and an ardent supporter of all that pertained to the welfare of the Church of his birth and choice."

We trust that both movements will, through the generous support of his admirer, attain the success they deserve.

DRUM "WIRELESS" SPREADS GARVEY'S PROJECT IN AFRICA

Propaganda Promoting Unrest Among Natives "Flashed" to All Tribes in Record Time.

"EMPEROR" SAYS AGENTS ENLARGED DRUM CODE.

Agitation Akin to Bolshevism Fills Dark Continent, Is Report Received in London.

[illegible] WORLD
APRIL 7, 1923

LONDON, April 6.—"Broadcasting," a system of communication without wires, which preceded radio transmission by many years on the Dark Continent, is held largely responsible for the ever-increasing agitation among the Negroes in Africa Broadcasting, or long-distance transmission, is accomplished by means of drums, the messages being relayed over tremendous distances with great rapidity.

By "drum talk," as it is sometimes called, news of the approaching visit of American notables to Marshal Lyautey in Morocco was learned on the Upper Volta about three hours after it was published in Paris. News of the death of great chiefs and warnings of approaching danger are sent in this way, and also the native propaganda which is said to be promoting unrest in Eastern, Western and Southern Africa.

Agitation in a form resembling Bolshevism has appeared in East Africa and sentiment favorable to the nationalist movement started by Marcus Garvey is rampant in Liberia, while the trouble in French West Africa recently required military suppression.

Much of this agitation is said to be due to inflammatory reports spread among the tribes by drum talk.

Garvey Says His Agents Spread Message by Drums.

Marcus Garvey, self-styled "Emperor of Africa," told the Associated Press yesterday that drum talk was being used to educate the Negroes of the Dark Continent in political philosophy, because open propaganda for enlightenment of the race was prevented by the authorities ruling the various colonies.

Garvey, who holds the title of President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, listened with interest to the reading of the London despatch stating drum talk was held largely responsible for ever-increasing agitation among the Negroes in Africa.

No Sudden Uprising.

Garvey said that in a quarter or half a century he expected to see established a United States of Africa, with Negroes governing their own destiny. He added that when the white race came to see that the Negro was capable of self-government, he believed political rights would be given to the native tribes.

Garvey said he looked for no sudden uprising. The tribesmen, he said, realized they could not cope with scientific warfare, or the forces which the white man could bring to bear.

Garvey said agents of his association had gone to Africa eager to impart to their fellow Negroes the education which they had received, but that propaganda work, as it is generally conducted in this country, had been prevented.

"Then," said Garvey, "the agents turned back to drum talk, centuries old. By staccato notes of the drum educational messages are conveyed rapidly and for great distances from tribe to tribe."

A code akin to the dots and dashes of telegraphy was employed, he said. He said that, although the various tribes each had its own dialect, the difference was not so great as to prevent intelligent communication.

Enlarged Drum Code.

Agents of his association, he continued, were spreading the word that Negroes were entitled to political rights and that they should demand economic privileges which had been taken away from them by the whites. Various Governments, he said, on going to Africa, had promised the natives that they should continue to have their own lands and hunting grounds, but that these had been taken away from them and the Negroes prevented from bettering themselves.

Garvey said he understood his agents had enlarged the "drum codes" to such an extent that sending of long messages was now possible.

In different sections, according to the tribal environment, the "talking drums" are of different types. The "t'koi t'koi," the best known, is constructed of light wood in the shape of an hour glass with its heads connected by green strips of hide. The drum is held under the arm and under various degrees of pressure renders different sounds, sometimes ranging three octaves.

Africans Still Are Sold as Slaves

League of Nations May Act to End Traffic in Human Lives

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 9.—Revival of the slave traffic in Africa, on which subject the League of Nations has promised to act at the next session in September, is causing considerable concern among the leading powers of Europe it was learned lasat Friday.

According to information received here thousands of human beings are being marketed in Abyssinia and the French government has discovered that monthly shipments of slaves are passing through ports in French possessions. It is said the local sultain receives $1 a head on all slaves shipped to Arabia.

Further south on the east coast of Africa the French local authorities are trying to prevent the passage of convoys of slaves between the Island of Madagascar and the mainland. It is further stated that more than 300 slaves have been carried across in the last two months.

It is claimed that British authorities are endeavoring to deal with the situation in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and are meeting with a small degree of success. British vessels have recently been shelling villages along the coast in a campaign against slave-running. A convoy of slaves was recently captured in French territory and believed to have come from Abyssinia. It is understood that a large number of these slaves are obtained from Persia and Baluchistan.

SHALL THE AFRICANS RISE?

(ANSWER BY J. A. OLUSHOLA)

In answer to the above question, I say Yes, Africans shall rise but it will take some time, and there are some among them who will not rise if even they are lifted up by the Jack screw These are the class of Africans who will not be moved to the interest of their own good even by the tears of blood They are those who will never admire any enterprise of the blackman's origin They are those who will always push up their noses and fore-lips to a black brother who is trying to rise They are those who will not lend a helping hand to an African adventurer They are those in whose eyes the work of a blackmans hand have no honour They are those who though free under the Union Jack, are content to be spiritual slaves They are those who because are content with their to-days living have no thought for the childrens need of to morrow They are those being puffed up with nothing but "foreign honours' will not create honours for their native land They are those who grow nervous when they see that a person of whom they consider to be of no importance is attempting to do some thing great They are those who judge a horse by its harness

They are those; who like the Jews of old despised Bethlehem, and would not accept the Saviour because he was not born by some noble parents in the walled city of Jerusalem.

These, and their like, are the African that can never rise, and for them I quote the following.

I care not for his lineage
I care not for his name:
If manliness be in his heart,
He noble birth may claim
The palace or the hovel.
Either his birthplace may be
If pure the stream it maters not
The sport from whence it burst

Long fellows

But, there are few Africans that likewill rise, and the few aree the leven which will swell the dough.

The few are among those whom some choose to call the "nonentities" They are among those who are not much favoured with this worlds wealth, honour and position and therefore do not rank among those who "count" They are not often born into noble families. They are not housed in storey building and castles. They are not often privileged to study in the Colleges and Universities They often belong to humble houses, humble parents and are poorly advantaged for Education They are the set of Africans that shall rise and throught them it may take some time but surely African shall rise ate

J. A. OLUSHOLA

Race Problem – 1923
Africa

The Gold Coast Leader

CAPE COAST, JAN. 6, 1923

THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL EMANCIPATION.

THE struggle for political emancipation proceeds with unabated vigour in all parts of the Empire inhabited by coloured races, and we in West Africa cannot afford to rest on our oars but must fall into line lest in time to come we look back with a feeling of remorse when other people who have toiled and moiled to free themselves from the yoke are enjoying the fruits of their labours. There were times when we used to delude ourselves into thinking that in the British Empire right and justice were conceded for the mere asking; but we very much doubt if there are many people alive who still cherish this illusion. Our experiences during the last few years, especially since the war, have convinced us that even under the Union Jack right and justice have to be seized by violence, so to speak. That the present Administration of the Gold Coast should have introduced legislation at this time of day to abrogate the inherent sovereign rights of the Gold Coast people shows precisely that there are no lengths to which the British Government would not be prepared to go unless we recognise our rignts and privileges and take strong measures to safeguard them. We refer to that brazen-faced legislation, the Native Jurisdiction Bill, 1922, under which the present Administration sought to neutralise the sovereign rights inherent in the people. If the Government can put forward such a proposal in this broad daylight before the intelligent people of the Gold Coast, then we cannot be too watchful both in our own interest and in the interest of posterity. During the last hundred years the Government has been engaged in the egregious task of insidiously removing the neighbour's landmark, and it is time the Kings and Chiefs and people of the Gold Coast rose up in a body and insisted upon the Government keeping within its limits.

We have a charge to keep: we have our Stools and Native Institutions to maintain, and our system of land tenure to preserve. These are a legacy handed to us as heirs of the ages, and this charge we must sustain and hand over intact to those who come after us. Our ancestors were not selfish, petty-minded nor failing in self-sacrifices for the country, and when duty called or danger they were not found wanting; otherwise we would not be now in the full enjoyment of our ancestral rights. Shall we of the present generation do less? Are we going to be less self-sacrificing? Are we going to shirk where duty calls? Heaven forbid that it should be said of us, after we had gone to our rest, that when we came into the legacy we were so neglectful, so selfish, so wanting in duty, and so supine and dead to the interests of the nation that the stranger within our gates took advantage to encumber and to sequestrate the estate with all the rights, privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging. Wherefore our New Year's Message to our countrymen is, FALL IN AND FIGHT FOR YOUR POLITICAL EMANCIPATION. The struggle must be renewed this year with increased vigour. We cannot help ourselves nor can we rest when those who are after us are giving the chase with unbated breath. And we can be sure of this, that it is our inheritance they are after.

Indeed, we wish to go back to our pristine existence under the Union Jack and under the compact by which the British got a footing in our country. That compact was that the British were to protect us from external aggression, and we in our turn were to give them a free hand and a free field to develop British trade in our territory. It was under that understanding that writing in 1841 on the existence of domestic slavery Lord John Russell, one of the honest Victorian Colonial Ministers, said: "If the laws or usages of those countries tolerate slavery, we have no right to set aside those laws or usages, except by persuasion, negotiation, and other peaceful means." That is the language of a prudent and straightforward statesman. But contrast it with the defiant and bellicose attitude of Mr. Winston Churchill, late Colonial Secretary, in his reply to the demand of the Natural Authorities of the country that the Takoradi harbour works should be abandoned, and you get a faithful picture of how the British have been consolidating their position in this country at the expense of the rights and liberties of the inhabitants. It now seems that with the British Government it is not that Natives have rights which must be respected in conformity with the fitness of things, but whether the respecting of such Native rights does enhance British interests. A striking illustration of this point was brought out at the Conference held here in September last between the Governor, the Native Authorities, the Aborigines Society and the Chamber of Commerce. At this Conference the Native Rulers of Assin-Attendasu, Denkera-Mansu and Cape Coast pleaded earnestly with Governor Guggisberg to let the proposed Central Province Railway have its terminus at Cape Coast for obvious reasons. But Governor Guggisberg, with his characteristic inflexible attitude, impatiently brushed them aside with the intimation that the matter of making the railway terminus at Takoradi had been decided and could not be revoked. Now let us ask calmly, if this is not a conflict between *might* and *right* how can a Governor of the Gold Coast think of saying to his Majesty the King's Allies that he is going to build a railway across their territory and to deflect the route in a way that will prove detrimental to their interests while at the same time these very Rulers are to finance the scheme? Whence has the Governor of the Gold Coast such authority that he can defy the Natural Rulers and people of the Gold Coast? By what right can the local Government raise loans upon the credit of the people of the Gold Coast without their knowledge and consent? By what right can the local Government build the Takoradi harbour against the wishes of the Native Authorities and their people who have to bear the cost of same? Are we to understand that the Governor of the Gold Coast is exercising these powers by sheer force of *might*?

All these considerations should lead us to reflect more seriously than we have done before, and we call upon our people to make a stronger resolution than ever to put more energy into the struggle for political emancipation. The tide is rushing in with a terrific force, the erosion is widening and assuming fearful dimensions, and we have to counter the onrush with more energy than we have hitherto exerted. And to accomplish this end with a full measure of success we must MAINTAIN A NATIONAL UNITY. Personal differences and prejudices are the effects of temperaments, and we do not suppose mankind will shed these weaknesses this side of the millennium. What we need to learn from other nations is that however much they disagree among themselves they soon forget personal differences where a common danger threatens them as a nation. We know of the existence in the community of a class of people, mostly grown-ups, who are temperamentally incapable of rising above themselves and these are a source of weakness to any race. These are the people who will sit unconcerned when their neighbour's house is on fire until their own is attacked. If we cannot wean them from their weakness let us leave them alone to wallow in the morass. But let those who are for upholding the integrity of the homeland come together and set their faces like flint against the forces of spoliation whose one object is to keep the black man in a stage of perpetual servitude and to exploit him.

3/6/23 Issue Zabaanstanda

Policy of Drift.

When Union was effected in 1909 it was agreed on all hands that each Province would in the main retain the integrity of its peculiar laws and that in any case the anti-Native laws of the Northern Provinces would not be allowed to make their way into the Cape. To-day we see Government under the direction of General Smuts gradually abandoning this understanding and bringing in a sort of uniformity for Natives by introducing into the Cape the odious customs of Transvaal instead of taking the liberal Cape tradition northward.

The Government of to day is drifting this way and then to the other, wafted by the strong winds of agitations and commissions.

In 1918 the Northern Natives made a determined resistance against the Pass Laws with the result that a Pass Laws Commission toured the country at the end of 1919 and made recommendations in 1920 calculated to impose Pass Laws into the Cape. Instead of introducing the franchise in the North, the present Ministry has elected to bring Pass Laws into the Cape!

Again, in 1919 certain Natives in the Cape asked for a Council system and the Government drafted a law, without consulting them, (Act 23 of 1920) and has steadfastly declined to hold a Conference of Natives on the law in terms of its clauses to have the Act discussed and suitably amended to meet the desire of those who are to use it. The law itself is still in abeyance and goodness alone, (or perhaps Government?) knows when it will be brought into application. In 1921 the Native teachers in each Province and through their organisation of the S. A. Native Teachers' Federation pressed for a long overdue increase of salaries. The reply has come to-day in the form of a bill to tax the Natives heavily to appease the hungry teachers and thus bring a class conflict among the Natives themselves. Like the proverbial man who cut the dog's tail to feed the dog, the Government to-day offers meat to black men by cutting

a limb off the black man himself! The answer given to-day in answer to the request made in 1921 is that bread will be forthcoming for the teachers in 1924. What consolation! General Smuts assiduously neglected to meet Natal, Natives in his speech tour last year. He is the official Minister for Native Affairs but acts through the proxy of Mr Malan, who in turn is deputised by the Native Affairs Department who in their turn send round the powerless Native Affairs Commission to do the donkey work of facing the Natives. In this multiplicity of officials who is really the officer responsible for Natives? It is not Dr Loram, not Mr Barrett, not Mr Malan, not General Smuts, nobody.

The Natives are left to chance between all the officers. Government obviously has no effective machinery nor policy for governing Natives but that of mere drift. The result is disappointment for Natives and inconsistency for officialdom. Natives are disappointed that their commission can never do anything of legislative value for them. Their Department in Pretoria is a mere taxing office. Mr Malan and General Smuts they never see face to face, and cannot if they will and may not if they can. They have no Minister devoting any considerable portion of his time to their interests.

Our primary need is that of a full time Minister for Native Affairs who will get truly busy organising the work of governing the subject races. It is the duty of the cabinet to attend to this question and prevent further loss of confidence in the white man's mode of government.

Natives are and will always be loyal to Britain, but the way in which they are ruled at present is that of a confusion that does not help them one way or the other to develop in patriotism and economic life.

NATIVE PROBLEMS.

The African World
3/3/23

Mr. C. W. Hobley's Lecture before the African Society.

As briefly reported in the last issue of THE AFRICAN WORLD, an interesting paper with the above title was read by Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., before the meeting of the African Society at the Society of Arts Rooms on February 22.

The lecturer commenced by pointing out with great force that as Great Britain was responsible for some 44 millions of natives in Africa—11 millions of which were in East Central Africa—the future of that continent, and maybe the future of the Empire, depended on its success or failure in dealing wisely with the native problems which exist and which will not grow less as time goes on.

He urged the members to endeavour to quicken the interest of their countrymen in African affairs, it being preferable that guidance should come from a body which contains so many members who had actual experience on the soil. and therefore the main need was for instruction which should enable them to get more out of the soil, and in addition to teach them the virtues of discipline and obedience. cleanliness. and so forth.

There is little doubt that any education system which divorces its recipients from the environment in which they live is faulty and wasteful: there is reason to believe that the education departments of many of our African dependencies would be all the better for a thorough overhaul.

It was pointed out that no education system could be considered to be on sound foundations without the existence of a normal institution where efficient black teachers could be trained. The importance of the effective education of our chiefs and headmen was referred to, and the necessity of founding an African civil service.

Relations of Black and White.

The vital necessity of systematic measures to improve the health of the native community was dealt with. and it was pointed out that without realising it the stamina of the native races might become so undermined by the spread of disease that the generally assumed reproductive nature of the blacks might be gradually reduced until a decrease of population set in.

The lecture concluded with general remarks upon the relations of black and white, and it was pointed out that advocacy on behalf of the natives rested too much on the Government side of the Legislative chamber, and that fact tended to produce a contentious atmosphere—the remedy being to remove native affairs as much as possible out of the field of local politics. This would appear to be sound policy.

Generous tribute was paid to the efforts of the European colonists in Kenya, and it was frankly stated that it was not held that colonisation was incompatible with native development—"but a contented and, at the same time, a progressive native population will ever prove a necessity to success. Content and progress can only be attained by a faithful regard of native rights and by consistent guidance of their steps in the way of progress.

"They cannot be maintained as helots, but if they are given due scope for the realisation of their legitimate aspirations, they will cooperate in building up a great and successful colony. It is, I consider, imperative that they be allowed to participate in the success of the colony and not kept merely as wage-earners for a higher race."

There is little in this that any reasonable colonist will object to, and we recommend this thoughtful lecture to those, both in England and South Africa, who have the interests of the African at heart.

of the native, rather than public opinion should be swayed by eloquent extremists and sentimentalists.

The lecture was divided into sections, the first of which dealt with the land question. The native form of land tenure was described and the present policy of the Government explained. Attention was directed to the intimate connection between the form of land tenure and the form of native government, and the development of what may be termed "indirect rule" was strongly advocated on the grounds that it was productive of greater happiness and content. the great success of this form of government in West Africa being referred to. It was pointed out that there was a widespread feeling in Kenya Colony among the natives that some form of formal document should be executed by which a tribe could be assured that Government had dedicated its tribal area irrevocably to the community.

A Luxury Measure.

Registration of Natives was next dealt with. The lecturer dispassionately discussed this measure. and described its aims. its advantages and disadvantages. He frankly stated that he disliked the measure. but expressed the hope that it might be possible for the Government and the colonists to work it in such a manner that the native opposition it had evoked would die away. and made the suggestion that as it was devised to help the employer of labour it was only equitable that the employer should bear the cost of it by a fee upon every contract of service. sufficient to raise the amount required. There is no doubt that this measure is a luxury which the colony as a whole cannot afford to bear. and there is much to be said against it.

Native taxation was then discussed. and it was clearly pointed out how the native taxation had grown until it was well nigh unsupportable; although some relief had been afforded. it was urged that the tax as it stood contained no provision for native participation in the receipts. and it has been a well-known fact that for many years in Kenya the minds of the native areas have been swamped by those of the colonists. If. as the lecturer pointed out, a definite proportion of the tax was set aside and paid into a native treasury. as is the rule in Nigeria. the whole aspect of taxation would be changed. and we believe that the effect on the native mind would be profound. It is too much to hope that some reform in this direction may be supported by the Colonial Office. Education next received attention. and powerful arguments were adduced to demonstrate the importance of native education of the right kind. It was claimed that. on the whole. too much attention was directed towards literary education, and that the general effect was to attract pupils to a town life.

It was pointed out with some force that the future of the bulk of the Africans was

SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION FOR NATIVES.

African World
3/10/23

In the Natives (Urban Areas) Bill, legislation upon what General Smuts rightly described as "one of the most urgent and most difficult questions" was introduced into the Union Parliament during mail-week, in an atmosphere most happily free from sectarian or party bias, which the consideration of so important a question required. The proposed enactment covers provisions—sanitary. hygienic, and philanthropic—for the regulation and control of natives in urban areas. For long the influx of natives into towns in South Africa, a part of whose economic life they had become, has resulted in distressing conditions of housing and intermixture of populations. Many ghastly details resulting from this lamentable state of affairs were supplied to the Commission which made an antecedent inquiry into this difficult question. The Bill provides for the formation of locations and native villages in each town, with accommodation and environment suitable to the status of the native concerned, so that both the educated and semi-barbarian classes can be housed appropriately to their respective conditions. The financial provisions provide for the allocation of the native revenue funds, with assistance from the central Government, to the purposes of the Bill, throwing on the urban authorities the responsibility of carrying out its provisions. Control both of movements and residence has been provided for, and the Act is the product of much detailed consideration and discussion. "Everything is to be done," said General Smuts, with emphasis, "in order to see that the natives who are taking part in the economic life of a place are properly accommodated there." It is a welcome piece of legislation, and not the least testimony to its necessity was the general approval which General Hertzog gave to the objects which it is desired to achieve, quoting the Prime Minister's fine address as a most significant speech on a most important subject.

Kenya Colony (B.E.A.)

IN MEMORIAM.

3/10/23
African World

General Sir Owen Thomas, M.P.

Many of those in Kenya Colony will receive with deep regret the sad news of Sir Owen's death. He has been associated with this colony for nearly twenty years as the founder of a great land company, known as the East African Estates, Ltd. He just came out to report on the possibilities of agricultural development for a number of gentlemen, among whom were the Duke of Westminster and the late Lord Cobham. He obtained from the Governor, who was then Sir James Sadler, a lease of a large tract of country on the coast between Mombasa and the frontier of German East Africa, and also a valuable area of land on the Kikuyu Escarpment. These grants form the assets of the East African Estates Company. Upon the coastal land he founded an important sisal estate and large cocoanut plantations, on the higher areas he erected a bacon factory, which has done much to encourage pig farming in the uplands. The bacon-curing establishment has since been formed into a separate company.

3/10/23

The late Sir Owen had the greatest faith in the country, even when development was in quite an early stage, and may therefore be set down as one of the pioneers in the colonisation of the country, and if it had not been for the devastating effects of the war there is little doubt that his efforts would have been crowned with greater success than they have. Few years elapsed without his making an annual visit of inspection, and he will be much missed in British East Africa by his many friends, both European and native.

C. W. H.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Liberia

OBITUARY.

JUDGE McCANTS STEWART.

The news has reached London of the death at sea between America and the Virgin Islands, West Indies, of Judge McCants Stewart, formerly Chief Justice of Liberia. West Africa - 2-17-23

Judge Stewart was born about 68 years ago, in one of the Southern States of the American Republic. On his father's side he came of good old British stock—Scottish, we believe. His mother was of African descent, and must have been a woman of outstanding character, for she brought up a family in most difficult circumstances, and contrived to give her children as good an education as could be got in the district in which she lived. The judge pays a fine tribute to her in an account of his life which he had completed not long before he passed away.

After a youth marked by great vicissitudes, but in which he always kept before him an ideal of the best education—an ideal towards which he made constant progress—he enabled himself to enter the legal profession, and before he had been long at the New York Bar he made such an excellent impression, both upon clients and upon leading American lawyers, that, humanly speaking, his rise to a position of distinction was certain had he remained in America. But almost from his earliest years the always difficult, frequently anomalous, often bitterly unjust conditions which confront the people of mixed race evoked his protests. "Protests" may, indeed, be almost too strong a word to apply to the gentle, manly, chivalrous remonstrance which he applied in such matters. Perhaps for this very reason he was quickly drawn into all kinds of public activities. Also from his early youth up he had an intense desire first to see and then to serve the great continent of Africa, from which his mother's stock derived. His feeling on this point, and his growing professional and public work, naturally brought him into contact with people in the United States interested in the fortunes of Liberia. The life and affairs of the remote, weak, but to many people intensely interesting African republic had attracted to the country at that time a great body of generous sentiment in the United States, representing various sections of the community, and for some years before Mr. Stewart, as he was then, threw in his lot with Liberia, he and his friends had been watching its progress with eager and close interest.

While still a young man he was asked to fill an official vacancy, we believe in the Judiciary, at Monrovia. The call was one which for many reasons he felt he must obey. Among those reasons it is certain that money counted scarcely at all, for he was well aware of the slender nature of the financial resources of the country, but he thought he saw in the new land an opportunity for the exercise of his abilities and for the application of some of his many generous and original ideas in national life.

In Liberia, during his first tour of service, and, later (after, we believe, holding an official post in the Sandwich Islands), as Chief Justice, he impressed in the most favourable manner all but those whom selfish interest blinded to his good qualities and his high purpose. His conception of the Republic was that of a State based on simple living, hard work and punctilious discharge of obligations. It would be impossible to acknowledge more warmly than it deserves his attitude towards foreign enterprise, foreign capital, foreign ideas in general. Indeed, he would never have used the word "foreign" in this connection at all, his views being that Liberia was a weak, child-State which needed to draw strength and sustenance from every possible quarter, always provided that the people themselves decided matters ultimately in their freely elected Parliament. His steady passion for liberty and progress led him naturally, on the one hand, to work heart and soul for education, both elementary and higher, and, on the other, to adhere to and apply the great principle that the Bench and the administration of justice must be free from and beyond party political influences. Liberia has attracted to its service several men imbued with these high ideals. They have not all fared well at its hands. None has fared worse than Judge McCants Stewart.

An issue arose after he had been there some years in his second term of service, when he was Chief Justice, in which an attempt was made to use the powers of the Supreme Court for a purpose which Judge McCants Stewart considered to be illegal and unconstitutional. A struggle began between him and personages resolved upon his destruction, and he was ousted from the Bench and dismissed. Practically speaking, there was only one person who could right him and that was the then President of the Republic, who failed to do so; perhaps it was he lacked the power to do so even if he had had the will.

In a worldly sense, the action of the then Liberian Government "broke" McCants Stewart just as certainly as a good soldier would be broken if asked to send in his papers. For years he devoted an immense amount of his time and energy to an attempt to get the unconstitutional action reversed, not more, the present writer sincerely believes, from any sense of the injustice done him personally and professionally than from a desire to see an African State put itself into line with countries enjoying the world's respect. What the Liberian action did not break was his own self-respect or his outlook upon life. Many men, perhaps most, would have been soured by this abrupt interruption, if not conclusion, of a distinguished career, and in particular would have been embittered against Liberia. There was nothing so mediocre, not to say small, as that about the "Judge" (as everybody who knew him called him, equally in respect and in endearment). After the incident as before it, he did not hide his view that Liberia would be fortunate if, at her present stage, she could not only get the skilled and loyal assistance of competent Europeans in certain public departments—of which there was no doubt—but, a much more difficult matter, could bring herself loyally and sincerely to support such men. But he was never bitter in the expression of this view, never inimical to Liberia as a separate State, only wounded and sad because in his view she had derogated from her privilege and duty as a self-governing country. He saw no way out of his dilemma except by Liberia's own voluntary reversal of her own act. He could not appeal to any outside Power, and he would not have done so if he could.

What he did was to set about as best he could the building up of a fresh career. He interested himself in commercial enterprises connected with Liberia and other parts of Africa, and nobody brought into contact with him had any reason to doubt either his high standard of honour or his solid abilities; but virtually his life was broken by the incident referred to, not because he lost self-respect, but because he could scarcely settle to anything else, but hoped against hope to see himself and his high office righted. He had an immense love and admiration for the British people, and could he have brought himself, which he certainly could not, to have renounced his American and Liberian citizenship and taken on British, he would probably have won a high place in any normal British community, for he was wise in counsel, a discriminating and eager reader, and a public speaker who won instant acceptance, not more because he had a voice as exquisite in tone as even Lord Balfour's, than because of the unvarying generosity and philosophy of his outlook. When he left London several years ago it was a common observation that the community of African and part-African descent there had lost a speaker and thinker whose place could not be filled. He took up life afresh in the Virgin Islands, and now the end has come.

Judge McCants Stewart died for the progress of Africa as surely as any soldier or administrator or missionary has ever died in that high cause. He was married to a lady, also of Afro-American descent, who warmly supported him in his attitude of no compromise on great principles, whatever the financial or professional cost to himself, herself and their family, which consists of several daughters. If, as one fears is the case, Mrs. Stewart and her children are left in straitened circumstances, Liberia could perform no act more creditable to herself than to make them a substantial grant—and accompany it with the reversal of the decision which lost to the Republic the services of an honourable, learned, fearless judge, who was at the same time a high-hearted, courteous gentleman and a lifelong lover of the great Continent whence he partly derived.

Liberia and Her Neighbours.

In a pamphlet issued by the "British Observer" in the Republic, the writer contrasts that country's progress with that of Nigeria, with advantage to the latter. The writer attributes this partly on her lack of development of national spirit, and partly on her international relations being only commercial, and not intellectual. He advocates that Liberia should depend less mentally on America and work more with the educated West Africans under the British and French flags. He then analyses the tariff and economic conditions, and shows the great need for a bold constructive policy throughout the country.

Republic of Liberia.

THE LATE JUDGE McCANTS STEWART.

African World 2-17-23

Judge McCants Stewart, formerly of the Liberia Bench, whose death was announced in the AFRICAN WORLD last week, in his sixty-eighth year, was born in the city of Charleston, South Carolina. He passed away at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, West Indies, after a few days' illness, consequent upon a chill caught at sea while returning from the United States.

The deceased came of distinguished parentage, inheriting from his father's side that culture and refinement so characteristic of the Southern gentleman, and received from a good mother that piety which was so marked a trait of his character. Having early shown the evidences of unusual intelligence, he was educated in the best schools of Charleston, the Athens of the southland, and thence passed to the universities of South Carolina and Howard, where he acquitted himself with honour.

He chose as his profession the law, and took his course at the well-known University of Princeton, graduating in the same class with Woodrow Wilson, the late President of the United States. Thence he was admitted to the New York bar, and practised his profession successfully in that city, coming into intimate contact with such prominent men as Grover Cleveland and the late Theodore Roosevelt.

The severity of the northern winters proving over-trying to one born in the sunny south, he decided to seek a warmer climate, and his choice led him to the recently acquired Hawaiian Islands, where he settled in the city of Honolulu. Here he had a most successful legal career, and at the same time identified himself with the best interests of the people of this rich American colony, having a large share in the movement that ultimately conferred a wider franchise upon its people.

The Judge had ever been a champion of his race, though always on sane and conservative lines and was especially interested in the experiment of self-government that was being tried out in the Republic of Liberia, on the west coast of Africa. This seemed to offer him a career of greater usefulness for his people, and after a residence of eight years in Honolulu he gave up his large and lucrative law practice and accepted an appointment in Liberia.

In the Republic he immediately became associated with the direction of its affairs, and began to take an important part in the administration of its government. One of the most lasting services he conferred upon his, his adopted country, was the codification of its laws. He also had a distinguished part in the satisfactory settlement of the numerous boundary disputes that arose with England and France, and was a member of the several missions to London and Paris for the consideration of these disputes. It was largely through his advice and influence that the little Republic of late years sought the protection and prestige of the United States in the direction of its home and foreign relations.

Incidentally, his career in Liberia brought the Judge in intimate contact with that Blyden who passed from the streets of St. Thomas to ultimately become the first minister of the Republic of Liberia at the court of St. James, and they continued warm friends till the latter's death.

After a successful career in Africa, where he became in the last years an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Liberia, he was compelled by the health of his family

to seek a more stimulating climate, and he removed to England, where he became the Liberian representative of large interests for the development of the rich resources of that Republic. Six years of his life, including the period of the war, were spent in London, where he came in contact with many prominent men in public life, notably Ambassador Page, a son of the south and a great friend of the race. The rigours of a northern winter, however, soon became too severe for his health and that of his family, and, seeking a milder climate, his choice fell upon the Virgin Islands and St. Thomas.

How he established himself in the goodwill of the community, and, opening law offices, began the practise of his profession, is well known to everyone there, as also the fact that his great interest in all that made for the welfare of his own people. His knowledge of his profession was profound, and to him the ethics of the law were always dearer than its emoluments. His reputation was known abroad, and just after he had left for the visit to the States that ended so tragically a most flattering offer of a professorship of law in one of the leading universities of New England was received, an offer, however, which his premature death prevented him from considering.

Judge McCants Stewart had a most pleasing personality, and possessed the charm of fine manners, cultivated, no doubt, by the many opportunities he had of moving in the best and most refined circles. He was very zealous for his race, and made many sacrifices on behalf of his people. His career may not be thought a successful one from a mere worldly estimate, but he leaves behind him the good name which is better than great riches, and, like Abou Ben Adhem, his name will be written down in the imperishable record among those who loved their fellowmen.—*From the St. Thomas Times.*



THE LATE JUDGE STEWART.

NIGERIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION.

A LANDMARK IN WEST AFRICAN HISTORY—ABOLITION OF THE OLD COUNCILS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY—ELECTIONS IN SEPTEMBER.

West Africa - 3-17-23

The scheme to establish an enlarged and representative Constitution for Nigeria, set forth in full in WEST AFRICA for May 20th, 1922, has now been published by the Government in a series of White Papers. Although the scheme is substantially as then given, some details have been slightly modified, and dates are now given in connection with the elections.

The printed documents just issued show that the Legislative Council will cease to exist on June 1st of this year, and the Nigerian Council will come to an end on the same date. After June the new Constitution will take over the legislative work of the Colony and the Southern Provinces, and the Governor will legislate for the Northern Provinces, as already stated in these columns. The new Council will exercise complete financial control over the Colony and Southern Provinces, and limited control (in respect of expenditure of central Government funds only) over the Northern Provinces.

According to an approximate programme elections will be held in Lagos and Calabar on September 20th, and the first meeting of the new assembly will be some time in October. Voting will be on a property qualification, registers open to inspection will be compiled, and polling will be conducted on similar lines to those in this country. The term of office for nominated unofficial members of the Council will be five years, and, as already outlined in these columns, these members will be nominated when possible so as to comprise one member each nominated by the Chambers of Commerce of Lagos, Port Harcourt, Kano, the local Chamber of Mines, banking interests in Nigeria, shipping interests in Nigeria, and eight members to represent African interests in parts of the Colony and the Southern Provinces of the Protectorate which do not return elected representatives to the Legislative Council.

An Order in Council provides for the appointment of provisional and extraordinary members.

We may repeat the information as to the official element of the new assembly. This is to consist of the 10 senior officers for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of Senior Resident in Nigeria, and the officers lawfully discharging the functions of Deputy Chief Secretary to Government, of Secretary, Northern Provinces, and of Secretary, Southern Provinces; the officers lawfully discharging the functions of General Manager of the Railway, of Director of Public Works and of Postmaster-General.

The elected members of the Council are to be three members duly qualified as electors, who are resident within the municipal area of Lagos, and one member duly qualified and resident within the municipal area of Calabar.

WHAT WE THINK.

COLOURED TROOPS IN THE RUHR.

It is generally admitted by this time that the use of coloured troops by the French in their occupation of the Ruhr is a measure of doubtful wisdom, for many grave reasons. It not only furnishes Germany with material for an effective appeal to outside sympathy, but it places men and women of European race under surveillance of a particularly galling character. The French Government's claim to make no racial distinction between all classes of citizens of the Republic, of which she considers her colonies to be an integral part, is an abstract principle with which no one can quarrel; but the expediency of putting this principle into practice in the special case of a military occupation of German or any central European territory is dubious. Natives of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunis, Creoles from the West Indies, and Bantu Negroids from the Senegal—of which the French troops principally consist—present, besides colour, a variety of racial characteristics with wide differentiations. Attitude and instinct may show radical differences, but it is not the question of race so much as that of colour which determines the wisdom of using them in a position where suppression and humiliation of whites are possible. Prejudice and race exclusiveness are powerful factors in international relations. And though Germany, in the light of her barbarities during the war, deserves small consideration, reliable reports from the Ruhr testify to general offensive behaviour and in some instances unnecessary brutalities on the part of the coloured French troops. The situation created by the use of these troops is just as perilous for the future relations between France and Germany as it is from a general aspect for Africa, and nothing can, in our opinion, justify the militant enforcement of coloured soldiers on an unarmed and conquered white population. The French High Command might well consider that, in the view of the Anglo-African community, there is neither glory nor common sense in such a display of most objectionable *force majeure*.

Republic of Liberia.

THE NEW POLICY.

African World

MONROVIA, February 1.

The opening of the New Year finds this country faced with the necessity for a new orientation in policy. The failure of the American proposals has made the country realise more than ever that its development and progress depend neither upon eleemosynary contributions nor upon international altruism. Adventures like the American policy, which up to the present has been pursued, but which, as experience has shown, accord neither with our political position, our hopes, nor our economic situation, have been discredited, and so we are beginning to reach that saner view that upon our own efforts primarily, with the assistance of conservative capital, does our gradual national evolution depend. March 10, 1923.

On December 13 the Government were advised of the substantial failure of the American Loan. An audible sigh of relief went up all over the country. There was never any real enthusiasm over this matter except within a small group who felt, sincerely I believe, that the future of this country depended absolutely upon America's direct support. None of us have ignored the obvious fact that, with America as a disinterested friend, we could be assured of a powerful support in the international councils. But some of us have mistrusted this tendency towards dependency upon a foreign State. We have felt that it would lead to the atrophy of such slight powers as we have painfully acquired in the course of our national life, and in the end would be more destructive than beneficial. All this from the purely political standpoint. Financially and economically, we are bound to recognise the interdependence of all the civilised people of the world, and to face the fact that we cannot with advantage build a wall of isolation around us. Hence encouragement and adequate protection must be given to foreign investments under certain guarantees that will secure them within their legitimate channels.

After receipt of the American announcement cancelling the loan, the President submitted a comprehensive programme for legislative approval, the principal items of which are:—

(1) The establishment of trade areas beyond maritime ports where foreigners may reside and trade;

(2) An amendment of the law of embezzlement;

(3) A repeal of the obnoxious features of the present law in relation to debts.

These three items (1) (2) (3) have received Legislative sanction, and it is hoped that the full programme will be carried out. As the present income of the Government is inadequate to its need, and as there is therefore an increase necessary for more revenue, it is expected that the gradual opening of the interior, tending as it does to give wider scope to profitable commercial and other economic enterprises, will stimulate trade and development and induce larger capital investments in the country. The Act gives large discretionary powers to the President, and it is intended that its enforcement will at first be in the nature of an experiment. As experience demonstrates its inadequacy or defects, modifications will be made by administrative regulations which will make the provisions of the law responsive to the needs both of the country and of all the commercial classes.

The law with respect to embezzlement, it is hoped, will give confidence to business men and will induce them to give larger opportunities for employment to Liberians.

The import tariff has been increased 2½ per cent.

Alleged dissatisfaction with the present administrative legacy of "wait on the Government, which is charged with a fainéant policy, has crystallised into the formation of a New Political Party opposed to the re-election of President King. This party is being led by ex-President Howard, whose administrative legacy of "wait on the American Loan" is largely responsible for the attitude adopted by President King. He was elected on a platform which committed him to attend the event of Mr. Howard's commitments. The President is charged with not having pushed the matter energetically or honestly. The opposition to Mr. King is, however, not based upon any principle. It seemed rather to be merely personal, and is stimulated by men who were either dismissed from the Government or who are not permitted to control after their administrative mandate had expired. It is very likely, however, that Mr. King will be re-elected. The Government's candidates are Mr. King, as President, and Mr. H. Too Wesley—a member of the Grebo tribe—as Vice-President. The opposition brings forward Mr. S. G. Harmon as President, and Mr. Faulkner as Vice-President. Mr. Harmon was Vice-President during Mr. Howard's administration.

January 7 marked the centenary of the establishment of Liberia by the American Colonisation Society. There was a week's celebrations of the event.

Race Problem—1923
Africa

African King Khama, Oldest Sovereign in World, Is Dead

New York Age
2-23-23

Classed as Most Eminent Statesman and Philanthropist, He Made His a Christian Country—Enforced Temperance, Banishing Bootleggers.

(Special To The New York Age)

London, Feb. 22.—King Khama, the oldest sovereign in the world and one of its pioneer prohibitionists as well, is dead at Serowe, Bechaunaland. His exact age is unknown, but he is believed to have been nearer 100 than 90.

Word came Thursday, February 22, from Serowe, the capital of that part of Bechuanaland long known as "Khama's Country," of the death on Wednesday of Khama, King of the Bamangwato nation and the most eminent statesman and philantaropist that the native peoples of Africa have produced in recent times.

Khama was born near Shoshong, the son of the most influential "witch doctor" among the northern Bechuana, and practical ruler of the tribe. When he was about twelve years old he became a protege of David Livingstone, the famous missionary and explorer, and was by him converted to Christianity and educated according to European standards. This was displeasing to his father, and when ten years later Khama married a Bechuana Christian girl and refused to take any additional wives there was almost an open breach between them. The father thought that Christianity would make his son a weakling, fit only to live among women. But when Khama gave him ocular demonstration to the contrary, showing that he was stronger, more daring and in all respects more masteriul than any of the young men who clung to paganism, the father was reconciled to his new ideas.

Fought Against Slavery.

Khama became chief or King of the Bamangwato in 1872, at the time when the Transvaal Boers under Pretorius and Paul Kruger were trying to enslave and destroy the Bechuana people and seize their country. He appealed to the British government for protection. "I write," he said, "in order that your Queen may preserve for me my country. The Boers are coming into it and their actions are cruel. They sell us and our children. I ask her majesty to defend us, as she defends all her people. . . There are three things which distress me very much—war, selling people and drink. All these things I find in the Boers, an dit is these things which destroy people." The result was that in 1884 Bechuanaland was declared to be a British protectorate, and Khama was confirmed in the sovereignty of the Bamangwato in "Khama's Country." He made his populous realm a free Christian country with a creditable degree of civilization, and he made it a temperate country by strictly excluding the "Kaffir beer" and other intoxicants with which the Boers had tried to deluge it.

White Bootleggers Banished.

Having noted the demoralizing influence that native beer had upon his tribesmen, he forbade the sale of this beverage and declared that no foreign spirits might be imported into his territory. These efforts, however, were not entirely successful, for the king was obliged to contend almost continually with bootleggers. The white settlers especially caused trouble, and, incensed by their defiance of his repeated warnings, King Khama finally banished them from his kingdom.

In the great Matabele war in 1893 Khama and his army which he personally led with consummate skill, gave invaluable aid to the British South Africa Company, and it was due to him chiefly that the wily Lobengula was finally overthrown.

Took Plea to England.

Two years later, however, he objected vigorously to the absorption of his kingdom by that company, and on personally visiting England prevailed upon the British government to make "Khama's Country" north of the Molono River an independent native reservation. In 1903 Khama built a fine new capital city, which he named Serowe. It is now a place of 25,000 inhabitants. In September of last year he celebrated the semi-centennial jubilee of his reign with elaborate public ceremonies, a striking feature of which was the return home of his son, Prince Segkhama, who had been a voluntary exile for twenty-five years.

Addressing a great assemblage at the culmination of the celebration, Khama said: "I have a word to say for my son. I do not know him. He has grown up away from me and my people, so that he cannot know my wishes and their ways. But if he is willing to walk in the road that has been shown to me, all will be well. If he will give his heart to God, I shall have no doubts."

It is understood that Segkhama has embraced Christianity and is likely to continue the governmental policies of his father.

CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSIONARIES

Nashville Globe
Nashville, Tenn.
3-9-23

New York—The learning capacity of Negroes native to Central Africa is on a level with the average to be found among any other race including white, under the same conditions. In fact, if there is any difference it is in favor of the Central African folk, who in many instances equal American [illegible]s and whites in natural capacity in spite of the woeful lack of background. These are the conditions of the Reverend Coleman C. Hartzler and Reverend W. A. Miller, missionaries under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Congo Belge, and colleagues at the mission station at Kabongo in the heart of the Luma cannibal country.

"It is a mistaken idea to think that these people lack the capacity of learning, or are inferior in this respect," said Mr. Hartzler, who sails soon for Capetown for another five years service as missionary. "Considering the lack of back-ground, the almost blank environment of the black children in our schools, they the surprisingly apt. It must be remembered that these little boys and girls have had absolutely no training, even of the crudest kind, to train their minds or control their attention. No home training, no example of their elders worth imitating in any intellectual way.

"If any other race of people were placed in this same position for the same length of time it is very doubtful if their children would be any brighter than the pupils in our mission school in the heart of Darkest Africa. Our task with them is to begin at the very bottom and build up all the fundamentals of civilization in their minds which children in America get at home and from merely living in the community. The idea of exactness in construction has never appeared necessary in their living. Without some of the sophistication that is the heritage of civilized folk everywhere, these people lack comprehension of values which are commonly accepted by us because of the experience of others which come to us by reading, observation and community practice. Our hardest task is building these foundations of knowledge. After that we will match them with pupils anywhere.

We are teaching them practical things as well as the elements of education," continued Mr. Hartzler. "The ivory carvers do work any American school-boy could well be proud of. Mat-making, basket-weaving, pottery and scientific gardening are taught so that the young men and women will be able to produce something of value and earn a better living than has been the lot of their people for generations. Natives have been developed to teach classes in these subjects, save the gardening which Mr. Hartzler personally handles. Carpentry and other forms of manual training as classified in this country, are taught by Mr. Miller."

"We find substantially the same situation confronting us as stated by Mr. Hartzler," said Mr. Miller. "The task of impressing the need of exactness in fitting things together is a difficult one. In the making of their axes, hoes, musical instruments, the building of their simple huts of poles and mud, and the native folk have felt the necessity of exactness. But in progressing beyond their present stage, it must be shown them as a fundamental. After this point is passed they seem to go much faster in their development in trades.

"The big point which we are demonstrating there is," said Mr. Miller with enthusiastic emphasis, "is that these folk are undoubtedly capable of high grade work as craftsmen and of a high state of civilization, provided they have the opportunity. The natives themselves still have the idea that, because they are not white men, they cannot attain the white man's standards. When we urge a young native to pay more attention and make greater efforts to accomplish a certain thing, he often replies, "Why, I can't. I am only a black man. You are white." We are always quick to contradict this and are gradually uprooting the idea in the minds of the Negro folk there with whom we come in contact."

Mr. Hartzler has been in this country for the past year. Among his activities here he has been studying scientific play as a means of further teaching his school boys and girls in the Congo. Both he and Mr. Miller declares they have devoted their lives to the education of the Negroes of the remote African interior and both are enthusiastic about their work and its rewards in the development of Negro intelligence.

The Premier on Natives.

Amro—2-20-23

General Smuts has once again obliged the Native public with a classic speech on the new bills affecting them, a speech characterised by his usual philosophic and optimistic equanimity. As usual he did not avoid facing the facts of the situation, especially the fundamental fact that the social development of the aborigines is not an even one and therefore those who by dint of educational and economic success deserve civilised treatment, should not be begrudged their due.

This is a wise method on the part of the Government head, for it is the few advanced Natives who are largely responsible for the attitude of the black men towards their rulers. Once the better class becomes approximately contented with their rulers, there is little to fear in the way of a general unrest in the country.

If the tone and details of the whole speech could be translated into actual politics, then a vast change for good would come over the country.

We must admit that the speech personifies the generally improved view of present day parliamentarians and the European press towards what they call the Native question. It remains for the details of the bills to be so amended in select committee as to approach the desire of those who are directly affected thereby.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

FLOODS—IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS—TRADE POSITION.

African World

LOURENCO MARQUES, Feb. 5.

Since my letter last week there has been a continuation of heavy rains and floods. Many acres of mealies are affected by the flood, and some have begun to show signs of decay. The C'Chimbe, which is really an offshoot from the Incomati River, has risen to an extent unknown during the past twenty years. Native dwellers near to it have had to leave their huts for safety. All motor communication between the railhead at Xinavane and Chai-Chai is suspended. The Xinavane line, which was originally built to serve the Incomati Sugar Estates, has suffered severely. *March 10, 1923*

Owing to the rising of the C'Chimbe, it has overflowed on the line and washed away some of the permanent way. The Director of Railways has made an inspection of the line, and workmen are now making the necessary alterations to it, but it will take over two months to put it in order. In the meantime goods and food supplies are being forwarded by boat. But delay in the construction of the new sugar mill is being caused, as the contents of the trucks with heavy loads cannot be unloaded and transported to the estate. The damage to the plantations has been small, as, owing to the work of irrigation, banks have been thrown up at the dongas leading to the river.

On the Ressano-Gracia line, near to the Union border, the rain came down from the hills, and the river rose up to the line. The result was, when the river began to go down, the force of dammed-up water swept the ballast from under the line. Three large bogies loaded with coal were on that part when the washaway left the rails suspended and their weight caused a tilting, so that they fell over and blocked the line. The Director of Railways, with a break-down gang, immediately set to work, and a small deviation was completed, so that there was only a suspension of traffic for ten hours. The cost of repairs over the whole railway system of South Africa, through damage by floods, must be enormous.

New immigration and residential regulations have just been published. These, more or less, are on the same lines of those in force in the Union, except those which refer to residential regulations. Every person entering the country by land or sea must present themselves at the police headquarters, with a certificate of nationality signed by their respective consul, and deposit a sum of £20, which is retained for a period of two years, against sickness, indigency, etc., besides an amount equal to a third-class fare from the place from whence they came. To prevent undesirables, they must be of good character. The law does not apply to visitors or those coming here on a business visit.

But residents—foreigners—must take out, for a yearly period of five years, a residential pass, the cost of which is £4 per annum. There is some grumbling among the staffs of foreign firms, but, after all, it is the only direct tax that the State calls from them.

The immigration regulations will have very beneficial results. At present anyone can arrive by rail without challenge, and is free to go where he pleases. The result has been that many undesirables have come from the Union, and even some of the criminal class. The carrying-out of these regulations being in the hands of the police, and the fact that everyone must carry his residential permit on his person, strangers will soon be detected, and undesirables and those who do not, or cannot, comply with the regulations, will be put over the border. It will likewise benefit the local unemployed, as the unrestricted entrance of unemployed from other parts has swelled the ranks of those looking for work, which competes unjustly with daily paid labour, such as tallying at the wharf.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

NEW REGULATIONS.

African World

A decree appears in the "Boletim" making it compulsory for a uniform system of weights being observed generally throughout the Mozambique Company's Territory, and merchants and storekeepers who have followed the British system of weights for all these years will now be compelled to render their weights by the kilo instead of the pound. There is an absence of specification, however, in the application of the decree, and it is not stated whether it applies to the railways and for other businesses dealing with goods in transit. The decree comes immediately into operation.

There is an order fixing a new schedule of salaries for the Customs officials, as a result of which all, or nearly all, will be considerably reduced.

A new tariff is promulgated for the ferry boats plying between ships and the shore at Beira. *March 10, 1923*

Another order prohibits the importation of sweet potatoes from Nyasaland.

Regulations are published fixing the rate of compensation for injuries sustained in carrying out mining operations within the Territory.

Few Starving Natives.

It is stated that there are still numerous instances of starvation amongst the natives in the Tete district as a result of the failure of last year's crops, and that little or nothing appears to be done by the Provincial Administration to relieve the distress. The conditions in the south of the Province are said to be much worse, however, than anywhere else, whole batches of starving natives having made their way as far north as the Chimoio district, in the Mozambique Company's territory, in search of food. So far as can be gathered, says the "Beira News," the distress throughout the Mozambique Company's territory is quite inconsiderable.

The Munene Bridge Washaway.

It appears that the direct cause of the big washaway on both sides of the Munene bridge, near to Macequece, in mail week, was a deluge which visited Mr. Cripp's farm near by. There no less than 7 ins. of rain fell in two hours, with the result that great masses of water rushed down the hillsides and in seeking an outlet along the railway track, carried the 13 ft. banks before them as the mass escaped into the Munene below.

MOZAMBIQUE AND THE UNION

March 10, 1923

(Through Reuter's Agency.)

African World

LISBON, February 27.

Dr. Alvaro de Castro, ex-Governor Mozambique, in a lecture on the Portugue colonies, stated that in Mozambique t revenue exceeded the expenditure. The colony could afford ample guarantees for a loan which should be in gold and should be placed in Lisbon, as there would be no hope of raising it anywhere where the Union of South Africa would be able to frustrate it. He supposed that the Province would require about 7 or 8 million pounds in order to organise its internal activities and put in order its economic resources.

The emigration to the Rand was most disastrous for the Province, as the natives contracted diseases there, which they afterwards spread among the inhabitants. Mortality was high, about 3,000 annually. The Union preferred natives from the Province, as they were more docile and more suited for work down in the mines. The Province must enter upon the path of profiting by its own resources. Should restrictions be placed on the recruiting of labour? Time must be given to the Transvaal to substitute other labour for that of the Portuguese, but arrangements should be made which would enable Portuguese native labour to be dispensed with altogether within ten to fifteen years.

The State must be industrial itself and must also help industries due to private initiative. The scheme of joint control (of the Port of Lourenco Marques) was, without doubt, proposed to take advantage of Portugal's weakness. The construction of a new port on the coast of Natal would be an unenviable enterprise, as it would cost 5 million pounds, and would compete with the port of Durban. Dr. de Castro finished his discourse by saying that the development of the Province was exclusively a work for Portuguese enterprise.

LISBON, March 3.

The latest developments in the negotiations between the Governments of Mozambique and the Union appear to indicate that the High Commissioner, Dr. Brito Camacho, will succeed in realising the proposed loan of three million pounds. This sum is to be raised in instalments spread over three years, and the capital is to be repaid in thirty years. The rate of interest, however, has still to be fixed.

LISBON, March 5.

Dr. Alvaro de Castro, the former Governor of Mozambique, has stated that he is strongly opposed to the proposed "modus vivendi" between Mozambique and the Union of South Africa, which, he declared, would deliver up Mozambique to the Union, would be a diplomatic disaster, and would be a death-blow to the Province.

LISBON, March 7.

Sir Lancelot Carnegie, the British Minister, the Minister for the Colonies, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the High Commissioner for Mozambique are discussing the question of the proposed "modus vivendi" between Mozambique and the Union of South Africa.

LISBON, March 8.

The Minister for the Colonies, replying in the Chamber to-day to an interpellation by Senhor Alvaro de Castro, said that the "modus vivendi" had not yet been signed, but he proposed to extend for a period of six months the first part of the present Convention.

Lisbon, March 9.

Replying to further questions regarding the Mozambique Convention in the Chamber yesterday, the Minister of the Colonies said: "We want good, friendly and neighbourly relations with the South African Union. The proof of that is that we are arranging for a six months' modus vivendi so that we can negotiate a new and good convention."

Dr. Loram on Natives.

Imro-2-20-23

(Continued)

In addition to this there should be as at present, a written contract of service specifying length of engagement, wages, rations, etc., attested by an official whenever or shortly after a native enters into the service of a European or other native. There is a widespread and easily intelligible objection on the part of the natives to the carrying of a registration certificate by native women. Although a regulation certificate for women would help in the suppression of illicit beer selling and its attendant evil, prostitution, it will probably be found wisest to respect the native's prejudice and to look to other controls to check these evils. Women should take out contracts of service similar to those used by the men when they enter into employment.

Little need be said about native law, for North Rhodesia is regarded by ethnologists as having one of the best administered systems of law in existence among civilised peoples. The magistrates base their judgments on native law which, after all, represents controls which have been evolved to meet the needs of the people and have preserved them from extinction through many generations. However absurd the laws may seem to us they have a definite place and value in the lives of the natives and should not lightly be disregarded. A striking example of the inadequacy of European laws to deal with a native situation is reported from South-West Africa. In that territory no place is found for native law. A Bushman's wife died after having given birth to a living child. The husband and his friends followed the Bushman custom and buried the living child with the dead mother. The man was arrested, tried, found guilty and condemned to death. When asked if he had anything to say, he simply said: "Yes I killed the child, I am not a woman. I have no breasts to to give it food. What should I do?" Fortunately, the Judge was a man who understood the customs of Bushmen and had the death sentence reduced to imprisonment for six months! Similar instances might be quoted from civil procedure to illustrate the same point that it is far wiser to judge natives by their own law. Experience in the Union is against the codification of native law as has been done in Natal. The plan habitually followed in the Transkei of electing natives as assessor members of a court and allowing them to elucidate details of native law and custom has everything to commend it.

A word about native education. It may be taken as an axiom that the kind of native problem Rhodesia is going to have in future depends on the kind of education the natives are having to-day. If Rhodesia copies the literary, bookish native education we have had in the Cape in the past, then Rhodesia may expect a host of teachers, ministers and clerks flocking fast to the urban areas out of which will spring a fair crop agitators in the future. If on the other hand she follows the example of the Government schools of Southern Rhodesia, she will be definitely fitting natives for the life they lead on the reserves and the work they will do for themselves and for their European employers on the farm.

Race Problem - 1923
Africa

"WEST AFRICA."

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~~West African~~ 2-17-23

FORESTRY IN THE EMPIRE.

ONE of the few promising results of the Great War has been the revival of the ideal of co-operation within the Empire. Schemes for the practical application of this binding principle have got beyond the realms of vague talk and speculation, and reached that of definite action. Amongst them is the formation of that hopeful organisation, the Empire Forestry Association. The aims of the Association, which has been widely and strongly supported and is now incorporated under Royal Charter, are as wide-reaching as they are salutary. They comprise the prevention of the dissipation of the great natural resources which the Empire possesses in its forests; the remedying of the unsatisfactory conditions of forest management and education, and of scientific research in connection therewith; and the maintenance by means of branches in every Dominion and Dependency of Imperial rather than parochial interest in Sylviculture with reference to all its ramifications, such as growth, utilisation and marketing of timber. The Association is non-official and voluntary, so that it may be free to criticise the actions of Government, and it hopes to achieve the objects it has in view principally by means of publicity and propaganda.

Towards the fulfilment of these objects an excellent beginning has been made in the first issue of its journal, "Empire Forestry," by a succinct statement of facts regarding "Forestry in the Empire," wherein the distribution of forest areas is detailed and facts most informing and of great importance regarding the distribution and consumption of timber are given. With regard to food supply Great Britain is a raft in the ocean with a few weeks' food on board. Her dependence on outside sources of supply of timber is equally marked. For meeting her enormous consumption home forests are negligible. Eighty-eight per cent., however, of our timber imports comes from outside the Empire. Of the volume of imported timber, India, Australia and British West Africa furnish a very low percentage. These facts alone are matters to cause one "furiously to think."

But this is purely the commercial side of the question. There are other sides of far-reaching and greater importance raised by the question of the conservation of forests within the Empire for higher utilitarian ends that production for the purposes of consumption. In British West Africa the slow but inevitable march of desiccation of soil, through the wasteful encroachment on forests to make room for tilth, is a matter for something more than propaganda and publicity. The remedy for this has its roots deep down in sympathetic administration by which the people, who will suffer most, can be taught to realise the disastrous effect on both climate and culture of the absence of trees. That the Governments of our West African Dependencies are now alive to this important aspect of the question is becoming evident.

It is one of the aims of the Empire Forestry Association to make a study of existing laws and regulations throughout the Empire, which govern Forestry management, and confer with the constituted authorities regarding their operation. To apply such a policy to West Africa implies not only expert knowledge but personal and intimate knowledge of local racial and climatic conditions. Given this indispensable knowledge some good might result, from the Association's interference, in bettering the management of West African forests and in forest education.

For it is abundantly clear that especially in pagan (as distinct from Muslim) West Africa a wider knowledge of the long-stretching evils of wanton tree destruction is very necessary. If, for example, we read the reports of the Agricultural Department of the Gold Coast aright the average cocoa-planter has yet to realise the value of shade trees to his crops—an exportable crop faced with outside competition upon which the revenue of the Gold Coast mainly depends at present. We use the word "pagan" in its Latin sense—*paganus*. The Muslim farmer of the northern parts of our West African Dependencies has some inherited technical experience of the relation of trees to culture. But even he would be the better for some definite instruction on the point. Therefore in the sphere of forestry education and the application of that education to the special conditions of a Colony that the laudable aims of the Association would be as valuable as their commercial plans of bringing the forester and the timber merchant into direct contact so that demands within the Empire may be satisfied from the best and easiest sources of supply within the Empire.

It is small comfort if the desiccation of African soil serves only to point a moral to disafforestation. So far as West Africa is concerned we have not solely in mind the conservation and improvement of the cultivation of exportable crops. There is the question of the insidious encroachment of the desert on its northern boundaries to be considered. The Empire Forestry Association proclaims one of its intentions to be to secure a proper status for forestry officers. A few highly trained minds devoted to this problem would become the benefactors of future generations. The problem is soluble where underground water can be tapped, and could be made practicable were the people and their natural rulers interested and convinced. And herein lies the crux of the whole matter. Coercive regulation will effect nothing. Sympathy with, and understanding by, the people will effect much. It can be readily seen therefore how much more than the necessary scientific qualifications would be required from forestry officers who tackled a job of this kind.

We welcome the formation of this Association. Its strength and all-embracing connections will put it in a position to do valuable work, both national and

The constitution of the Association gives good promise for the fulfilment of the aims it has in view. The object of our remarks is achieved if it be realised that the work of the Association can be usefully directed to wider fields of utilitarian effort than the purely mercantile aspect of trade and supply of timber. An Imperial task worthy of its efforts is in the hands of the Association. We hope its achievements may be equal to its ideals.

THE MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION.

The African World 31-3-23

The interesting debate which took place in the Union Parliament last Monday should have had a very reassuring effect at Lisbon, particularly on those bellicose elements who, not many months ago, visualised the Union's military forces being mobilised for the invasion of Mozambique—with a special eye to Lourenço Marques. As customary, the Prime Minister of the Union dealt with the subject of the present and coming new Convention in a forcible, yet fair-minded, manner. There can be no misunderstanding when General Smuts states calmly and definitely that though the Portuguese demands were too high, yet he did not despair of an agreement being arrived at; further, that the Union would continue to be friendly towards the Portuguese for *all time* and in *every* way. The Prime Minister further said that, although he would much prefer to have an agreement with regard to Delagoa Bay, if this should prove to be an impossibility, he would advise the Union Parliament to make provision for South Africa's ever-growing trade by constructing a new port within the Union's boundaries. We think that, after this clear pronouncement, the way has been paved for our good friend, Sir Freire d'Andrade, to resume his arduous mission of coming to an arrangement with regard to the new Convention, due to be made as and from April next, and that there should be no difficulty in compromising on matters which recently gave him some apprehension as to the sovereign position of the Portuguese Republic in its African colonies being threatened. South Africa and its Government fully realise the immense integral economical value outside of political frontiers which Delagoa Bay possesses as being by far the best and most natural outlet for her whole Central Hinterland. Why should technical differences stand in the way of Lourenço Marques being within a few months a perfect beehive of bustling activities, instead of the sad aspect of miles of idle wharves to-day? The suggested Joint Controlling Board, on which the best administrative and engineering talents of Portuguese and Union administrators should be equally represented, has the power to bring this much-desired state about, and not a moment should be lost to stop the present dry-rot position and put an end quickly to the unnecessary and unjustifiable antagonism ruling to-day between the two authorities, thus preventing the Transvaal export coal trade taking full advantage of the facilities of its natural shipping port on the East Coast.

WEST AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONS.

West Africa

EXTENSIVE REFORM PROGRAMME FOR SIERRA LEONE.

March 1923

A correspondent writes from Sierra Leone: In this old Colony we are making British West African history. A dispatch has been received from the Secretary for the Colonies which further extends the Constitution of the Colony. His Excellency the Governor, Mr. A. R. Slater, C.M.G., C.B.E., whose championship of the cause of liberal constitutional reform has warmly commended itself to the people, made the announcement at a meeting of the Legislative Council in a speech which embodies the new programme. This speech was as follows:—

In my address at the opening of this session I stated that I had placed before the Secretary of State certain conclusions I had formed on the subject of the constitution of the Council. I am now able to inform you that the Duke of Devonshire has signified his approval of the following scheme for the enlargement and re-constitution of the Legislative Council of the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

The existing Council consists of the Governor, five ex-officio members and four unofficial members (appointed by the Governor on instructions from his Majesty), of whom as it happens three are Africans and one a European.

Under the new constitution (which is practically identical with that which I had the honour to recommend) the Council will consist of the following:—

The Governor (President); 11 official members: the Officer Commanding the troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, the Provincial Commissioners of the Northern, Central and Southern Provinces, the Comptroller of Customs, the Director of Public Works, the Commissioner of Lands and Forests.

Ten unofficial members: Three members to be selected by qualified voters in the Colony, of whom two shall be elected by the city of Freetown, and one by the remainder of the Colony; seven members to be appointed by the Governor in pursuance of instructions received from his Majesty through the Secretary of State.

It is intended that the seven nominated members shall be as follows: Two representatives of commercial, banking and general European interests, one of these being appointed on the recommendation of the Chamber of Commerce; two African representatives of the Colony; three Paramount Chiefs, one to represent each Province of the Protectorate, on the understanding that at least one Chief of Mendi race is selected, and at least one representative of the Temnes.

The elections are to be conducted by secret ballot.

It will necessarily be some months before the new Council can be constituted. New constitutional instruments will have to be passed by his Majesty the King in Council, and legislation providing for the elections will have to be framed. In the framing of the legislation and the determination of the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise in the Freetown and Colony constituencies I am anxious to have the advice of both official and unofficial members of this Council, and I propose shortly to appoint a representative committee to consider the whole subject and make concrete recommendations. The committee, which will consist of the Colonial Secretary, as Chairman, the Attorney-General, the District Commissioner, Headquarters District, the Hon. A. J. Shorunkeh Sawyerr, the Hon. E. H. Cummings and the Hon. C. May, will, of course, have full power to consult outside opinion freely. I hope that it will be possible to open the new Council on my return from leave next October so that it will be ready thereafter to deal with the Estimates for the year 1924.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

West Africa — March 1923

THE SECOND SESSION, AT SIERRA LEONE.

(By our Special Representative—Copyright.)

Sierra Leone, January 30th (per "Abinsi" mail).

Mr. A. E. Tuboku Metzger, M.A., in supporting the address, said that the Congress was carrying on the crusade of liberty for the race at the point where Wilberforce left it more than 88 years ago, when the Emancipation Act came into force. Too much could not be said in gratitude and to the credit of the British nation for making them an integral portion of the British Empire, and thus making it possible for them to obtain the privileges and liberties which British law extended to all its subjects. So far as he knew, no adverse critic of the Congress had said that its aspiration was unworthy or its aim unrighteous. They did not expect to receive in one day all that they hoped for. No problem ended with the individuals concerning whom it is started. The work of the Congress was a continuation of the effort for liberty begun many years ago. No human organisation was final, none was complete, none was perfect. They must not limit their vision to a single lifetime, or even to an age, but connect it with the eternity of which they were a part. Those who thought that the time was not ripe to form the Congress were mistaken, because they overlooked the fact that present conditions and environment, present freedom and present enjoyments were the result of the thoughts and efforts of their forerunners, and were not the creation of those living to-day. They were the result of the law of growth. In the same way the Congress was helping to create future events which would be of benefit in their due time. All generations and races were but a portion of the vast universe in which imperfection was the way to perfection and death was the condition of life. The issue of their work would be of value not only to themselves but to the world if, in their effort for co-operation with the Government, they were not seeking personal aggrandisement, but the improvement of the country, the people and humanity at large. They were on the threshold of a new era, and the Congress gave expression to a new consciousness. Though it was adversely criticised when first organised, it had exerted influence as a positive force over leading minds. It had never been the wish of the Congress to turn the world upside down; but its wish was to co-operate with and assist the Government in constructive measures for the benefit of all and to place themselves along lines of mental, moral and spiritual training in discipline which would eventually bring about the materialisation of their ideals. They needed knowledge of their needs, courage to dare and faith to do. He regarded the Congress as not only a political movement, but a great social movement that touched every department of their daily life, agricultural, educational, economic and political, and unless the mass were educated, progress would not only be slow, but many misunderstandings would arise and hinder progress. They were grateful for every expression of sympathy and goodwill manifested towards the real object of the Congress. They were also grateful for criticism, even adverse criticism, provided it were constructive and public. Every friendly criticism would give fresh experience, and every hostile criticism would point out some error which they would afterwards try to avoid. They had no foe and should fear no foe but themselves, and they would triumph only if they had truth on their side.

Mr. B. J. George, delegate of the Gambia, said that in his view there was only one thing which would lead them to permanently higher heights and richer achievement, and that was education. By the destruction of hatred, prejudice and anything else that did not make for progress they would get rid of all obstacles. In his opinion the Congress had come to stay.

At the conclusion of the speeches music was rendered, the audience being entertained with pianoforte selections by the Misses Marks, after which the first day's proceedings were brought to a close by the singing of the National Anthem.

On Tuesday, January 30th, proceedings were resumed, with the Hon. Casely Hayford in the chair. Resolutions of condolence with relatives and friends of various deceased members were adopted, special reference being made to the late Hon. J. H. Thomas, first president of the Sierra Leone branch; Mr. S. R. Attah-Ahuma, M.A., of the Gold Coast; the Alimamy Baraka, of Sierra Leone; and Bishop Walmesley. A cablegram was sent to the president of the Congress, the Hon. T. Hutton Mills, expressing regret at his unavoidable absence owing to the serious illness of Mrs. Hutton Mills.

In a review of progress in the different Colonies, reference was made to the action of Mr. Casely Hayford in vindicating in the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast the representative character of that body. A communication stated that difficulties which had arisen in Nigeria had prevented the committee from sending a delegate, though it warmly supported by cablegram the work of the Congress. It was added that in Nigeria no cases of flogging of women had been reported and that accused persons could now be represented by counsel. Reference was also made to the new Nigerian constitutional scheme enlarging the Legislative Council by elected members. In the Gambia the Government had agreed to the election of one member to the Council. The Congress considered that the scheme presented by the Governor of Sierra Leone and adopted by the Colonial Office (referred to in detail in another column) was the most advanced constitutional plan adopted so far regarding West Africa. It was hoped that constitutional reform at the Gold Coast was also on the way, and several positions of trust had been granted to Africans there.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

AFRICA AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Professor Newton on the Need for Authentic Records.

"Africa and Historical Research" was the subject of an extremely interesting lecture by Professor A. P. Newton M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc., F.S.A., at King's College, Strand, under the auspices of the African Society on Tuesday.

Professor Newton emphasised the need of an unbiassed and complete history of the African Continent. It had been named the Dark Continent, and appropriately, because its past was shrouded in darkness, the only light coming from outside, from Arabia, but principally from Europe. The first records of European influence dated back to the fourteenth century, the slave trade proving an attraction. A number of historians had endeavoured to record the happenings of those times, but none of them were complete, the result being that a wide field of research was yet unexplored. The importance of authentic histories could not be exaggerated from the political and other points of view.

For example, the troubles surrounding the position of Delagoa Bay in the eighties would not have arisen or been so acute had there been in existence an authentic history of the territory. Similar difficulties would probably be encountered in Kenya and Tanganyika when the resources of the country were developed more.

Professor Newton contended that research work should only be carried out by properly qualified students. Since the establishment of British rule, South African history was packed with controversial issues, and the value of much of the historical research undertaken had been diminished by the political prejudices of the writers. The only investigation that counted in regard to scientific research of South African history was a close study of the records of the chief actors in the development of the country. He was rather averse from mentioning names, but those of Hofmeyr, Reitz, Bartle-Frere, Froude, Rhodes, and Willoughby called for study, and in the correspondence of such people there should be considerably more matter for research than in the panegyrics of the past. Historical documents of this character were being brought to light in increasing volume. Some were published in incidental histories of the times, and in various ways most of the material was becoming open property.

In the discussion that followed Professor Fouche, of the Johannesburg University, pointed out that in South Africa they traced back the earliest settlers to the Bushmen and the Hottentots. There was a race of giants there before them, but that was not material history. There had been such a vast number of people in the history of the country that it was difficult to know where to begin. He had never been able to find out the exact time that the Portuguese tried to find the new route to India, which led to the discovery of Africa. Was it Prince Henry who tried to find that route? If so, then he ought to be honoured. There were those who were sent to spy out the land, and some brought back reports while others never came back. He had seen some valuable information on the subject in the Vatican archives, but he was not able to make use of that as he had been practically smuggled in. He suggested that these should not be overlooked by the pupil engaged in historical research.

Lord Buxton, who presided, said one suggestion he welcomed was that research work should be carried out by what he called team work among the papers which were not written from a controversial point of view. He could not quite agree that with the facts controversy would disappear. There were one or two works which had been produced which were valuable. There was the history of the Huguenot settlers in South Africa compiled by Mr. Botha, and Sir George Cory had produced some useful works. From what he had seen of South Africa he thought it was time that something that was not one-sided was produced in regard to the country. Everybody in South Africa at present was born a politician, and remained so until the time of his death. They were a most difficult people to persuade, and it was, therefore, more important that the less a prejudiced and impartial view of great ideals was taken the better.

President King of Monrovia Wins Out

MONROVIA, Liberia, May 4.—President King, after an intensive campaign, in which the opposition was strong, has been renominated for President of the Republic. A nomination here is equivalent to an election.

King Re-Nominated As Head of Liberia

MONROVIA, Liberia, May 17.—Charles D. B. King, who was recently renominated for President of Liberia, an office he has held for one term, has been re-elected. Despite the fact that a nomination is equivalent to an election here, there was continued opposition to President King by certain elements of the population. President King advocates a progressive administration and will continue to direct the affairs of Liberia for another term.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WE propose on this occasion to trace historically the attitude and the relations of the educated classes of the Gold Coast toward Government as far back as we can go. We do so for the purpose of placing on record that their attitude throughout has been loyal to the British connection. Educational advance in this country can be said to date back only a century ago. It can hardly be said to be an advance. It was merely at its beginning. Few attended the few schools that there were, and the training received was of the most elementary order. There emerged out of this group ambitious men who, having amassed wealth, began to send their children abroad principally to England for training. So well were the foundations laid and such the nature of the culture, that the men and women who were turned out were fit associates of Governors, high officials, and merchant princes in days when prejudice was unknown and England sent us generally of her best.

About this time arose the Fanti Confederation idea when the educated sons of the soil in conference with the Kings and Chiefs conceived the purpose of administrative combination on constitutional lines and to be the medium of relationship between the British Government and the people. The Constitution of the Fanti Confederation is extant, and may be read by any who care to. Governor Salmon was apprehensive of the aim of the Confederation, and took steps to discourage the idea. Sir Pope Hennessy disapproved of the latter's attitude and his point of view may also be gleaned from the despatches upon the subject. He was the superior officer of Governor Salmon. This same Mr. Salmon in after years wrote of the "solvent influence" of British administration upon African rule, probably reflecting upon his experiences in Gold Coast Confederation days. This movement having aborted for the time being, it was open to the educated leaders to have fomented agitation, which might have rent the country in twain. But they did no such thing. They rather continued their co-operation with Government official and merchant, and made it possible for civilising agencies to pierce into the interior. Indeed, in time of war they formed themselves into Rifle Corps under their own and English officers and served faithfully the British Crown.

Education had now begun to spread far and wide, and yet more and more youths were being trained abroad with the result that when the late Governor Maxwell introduced the Crown Lands Bill, once more the Kings and Chiefs came together, led by the educated classes, and constitutionally formed themselves into the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society which successfully defeated that Bill. The latter Society is still in existence, and may be taken as the offspring of the Fanti Confederation, but more compact in its composition. The Society was further instrumental in defeating the Forest Bill of 1912, and has constitutionally safeguarded the rights of the people until now. It has not done so by senseless agitation and incitement to restlessness on the part of the people, but has taught them the sound doctrine that, their grievances being reasonably set forth, there was every possibility of redress. This was the result of faith in the essential justice of the British Constitution, and calls for a corresponding consideration on the part of Government.

We next come to the Congress movement, the greatest by common consent, in British West African history, and the object of that was simply to provide a common medium of political expression for all British West Africa as the Aborigines Society had done for the Gold Coast. Its history and activities are too recent to require recapitulation here. It has in short knit British West Africa together in a way undreamt of before, and it bids fair to be a steadying influence in even international racial problems.

Let us now notice what has be attitude of the local Governments toward the educated classes from the beginning. It has been seen that in the Confederation days the leaders suffered even harsh treatment from the then Administration. In more enlightened days, however, while it is true that the attitude of Government was less direct and positive still it cannot be said that there was much encouragement in the advance of the people to nationhood. To put it shortly, the course taken was less open and more insidious. It took the form of the Executive here and there sowing distrust among the illiterate classes against the educated folk and making it to appear that but for Government the educated would prey on the uneducated, which, of course, was false and far-fetched. But it did create the mischief in some rare cases, and that it did not succeed to any appreciable degree must be attributed to the good sense of the people.

An instance of the insidious process alluded to may be traced in Government attitude toward the Congress cause. A movement which made for combination of the political forces of the people and therefore their integrity and strength was made to appear as if it aimed a blow at the authority of the Chiefs, which, of course, was false. But the people, ever keen in asserting their intelligent appreciation of a political situation, were quick in nailing the falsehood to the counter, and the movement was destined to gain momentum day by day until to-day it is the greatest political force in British West Africa. That it will continue to gain influence and do good service in the national cause none can gainsay. It is fair to say that from the first Downing Street authorities, following closely the gracious attitude of his Majesty the King, have been quick to recognise the power for good that the Congress might become, and if we could only convince the man on the spot to adopt a like attitude, all would be well.

We appreciate the proposed arrangements of Government to train up nurses and medical assistants, as soon as the Secondary School can ensure the necessary groundwork for the pupils whose practical work will be done in the new

Gold Coast Hospital at Accra about the largest and the finest in British West Africa. But we do not think Government has yet caught our point of view as regards the training that may be had in a fully equipped hospital with modern appliances such as this will be. As we advance in our educational system and approach the University type, it ought, in our opinion, to be possible for youths preparing for the full medical and surgical courses in England to take elementary lectures by aid of practical clinics in the hospital. This would add to the utility of this great public institution. We think it is the duty of Government to encourage capable youths to take a complete course in medicine and surgery and thereby spread the advantages of scientific treatment throughout the country.

While upon this subject, we essay to remove an erroneous impression that seems to prevail as to the people having no confidence in the African doctors. This is not so. We believe General Grey once referred in debate to the big practice commanded by men like Dr. Randle and others among European and African. And there are cases where even Governors have selected African doctors to attend to them. In all professions there are the good and the indifferent, but that is common to European and African alike, and it would be unsafe to generalise on the matter as some have attempted to do. While we are waiting for the fully qualified doctors and even for the coming medical assistants, might we not make all we can of the few we have, brushing aside punctilio and red-tape? We see no reason, for example, why Dr. Reindorf, who has been doing good work as veneral clinic, should not be permanently employed. It has been said that his age is in the way of permanent service. But we do not think that the good doctor can be more than forty-five, and if he joined as temporary officer some few years back, surely a point may be stretched and his appointment made permanent. Then there were Dr. Hammond and Dr. Tagoe whose names were before the public a while ago as African applicants for medical appointments within the six African appointments fixed by Government. We should like to know what happened in the case of these applications whether they are under consideration or have been pigeon holed. Here is a way in which heads of departments might show that active and loyal support of the policy of Government. We must place it to the credit of Governor Guggisberg's Administration that he has left no room for mistaking what the policy of Government is along this line of progress. And we must say also that his educational policy is on the whole sound, barring a few matters of detail.

We may here usefully draw the attention of our readers to the resolutions of Congress upon medical and sanitary reforms at its last session. It will be remembered that until public opinion was pronounced against the injustice of shutting out African qualified medical practitioners from the West African Civil Service there was a tendency on the part of the West African Medical Staff to make it a close reserve for the members of the staff who were wholly Europeans. The protest against this order of things was warmly supported by the able pen of Mr. J. H. Harris of the London Aborigines Society and by General Grey and the African members in the Gold Coast Legislative Council. Eventually the bar was removed, and to-day there are about seven or eight appointments in Sierra Leone held by Africans and two in the Gold Coast. But it is still felt that the heads of the services in some notable instances are not whole-heartedly supporting the policy of Government in this regard, and that there is a tendency to be hypercritical where African work and merit are concerned. It is a situation which calls for the best qualities of heart and judgment on the part of the responsible heads. The policy is there, and it is for them to apply it and not make it negatory.

It is in this sense that the Congress resolutions record: "That the Congress desires to place on record its warm appreciation of the creation of a number of posts in the several British West African Colonies for the benefit of African practitioners, but expresses its regret that its view in reference to the Trade Union spirit of the West African Medical Staff as contained in its last resolution has not received due attention". It is here to be noted that it is the "spirit" that is complained of, namely, that element of which might tend gradually to defeat the object of the policy laid down. Accordingly the next resolution records: "That the Congress specifically draws attention to the number of African appointments to the Gold Coast Medical Service decided upon by Government, and recommends that steps be taken to fill the posts with as little delay as possible". As we have said there are at least two qualified Gold Coast medical practitioners, namely, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Tagoe who have applied for appointment, and we trust their applications will receive favourable consideration.

TO SALVE THE FALLEN WHITES.

At the Dutch Reformed Church Conference on the "Poor White" problem the Rev. N. J. van der Merwe from Theunissen dealt at length with the competition of the Black and the white races and the consequent "sinking of the whites to the level of Kafirs." He moved in order to prevent this state of affairs that:—

(a) "Fixing a minimum wage basis for every European, enabling him to live like a civilized being;

(b) "Industrial segration;

(c) "The further equipping of the white child, intellectually and industrially."

Europeans are only reaping what they have sown. Having reduced the Coloured races to virtual slavery, they have themselves now fallen lower than their slaves, being unable to earn a livelihood. The wheels grind slowly but surely!

Mr. Somerville, Secretary of the Building Workers' Industrial Union of the Transvaal, declared that the Transvaal Unions are determined to uphold the Colour Bar at the expense of bona fide trade unionists who happened to be Coloured.

NATIONALISTS' LABOUR PACT

Explosion of Political Fireworks.

The "Cape" is convinced that the recent exchanges of protest and defiance between Nationalist leaders and Labour leaders are a mere letting-off of political fireworks, calculated to distract the attention of the more timid and child-like followers of the allied parties from the actual facts of the position. The Nationalist-Labour alliance is as thick as ever, it adds. When Tielman Roos and Piet Grobler told the recent Transvaal conference of Nationalists that their aim was and would be "independence" and the severing of the British connection, they were not saying anything new or sensational. Mr. Roos and other Nationalist leaders have said the same thing a score of times. The Labour leaders know very well that the Nationalist ideal is an "independent" Republic. But when the indiscreet and choleric Mr. Tielman Roos chose this particular time for a reiteration of the Nationalist aim, the astute Creswells and Barlows of the Labour Party decided it was time to intervene with a theatrical protest and to wave the Union Jack a little, so as not to lose for the alliance the votes of that section of the urban population which, though it insists on the British connection, is full of grievances against the Smuts Government. At all costs these votes must be captured for the next election. Hence the spectacle of Colonel Creswell and Brother Barlow coming out on the stage waving the Union Jack with an energy that has not been equalled since the old anti-Dutch days of Colonel Crewe and the South African League.

Let us admit that we do not doubt the fidelity of the Creswells and the Barlows and the Sampsons of the Labour Party to the British connection. But it is a passive and indeed fair-weather loyalty. When South Africa's position as a member of the British family of nations was definitely threatened, as in the late Rand Revolution, none of these British Labour leaders was on the spot waving the Union Jack. When the Red Flag was hauled to the mast by the Rand revolutionaries, Mr. Barlow did not turn up with the Union Jack wrapped round him like the Roman patriot's toga; nor did Colonel Creswell arrive breathing red-white-and-blue fire. No; they could not dare not appear on the scene—they would have been ordered to clear out at the point of the rifle. During that revolution Mr. Tielman Roos marched to Pretoria and called together an "independent" Parliament to take control of the country's affairs and to defy the authority of the Constitution, that is the King, Senate and Assembly of South Africa. To it flocked Labour leaders of the Rand and their followers marching under the Red Flag of the Russian Soviets.

The "Cape" for years past has taken the view that an understanding between the Nationalist and the Labour Parties is not at all unnatural or illogical. "We held this view long before the present alliance was mentioned or even thought of: we even prophesied it. It was inevitable. The Nationalist Party (no matter what the Rev. Editor of 'Die Burger' may say) is definitely committed to the ideal of Republicanism. The Labour Party (no matter what Messrs. Creswell and Barlow and other academic Socialists may think) is largely committed to Sovietism. The one is ready again for rebellion; and the other for revolution. And the bond that unites them is their bitter hatred of Smuts, because, following in Botha's footsteps, he marches towards the ideal of a great nation, irrespective of race or 'class' distinction, which shall take a great and leading place in the British family of free States."

INDIANS' POSITION IN KENYA.

Appeal to Imperial Conference.

The Indian Parliamentary Committee, in a letter to the Press, state that the Indian papers have shown great resentment over the Cabinet decisions regarding Kenya. The letter declares that though the case was not dealt with by the Imperial Conference,

"The Cabinet decisions have placed in jeopardy the position of Indians, not only in Kenya, but wherever they are in the Empire. All, therefore, who desire that India should remain a contented member of the British Commonwealth feel that great principles are at stake just now if the precedent of Kenya is not to be followed elsewhere.

"If the Dominions do not really desire their Indian residents to enjoy equality of status with their white fellow-citizens, it would be better to say so openly, so that India may know where she stands. To keep silence when the principles embodied in the 1921 resolutions have just been openly infringed, would be a tacit admission that the resolution is no longer valid.

"We would therefore urge that the Imperial Conference should reaffirm the great principle of equal citizenship already laid down. We believe that, if this were done, it would show to India that the British people do not purposely violate a pledge given, and that they intend to keep their word.

The Gold Coast "S... ...l."

Mr. Brewer, the Director of Criminal Investigation to the Gold Coast, has been giving his experiences to "The Times" on the training of native detectives. He said there were now forty in the Colony who had all shown "remarkable aptitude for the work." The finger print system had been introduced. Mr. Brewer's comments on the criminal population of the Coast were interesting. Native credulity is, of course, simply taken advantage of and confidence tricksters flourish. Throughout Africa this is the commonest form of trickery by which dupes are relieved of their property and, in one form or another, it flourishes from Tripoli to Cape Colony—especially amongst the medicine men. The Mermaid's participation in this class of trickery, as described by Mr. Brewer, is new to me. The Mermaid's assumption of virtue in that she only encourages and helps thrifty people who have saved money is a touch highly worthy of the wiliness of the African rogue. And, as Mr. Brewer says, it is a highly successful bait. The training of detectives in modern methods of criminal investigation is a great step in advance in dealing with the criminal classes of West Africa.

Kenya Agriculture.

The Kenya Agricultural Society have appointed Lt.-Col. R. B. Turner, C.M.G., D.S.O., to be secretary. At a recent meeting it was decided to hold the next show at Nakuru, in conjunction with the races, on December 6 and 8. Mr. R. F. Mayer has given a shield for competition.

Race Problem — 1924.

Africa

LEADING ARTICLES.

AFRICAN EDUCATION AND A COMMITTEE.

THE Colonial Office informs us that the membership of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies, established in July last, has now been completed. The members of the Committee are :—The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chairman); Dr. David, Bishop of Liverpool; Bishop Bidwell (nominated by Cardinal Bourne); Sir James Currie (formerly Principal of the Gordon College, Khartum, and Director of Education in the Sudan; Director of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation); Sir Frederick Lugard; Mr. J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council; Sir Herbert Read, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office; Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford. Major Hans Vischer, formerly Director of Education in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, has been appointed a paid member and secretary of the Committee, which is appointed for a period of three years in the first instance.

It is all to the good that the Colonial Office is moving in this vital matter. As will be seen by our digest of news and opinion from the Coast, education discussion there, seldom quiescent, is at the moment unusually active. It is known that a few months ago the Colonial Office made use of the rare coincidence of the presence of the four British Governors in London to arrange a conference on higher education. So far as we know, no report of that meeting has been issued; but we should conclude that the Governors had not observed life and conditions in their respective countries if they did not advise the Colonial Office of the extreme unwisdom of further delay in evolving and applying a programme very much more advanced than anything hitherto attempted. This holds good regarding not only elementary education but from one point of view even more urgently in regard to higher education. We should set about the establishment of a university available for the whole of British West Africa and possibly other African areas, finding the money by savings in other directions—for example, as we pointed out last week, Nigeria does not need its Eastern railway extension, costing several hundreds of thousands a year in interest, and at the same time the present military and semi-military forces costing other hundreds of thousands a year. Another heading which can very well spare a large contribution towards provision of higher education in West Africa itself is the heading of travelling expenses which will be found in some of the Estimates, Nigeria's most especially. If we do not supply this higher education in Africa, young men will continue to be sent outside Africa for it. The Governors and the Colonial Office know, or ought to know, what that means to the future of British Africa. Have they ever got out estimates of the cost of a university? This, of course, is but one of several formidably difficult branches of the main problem. Another branch, perhaps, indeed, the most difficult of all, it that represented by the Mohammedan youth. How far the new Committee will be able to indicate solutions, or approaches to solutions, of the problem it is for its members to prove. So far as we know, the majority of the Committee's members have not had tropical experience. True, Sir Frederick Lugard, a host in himself, and Major Vischer have had such experience; but they should be accompanied on the committee by representatives of commerce, banking and other important departments of the national life. We recognise that desirable as it is that Africans, women as well as men, should be of the committee, this is scarcely possible in the case of a body sitting in London; but that fact makes it all the more essential to consult competent African opinion in Africa itself. These omissions are so serious that it is to be hoped they will be dealt with at once. The problem is serious enough to require the best services of all men of good will.

SOUTH AFRICA A HOME FOR WHITE AND BLACK.

At a public banquet in Johannesburg Town Hall, last Friday; General Smuts, after reviewing the work of the Imperial Conference, concluded a great speech by appealing to the audience to remember that "Sunday next will be Dingaan Day; that will be a reminder of the greatest problem which Providence had placed before us. I would plead for a greater and broader spirit of sympathy in the consideration of that great problem.

"Recognising that white and Black both have their places in South Africa, and that both have their human rights, let us, in a fair and humble spirit, approach all the difficulties that arise out of that recognition, and let us labour to make this land a home in which both great races, Black and white, can live together and work out their salvation in fairness and in justice."

This appeal was received by the white gathering with great applause. If those who were present—many of whom are large employers of labour and men of great influence—would approach the question of Black and white in that broad spirit, then the outlook will not be quite as dark as it now appears. How different the note sounded by the Prime Minister from the intolerant spirit which permeated the meeting of the Nationalist Women's Conference!

NATIVE EDUCATION IN AFRICA.

The Advisory Committee.

The Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, the establishment of which was announced in July last, has now been completed. The members of the Committee are :—

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies (chairman).

The Right Reverend A. A. David, Bishop of Liverpool.

The Right Reverend Bishop Bidwell (nominated by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster).

Sir James Currie (formerly Principal of the Gordon College, Khartoum, and Director of Education in the Sudan; director of the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation).

Sir Frederick Lugard.

Mr. J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council.

Sir Herbert Read, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office.

Sir Michael Sadler, Master of University College, Oxford.

The Secretary for the Colonies has approved the appointment of Major H. Vischer, formerly Director of Education in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, to be paid member and secretary of the Committee.

The terms of reference to the Committee are :—

To advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on any matters of native education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which we may from time to time refer to them, and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates.

The Committee has been appointed for a period of three years in the first instance.

The Secretary of State has approved of Major Vischer, the secretary of the Committee, accompanying the Commission, which has been appointed by the Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, of New York, to proceed to East Africa during 1924, with a view to making an educational survey of conditions amongst the natives of East Africa. This Commission will be under the chairmanship of Dr. Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and chairman of the Commission which visited West, South, and Equatorial Africa under the auspices of that fund in 1920-21.

The Native Question Conference.

(Article No. 10)

The last subject, that on the Political Aspirations of the Natives was opened with a paper by Mr Meshach Pelem of Queenstown at noon on Saturday 29 Sept. In his paper, Mr. Pelem laid stress on the need of mutual trust between the white and black races if unity is to be attained. During the discussion, that followed Dr. Molema gave it as his opinion that the actual aspirations of the Natives to full political privileges in this country cannot really be met. They are beyond what the whites are prepared for the present to concede. Therefore the matter would best be left to the natural process of evolution. Rev. Z. Mahabane pointed out that the Bantu will never be satisfied with anything less than their own representatives inside the House of Parliament, even if it be one solitary member. Eventually the resolution on the subject was passed as follows :—

(1) That this Conference believes the time has come for the state to devise machinery aimed at granting to all Natives of the Union some method by which they may be enabled to have a voice in the management of their affairs. (2) That in response to the legitimate claims made by their representatives, a beginning should be made in training the Native people on safe and wise lines in the form of self government by the establishment of Native local Councils as contemplated under Act 23 of 1920. At 5 p.m, after the standing committee had been elected, the Conference came to a touching conclusion with a series of spontaneous mutual felicitations, especially concerning the chairman, Rev. D. S. Botha, who had conducted the proceedings with brilliant tact, humour, precision and urbanity; to the Committees who had done their work energetically, to the untiring Secretaries, to the able leadership of the Native spokesmen, to the excellent spirit of the Dutch Reformed Church which had convinced the Natives of its essential friendliness and sympathy towards them, to those who led the debates for their trouble in placing exhaustive statements before the Conference, to the Press which had been extremely generous in giving space to the proceedings of the Conference, to the Native Affairs Commission and other Government officials who had attended and to the public at large for their sympa-

onetic attitude.

The Conference was appropriately would up with a public meeting in the evening when four selected representative spaekers, European and Native, were appointed to give addresses in the following order: Dr. C. T. Loram M.A., L.L.B., Ph.D.; Rev. Z. R. Mahabane; Prof D D. T. Jabavu B.A. (Lond), and Prof. J. du Plessis M A, D.Litt, Dr. Loram spoke for thirty three minutes on his "Impressions of the Conference." He began by saying the D.R.C. controlled between 300 and 400 congregations, giving more *per capita* and supplying more sons for the mission field than any other church in South Africa. Its work therefore quite justified the lead it had taken in this remarkable movement. Its members, however, should remember that times were moving fast and that instead of the "April" referred to in one of the papers we now had our "September" or even "October," servants who were not content with what satisfied "April." The year was near the end and now the farm servant seriously discussed his wages possibly in connection with coming trade unions. There were many social questions to be faced today such as poor whites, the liquor evil and the Native policy and all speakers in the Conference, he was glad to note, dealt with their subjects with a full sense of responsibility, there being but little "playing to the gallery." There was a hopeful note of optimism and we simply have got to win.

"We have many splendid qualities in the Native," continued Dr. Loram. "For example my Zulu boy who looks after my property entered my employment as a raw illiterate man, but by dint of hard private study has enabled himself to write me during my travels the following type of letter:—"My Lord, Thou Chief of all Chiefs in South Africa! Thou great two headed Snake! Thou Monster of the Pool. Thou Great Hydra! My Lord's house is safe." (Laughter).

There are two wrong ways of viewing the black man: One is that which regards him as a sinless saintly savage with a halo his head; the other is that of the beast only worthy to be strangled with a rope round his neck. The black man is human and his leaders should beware not to be unwise in their hostility to certain things, for the best is often the enemy of the better. The Native is acute in debate, for example when the Commission announced the proposed Native Education Tax last year to the Natives of Lusikisiki (Pondoland) an old blanketed man said "No, I do not think you have brought us anything good for you are doing what a certain man did to his hungry dog: he cut its tail and then said to it here is some meat for you to eat" (Loud Laughter). Whilst we must admit that at his present stage of development the Native is mentally inferior to the white man, we should remember he is a rapidly growing child. Some of the conclusions reached by this Conference were somewhat ahead of the Native but they bid fair to a more righteous sentiment for the future. (Loud Cheers, during which Dr. Loram resumed his seat).

Native Education In The Free State.

Director Of Education Meets Native Teachers.

Reported by Mr T. W. K. 'Mote.)
Secretary F.S.N. Ass. Bloemfontein

(Continued from last week's issue)

SOME QUESTIONS.

M. E K. Gonyana: Asked the Director as to whether there was any intention on the part of the Government to build institutions for Native students in the Free State? The Director said that he could not say He, however, saw no reason why a movement in that direction should not be made. Personally, he was in favour of building a Normal School for Native teachers out of the fund of £32,000 granted by the British Government for losses suffered by the Natives during the S. African War. He could give no final information whether the Government contemplated building schools for Natives in the Free State.

T. Mapikela: Asked whether the Bantu will be directly represented on the Native Education Advisory Council, and, if not, would that be on account of Colour Bar. The Director: That question was still on the tapis.

Rev. Tantsi, said that in the Transvaal the British grant to the Natives for war losses had been spent on education and hospitals. He thougt it would be wise to appoint a Native on the Native Education Advisory Board. "Even the missionaries who teach us don t know the Native mind," he declared.

MONEY STILL THERE.

The Director of Education said he could assure the questioner that the Imperial grant of money to the Natives was still there. The accumulated interest on it, however, had been exhausted through bursaries granted to Free State Native Students who had gone to study at the Cape. Personally, he was in favour of limiting the bursaries to F S Native institutions, and he believed that the Government was gradually working up to that.

Mr. Smith asked as to whether the Native teachers wouldbe paid retrospectively, as from April, 1923. To this the Director concurred.

T. Mapikela: The Natives in the Free State pay £78,000 in taxation Does not the £4,000 come out of that?

Mr Schmidt replied that the money collected from the Natives was not allocated to a special account. The £4,000 spent in Native Education was from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, and, at best, it could be that the Government subsidy of £2,000 came out of revenue paid by the Natives. In moving a vote of thanks to the Director of Education for his intelligent address. Rev. Tantsi said that he was "like a star in heaven which cannot be reached.

A BLACK OUTLOOK.

Dr. William MacDonald has startled South Africa with his population statistics. After an exhaustive study of the latest Union census, he finds that while the white population has increased during the past half century from 300,000 to 1½ millions, the non-whites have risen from 2½ to 5½ millions, notwithstanding the fact that half a million of the Black and Coloured races were wiped out by the epidemic of 1918.

During the next fifty years, he concludes, if there are booms, when there is a great influx of whites from overseas, the Europeans population will probably reach 6½ millions. Without such booms it will reach 4 millions only. During the same period the Black and Coloured races will have soared up to the staggering total of 27,000,000.

"These figures," concludes Dr. MacDonald, "cannot fail to arrest and startle the complacency of every serious-minded man or woman who has the highest interests of South Africa at heart."

Nothing, he adds, can save the country from decadence but immigration.

Race Problem—1923

Aerica

BRITAIN'S COLOR PROBLEM IN AFRICA

The New York Times

By HAROLD PAGE.

BOMBAY.

THE British Empire has known a color problem for years past, but only this year has it realized the seriousness of the color divisions within its borders. The Asiatic, particularly the Indian, is claiming an equality of status with the white man which the white man is loth to concede.

With characteristic wiliness the Asiatic prefers to fight the preliminary skirmishes in Africa rather than in Asia. In the East African colony of Kenya, where the Indian settler asserted equality with the whites, the British Government, to whom the final decision was referred, decided against the Indians. It may be the beginning of the storm.

9-30-23

When the East India Company first went into India it was for trade alone, and the company's methods were none too scrupulous. Gradually the country was conquered. Such parts as did not come under British sway were left under their native rulers, and treaties were concluded with them which virtually made the British masters of the country. The East India Company grew rich and its servants waxed the fatter the more corrupt they became.

In 1857 came the Indian Mutiny, when the Indian showed a side of his character his apologists like to forget nowadays. After that explosion it was decided that India was too big for a company to administer, the British Government took it over, and Queen Victoria became Empress of India. Then came a change. No longer was India supposed to be a country held by Britain solely for money-making purposes. It was to be held in trust for the natives, and Queen Victoria made a declaration to that effect, in which the first promise of ultimate self-government was foreshadowed. In spite of this, commercialism remained supreme and India was still the country where fortunes were to be made by exploiting the native.

N. Y.

Yet India underwent a fundamental change, the end of which is still out of sight. Railways were built, industries were developed, modern machinery was imported. Western education of the higher classes among the Indians led to the multiplication of lawyers and clerks. Indian universities founded on archaic European models have been responsible for the lawyer-politician class, who are so numerous that adequate employment for all is impossible. The less capable lawyers become agitators and the less moral become anarchists.

A further complication is provided by the Indian students educated in England who find themselves in the anomalous position of being treated on terms of equality with other pupils in English schools and colleges, while their former English schoolfellows may treat them as inferiors should they chance to meet in afterlife in India. It is not difficult to imagine why they soon become disgruntled.

The British have always maintained their superiority in India as the dominant race. Only in late years have British and Indians mixed at all at social functions. It must not be supposed that all the aloofness was on the British side. The Indian is a conservative person, and the laws of caste are rigid. But the British exclusiveness has been felt very much and has had a bad effect on the relations between the two races.

Various methods have been adopted from time to time to associate Indians with the Government of the country. The British on the spot usually resented innovations of this nature, but they were obliged to bow to the decrees of the Government in London. In 1920 the latest concession was made by which a measure of partial representative government was introduced. The importance of the 1920 reforms lies in the fact that although the Viceroy retains certain powers of overruling the new legislature, the legislature has for the first time certain real powers which it has not hesitated to use. In addition the Act of Parliament which legalized these reforms spoke of them in definite terms as being an instalment of self-government.

In the next year, 1921, the Imperial Conference passed a resolution approving of equal status for Indians throughout the empire, South Africa alone dissenting. An Imperial Conference resolution is only morally binding and has no legal effect whatsoever. Yet this resolution, coming as it did immediately after a grant of partial self-government in India and the admission of India to the League of Nations as a separate entity, made Indians believe that at last they were on the high road to achieving equality with the European.

Indians Feel Offended.

They had not long to wait to be disappointed. It has already been noted how South Africa refused to agree to equality for Indians. In that dominion Indians now suffer disabilities, such as being prevented from holding land and from voting. When the Government of India protested, the British Government replied that South Africa was a self-governing dominion and that Great Britain could not interfere with its internal affairs. Correspondence ensued at considerable length between the Government of India and the South African Government without any effect, for public opinon in South Africa is solidly against the Indian.

As far back as 1906, Gandhi, the notorious agitator who is now in prison in India, led an agitation in South Africa against the inferior status of Indians and failed. Today, British and Boers alike are more determined than ever that South Africa shall remain a white man's country and that Indians shall be kept in subjection along with the African natives.

Baffled in South Africa, Indians turned their attention to East Africa. What has become known to British politicians as the Kenya problem came to a head in 1920, but trouble had been brewing for many years. Indian traders are said to have settled in East Africa a thousand years ago. It is known that they were a flourishing community before the country became colonized by whites. After the war Indians began to agitate for a greater share in the Government of Kenya. They demanded equality of franchise with the whites. They desired immigration laws to be relaxed in their favor, and they sought the right to hold lands in what are known as the Highlands. These are the most healthful parts of the colony, and the white settlers desired to keep them "white."

The wrangle between whites and Asiatics dragged on until reference was made to the British Government for a final decision. That decision, published a few weeks ago, went solidly in favor of the white settlers. The franchise was arranged on communal lines instead of granting equality of status. The Government of the country was entrusted to a legislative council in which 9,000 whites were represented by eleven members of their own community and 22,000 Indians had to be content with five representatives from their community. Ten thousand Arabs were given one representative and the African natives in the colony, numbering 2,500,000, were represented by one Christian missionary.

The Highlands were reserved for the white settlers and immigration was to be strictly controlled. The Indians were told that the interests of the African natives were paramount and that the colony must be administered in trust for them by the whites. Indians quickly saw that what the British Government had done was to declare for the whites against the colored.

To say that a howl of indignation was raised in Kenya and in India is to understate what happened. Indian papers called the decision the betrayal of India's interests and described it as treating Indians as the pariahs of the empire. They declared that the British Government had gone back on the Imperial Conference resolution approving of equality of status for Indians, and that no matter what excuses might be put forward in the case of South Africa no excuse would avail in the case of Kenya because it was a crown colony directly under the British Government. The extreme nationalist papers went further and said that if the British Empire was going to treat Indians in this manner the sooner India cut free from the empire the better.

It is generally considered that India will be unable to do without British administration for many years to come. The fact remains that unless the treatment of Indians undergoes great alterations in the future the desire on the part of Indians to break with the British Empire will grow in intensity.

That in a few words is the British Empire's color problem. On the one hand the British Government has an Asiatic country with a population of three hundred millions whom it has taught to expect, in course of time, self-government within the empire. On the other hand, the white dominions refuse to accord the Asiatic the least semblance of equality of status, and on the contrary endeavor to hedge him about with all manner of restrictions.

The objections to Asiatics are as usual their low standard of living, lack of cleanliness, and different standards of morality. Above all, there is the ineradicable color prejudice. Great Britain's point of view is that in spite of all this, India is in the empire and Indians are British subjects. Great Britain gives a pledge and white settlers abroad refuse to honor it. When a decision has to be given, blood proves thicker than promises, and the British Government sides with its white kinsfolk.

If India were to cut its connection with Great Britain it would be a bad thing for India, and it would also be bad for Great Britain. A large quantity of British capital is locked up in India. Valuable markets would be lost, Lancashire's cotton trade would decline, and the loss of prestige throughout the world would be severe. In the great war the Germans quickly recognized India as one of the British Empire's most vulnerable spots and spent large sums on anti-British propaganda in the country. This is likely to be borne in mind by any future enemies of Great Britain.

Liberian Girls Pawned for Money

Kansas City Star

Fathers in Need of Money, Pawn Children for Cash, But Never Redeem Them.

Kansas City Mo

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 18.—When fathers of children in Liberia are without money they take their children to the "market" and "pawn" them for so much cash, and never go back to redeem them. That is the report brought here by Sister Jennie Larmouth, white, a Lutheran missionary stationed in Kpolopele, Liberia. The missionary stated that this method of obtaining money is not practiced alone on Liberian daughters, but with sons as well, though the girls are more valuable for that purpose. "A girl is worth a great deal to the native Liberian in the interior because the parents receive a dowry from her husband at the marriage, and even after the wedding they can, at any time, demand more from the husband."

9-22-23

Girls Married Too Young.

Sister Larmouth stated that often girls are married at fourteen years and even earlier to satisfy the longing of her parents for the dowry they are to get. One king, she stated, sometimes has as many as a hundred or more wives, and "girl raising" is rather a profitable business for the unscrupulous parent. Girls are guarded zealously. Parents are afraid they will be sold, and thus they are cheating out of getting money from her intended husband in the form of a 'dowry."

Good Schools There.

The missionary said that Liberia has many good schools which teach mat weaving and many other valuable crafts. They call the woods or forests "bushes," and so name their schools. Thus a school for girls is known as "Gre-Gre Bush," while the boys' schools are known as "Devil's Bush." The students are easily trained and learned, the missionary said, and are very eager to learn the English language so that they may carry on business with the white traders who buy their palm oil, palm kernels and other native products from them. "The Liberians have great regard for the white people, and I have traveled many miles unafraid, alone with Negro carriers bearing me in a hammock to my destination," the missionary said.

Thanks.

We have no doubt that all the native, Coloured, and Indian people of this country who are interested in the development of the Fort Hare College at Alice are extremely grateful to the Rhodes Trust for the handsome gift of £1,000 they have given towards the capital funds of that institution. This gift was offered some twelve years ago on the condition that £49,000 should be raised from other sources and the condition to-day has been more than fulfilled.

The rapid development of this Native University centre has exceeded the expectations of its most ardent supporters, for, with

in six years of establishment, the roll reached a hundred students, and all the faculties provided—Teaching, Ministry, Agriculture and Business have been well patronised and it is hoped that a beginning with a Medical Faculty will be made next year, in accordance with the recent promise of the Minister for Higher Education.

Equally thankful are we to Mrs Thomas of Grahamstown for her contribution of £500, the interest of which is to be utilised as two bursaries for children of Wesleyans, and which has already been allotted. Her uncle Mr. Newcombe, some will remember, donated £100 towards the Wesleyan Hostel during the recent opening at Fort Hare.

Acts of this kind go a long way to convince non Europeans in this country that despite discouraging auguries to the contrary, there are nevertheless good Britishers in the Union who really wish them well, and we hope also that our people will correspondingly show that they are not lacking in the virtue of gratitude.

Education in Africa.

(Concluded)

In heathendom the young people had many forms of amusements which served to give a proper and healthy outlet for their buoyant spirits; but the amusements have been banned and condemned categorically by modern missionaries who substituted nothing in their place. The consequences have proved disastrous for much good work has been undone. In pages 216 and 25 of the report we have useful suggestions which, if adopted generally by all organisations of education and missions, may solve the question.

(b) BUILDING. Everywhere the buildings for education are inadequate for these depend on private funds. The Governments of the various countries put up palatial buildings for white students but leave it to the missions themselves to erect buildings for the Native people. In this respect Africa compares very unfavourably with the United States where the buildings are mostly satisfactory and often grand, as one may see from time to time in the pictures published in the "CRISIS". This question needs study and solution and to educate public opinions on

(c) SEPARATION OF COLOURED FROM NATIVE PUPILS. In page 208 under the description of St Cuthberts Mission we read: "The separation of the coloured pupils from the Native youth in the main School is rather noticeable." This is to be deprecated. It is a bad policy though practised in several schools at the Cape.

(d) INTERRACIAL COOPERATION. The United States of America have a great deal to teach us in this line. "The members of the South African Native Commission early recognized the fundamental importance of interracial cooperation and they are now recommending various forms of such cooperation. The present world difficulties and the only successful efforts to solve them prove clearly that one group cannot solve interracial misunderstandings without the cooperation of the other group, however weak and ignorant that group may be. A few South African Statesmen began to realise this some years ago and put forth efforts to develop such cooperation. The most interesting and important of these beginnings is in the Native Bhunga of the Transkeian territories. The Bhunga is in a sense much more than a form of cooperation. It is a movement toward Native selfgovernment, authorised by the Union and Provincial governments, for the Transkeian Native territories, in which residence by white people is limited to the town. . . . Matters discussed by the council are such as Native education, marriage and inheritance, diseases amongst stock, control of commonages. The procedure is parliamentary in form and a perusal of the Annual Blue Book containing the record of the proceedings would show that the Natives have a distinct mastery over parliamentary procedure. Indeed, the dignity of their deliberations and the soundness of their opinions would put to shame many state legislatures or provincial councils"—page 189.

"Another important beginning of interracial cooperation is found in the Native Welfare Associations of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Grahamstown, Cape Town, Umtata, and East London. This movement was begun in Durban by the late Maurice Evans and Dr F. B. Bridgman of the American Zulu Mission, in order to study Native questions and to educate public opinions on matters relating to Native Welfare" —page 190

Here we may add that the movement received a great fillip from Prof. J. E. K. Aggrey (the Negro member of the commission whose remarkable ability in public speaking attracted crowds of white and black admirers as he went from place to place lecturing in every important town of the Union of South Africa) and from the steady consolidating work of Dr C. T. Loram.

This movement offers golden opportunities in the difficult task of interracial adjustment.

(e) EUROPEAN FOOD AND DRESS. In page 23 we have an important and far-reaching discussion on the wisdom and otherwise of the adoption of European food and dress by Africans. The time seems to have arrived now when the intelligent section of aboriginal Africans should take this question up seriously and definitely to explode the old and erroneous idea that true civilisation lies in the abandonment of their original food and dress. The primitive conditions in this regard were wisely arranged by Nature, but erring Man, especially the early missionaries, changed nature's order. To-day we all admit that the change was wrong. Nigerians, Abyssinians, Indians, Chinese, all wear their country's primitive clothes and eat the food best adapted to their climate, quite consistently with true advance in civilisation. Why should we in South Africa slavishly follow the fashions of food and dress meant for the cold climates of Scotland, Russia and Siberia?

(f) ADAPTATIONS OF EDUCATION. What the commission has to say on methods of how to adapt education to the environment of a people, especially in pages 23, 220, etc. is excellent. It is worthy of close study and goes to stamp the report as a masterpiece and classic.

All interested in the welfare and future of Africa owe an infinite debt of gratitude to the authorities who have made this wonderful report a possibility.

African Prince Opposes Scheme of Colonization

Speaking before a large audience at John M. Brown A. M. E. Church Sunday afternoon Madarikan Deniyi, African Prince, let it be known that he thought but little of the back to Africa movement heard in the West Indies to esetablish an empire or republic ed that the general stupidity of the American and West Indian Negro made it impossible for him to establish an empire or republic on the African continent, and any attempt to carry the plan thru would result in spiritual degradation of the most unwelcome kind in both Africa and America.

"Let it be understood that the African ruler will not allow the American Negro agitators and their dupes to bring any of their conspiracy into that continent for the purpose of defrauding the natives, because it is against the ancient African constitution for a black slave or descendant of a slave to dictate and control the kings, chiefs, princes and presidents," Deniyi said.

"The so-called 'back to Africa' movement in the United States already has brought to the black race a great deal of race-hybridization and threatens to land us in spiritual degradation of the most unwelcome kind in Europe, as well as in Africa and in America," he declared. "The misrepresentation and fanatic propaganda of the so called Negro leaders for the reemption of Africa have caused millions of the unfortunate Negroes to suffer terribly in all parts of America."

He then said in part: "First they have listened to the hot-air speeches of these fake, silver tongued orators and lost all their savings in trying to redeem Africa on imagination and impossible dreams; second, they have thought that Africa is a wild continent, where molasses and bread trees grow abundantly without any cultivation in the jungles, and then have discovered that the nations there are not wild people, as they were told by their leaders, and third, these Negro prophets have talked too much and have critized every white man who has tried to help the Negroes."

"If Africa must be redeemed, it must be through a Christian civilization, education, thrift, industry and brotherly love, but not through fanatical propaganda and radical movements, because as it is impossible for a blind man to lead a blind man across a ditch without both of them perishing in it, so it will be impossible for an American or West Indian Negro to carry all the American Negroes back to Africa and establish an empire for them in Liberia with his stupidity and unbridled audacity.

"I will call your attention to some of the laws among the Africans that make it impossible for one black man to rule all the black people of the world.

"Africa is a continent larger than America. The inhabitants are divided into tribes; one tribe cannot understand another tribe because they speak different languages and dialects. They also have kings, chiefs, princes, and presidents in various towns and villages, and each of these black rulers governs his own territory. As it is impossible for the Governor of New York to control the Governor of Virginia in the United States, so it is impossible for the king of Abyssinia to control the president of Liberia in Africa. But if a native should happen to organize a radical movement for the establishment of his own empire without the consent of the black rulers, his head would be cut off and hung on a tree for conspiracy, according to the native laws.

"Politically and financially speaking, the American Negroes are not in a position of controlling a free empire of their own in any part of Africa, because it takes lots of money and education to operate a government. Millions of Negroes in the United States and the West Indies are illiterates. They don't have enough sense and money to take care of themselves, and they have to depend upon the white people for their support. Some of them are in worse condition than some of the natives.

"The majority of the rich Negroes in the United States are so stingy and selfis that they won't spend their money to help support the Negro schools. If it were not for some of the white people who are spending their money to help support the Negro schools, I wonder what would become of the Negro children in the United States

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New Books by Bantu Authors.

Those interested in Bantu publications must be gratified at the rate at which new volumes are being issued of late. Since Zaccheus Mangoaela's Sesuto anthology of Poetry in Praise of Basuto chiefs (*Lithoko tsa Marena*) we have the first genuine Zulu book written by a Zulu man. It is *Isita esikulu somuntu omnyama uyena uqobo lwake* by J. L. Dube. Although the author has not honoured us with a review copy we chanced upon it from other sources. There has also been published another Zulu advertising pamphlet *Uku zaka* by R. Lemula which, though hardly worthy of being regarded as literature, is nevertheless an attempt at it by a man who has not had many educational advantages.

More meritorious is *Uhambo luka Gqoboka* (The Journey of the Convert) by Henry Masila Ndawo. This is written in Si-Xosa and is obtainable from the author at Isigoga P.O. Matatiele for 1/8 post free. It is an allegory much on the lines of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and is a book which every intelligent Native Minister, teacher, Sunday School manager and progressive speaker of the Xosa language ought to possess. The story is well worked out and rendered attractive by passages of good poetry. Familiar of course is *Intsomi zase Zweni* which appeared two years ago from the pen of the same author. This is 1/8 post free also. This author has a true gift for writing and deserves hearty support. In a different line is *Nomsa* a 90 page novel by Guybon B. Sinxo (1/7, 2/2 post free, Lovedale Press) a new and budding Si-Xosa author whose story is highly fascinating written in attractive idiom. Both Sinxo and Ndawo have other good manuscripts ready to see the light of day if only our readers would clear the sale of the present volumes out of their hands. We understand that the Lovedale Press has in hand about four other books in Xosa including the Life of P. J. Mzimba by his son Rev. L. Mzimba, B.A., D.D; a novel by J. J. R. Jolobe; The Life of John Knox Bokwe by S. R. Mqayi; A Native Farmer's Manual written by N. A. Mazwai including sections by Dr J. E. East and Rev. Bernard Huss, B.A; *Ukuhamba yi Mfundo* (Travelling is an Education) by D. D. T. Jabavu; and *Ibali laba Mbo* (Story of the aba Mbo) by Richard Tainton Kawa. The manuscript of the *Ibali laba Mbo* we have had the privilege to see and we believe it will be a very popular volume when eventually printed. It is written by the highest available authority on the subject and well written too. Of books in English by Bantu authors we have had the *Life of John Tengo Jabavu* by his son (4/6, 6/6 Lovedale Press) and we have already noticed *The Colour Bar* by Z. Mahabane and *The Bantu* (25/) by Dr Molema. We now have two strongly written but brief pamphlets by Sol. T. Plaatje on *The Black Man's Burden in South Africa* and *the Mote and the Beam* (1/6 each at Young's Book Exchange 135 W. 135th Street, New York U.S.A.) which give us in outspoken English an account of the social and political injustice suffered by Natives in South Africa and the question of sex relationship between white and black. We have to review later the following books that have been received "The Negro Year Book (Tuskegee Press), The 1923 Year Book of South and East Africa by the Union Castle Co, Education in Africa by the Phelps Stokes Commission, and Daniel Vananda by W. C. Scully.

The New Native Bills.

The S. A. Outlook says:—An interesting interview with Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, lecturer in Bantu Languages at the South African Native College, appears in the *Cape Argus* of February 11th. Mr Jabavu emphasises, as all who are engaged in Native work are emphasising at present, the great need for instruction in Agriculture amongst our Native people. He praises the work that is being done by the Farmer's Association and the Government Demonstrator in this district, but the most interesting parts of the interview are those in which he deals with the bills affecting Natives at present before the House of Assembly. With regard to the Native Registration Bill, he says: "This bill cuts through the liberties of the Cape Native voter, who by virtue of the Hofmeyr Act of 1887 is absolutely free from all laws that discriminate between black and white. He will have to carry in his pockect a pass, as whatever you may call the exemption certificate, it is a pass and nothing else. I shall have to carry one, so will the Native minister, the teacher, the shopkeeper. Any of us will be liable to be stopped in order to show our pass"

"At the very least the application of such a measure should have been limited to provinces other than the Cape. Even in those provinces I can see no need for the pass whatever. At the time of Union it was hoped that the liberal policy of the Cape would be extended in due course to these parts of the country, bringing liberation from passes and conferring the franchise. But what do we see now? A proposal to import the obnoxious laws of the Transvaal into the Cape!" While Mr Jabavu states thus strongly the traditional attitude of the Native in the Cape towards anything that looks like a pass law for this province we think that it would be only fair to indicate that there are some features of this bill which make for the protection of the Native people. It is well, however, that the Government should be under no misapprehension as to the reception which this bill is likely to meet with at the hands of the educated Cape Native. We are glad to note that the Prime Minister has referred the bill to a Select Committee for further consideration, that he has instructed the Native Affairs Commission to explain the measure to Natives in various parts of the Union, and that its passage into law will be deferred to a future session.

With regard to the suggested tax for Native education Mr Jabavu said [illegible] to be both [illegible] defect of the measure. "In its results," he said "it will certainly be a blessing to the Natives as a whole. But the principle upon which the measure has been passed by the Native Affairs Commission is open to serious objection. The native will be the only person in the country taxed for his education, whereas he has to pay for the education of the European, coloured and Indian children, because he pays it in the shop licences, as well as in indirect ways through enhanced prices of goods following the putting up of the cost by the trader in order to pay the taxes. He is the only person who has to pay for his own improvement [illegible] It is a bad principle. Why cannot the burden be shared?" Undoubtedly we should like to see Native education more adequately financed, but we feel that Mr Jabavu is probing the weak spot of the Bill when he calls attention to the new departure in principle by which one section of the contributors to the general revenue are called upon to pay a special tax for a service which should be already theirs by right of barest justice.

Fort Hare-Lovedale Agricultural Show.

Readers of this paper may be interested to learn of the approaching Agricultural Show to be held at Fort Hare under the auspices of Fort Hare and Lovedale.

A few years ago our Principal was instrumental in obtaining a Government Grant to pay for the services of a Native Itinerant Demonstrator to demonstrate in Agriculture among the Native people of the Tyumie and Keiskama valleys. The Rev. J. E. East, an American Negro missionary, who in conjunction with his mission, had already identified himself with this type of work, was the first man to be appointed as Native Demonstrator, in which capacity he rendered great service.

On his return to America, his post was offered to a young man of the district who had received suitable training at Fort Hare, and it is gratifying to note that the work continues to make satisfactory progress as evidenced by the improved methods amongst Native agriculturists, and the keenness of the members of the "Native Farmers' Association."

With a view to adding impetus to this progressive movement, we believe that the time is now ripe for the commencement of a series of Agricultural Shows for Native people.

In order to enlist the interest of as many as possible of the educated section of the Native people, the date of the Show has been fixed for Thursday, the 28th of June, which will fall during the Winter School to be held at Fort Hare and Lovedale at the time of the Winter Vacation.

Several hundred copies of the prize list are in the printer's hands and these copies will soon be available for circulation.

The main object of this Show is to teach them to use to the best advantage the implements at their disposal.

The Show will last one day. Fort Hare and Lovedale will present a number of non-competitive exhibits, and at the close of the day there will be held an auction sale of live stock.

These institutions trust that all those in a position to do so will give hearty support to a cause deserving of their best.

P. GERMOND,
Lecturer in Agriculture,
Fort Hare.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE world is moving fast, and our race would move with it all the better if we were more united. We see daily the evils of disunity, and yet we are slow to learn the lesson. Of course we are not singular in that respect in world history. Nations and peoples have before now been torn by factions in attempts to work out a common salvation. But our race must benefit by the lessons of experience and not necessarily elect to go through for ourselves such experiences. Egypt, Ireland, India, all have had their conflicts in the effort to arrive at nationhood. But we are persuaded that our path will be much different from any of theirs.

Race inferiority is no longer a bogey to play upon with the intelligent public, and the opponents of African advance are at their wit's end what other bugbears to conjure up. The latest is the want of so-called character in the African. Of course that also must go the way of the others. If that nebulous thing called character after all means the habit and practice of the simple virtues such as perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, thrift, temperance, self-control, reliability, honesty, and respect for parents, then the African has not a very long way to go in catching up the others. Nay, even now it is possible to say that in some at least of these very virtues the African can give the European a long start and yet beat him hollow at the very standards that he sets up. Take any at random, say, temperance. How many drunkards do our criminal returns show as having been even locked up, not to speak of being convicted, annually? Why, drunkenness is practically unknown at our great cosmopolitan centres, whereas it is a common thing in most European centres. And, of course, the absence of temperance is the negation of self-control, reliability and, we had almost written, of honesty. As for respect for parents it is ingrained in the African, and many a drama can be written of the life-long attachment of grown-up men to their mothers which defies every adverse circumstance. It is, indeed, this strong filial feeling which keeps our family system together, and which makes us the true utilitarians that we are. Nor do we think it can be truly said that the African is wanting in cleanliness. If anything it might be said that comparisons would be odious, but certainly not to the disadvantage of the African as regards personal cleanliness at all events. We are free to admit that in perseverance, thoroughness, and order we have a good way yet to catch up. But, thanks, to such disciplinary systems as the Boy Scout movement and similar measures, in a generation or two we shall give place to none.

Speaking of the Boy Scout system, we would advise our leading men to pay attention to the possibilities of development along this line. One of the finest object-lessons in this line is the Boys' Government School, Accra. To see the whole school of some 1,000 pupils turn out at 8.45 a.m., go through their drills and other exercises and suddenly set to attention, sing a hymn, the senior Scout Master say a simple prayer, and, in two minutes, see a whole school registered without a flaw, is to have some impression of the disciplinary effect of the system. Of course it can be overdone and must not wholly absorb other educational activities. But, in its proper place, it must be acknowledged as a first rate disciplinary and educational utility. As such, we should like to see it adopted in all the schools of the country and its dependencies, and prominent citizens will be doing a public-spirited work to aid in popularising the movement whenever possible.

But we were dealing with the bogey of character in its application to equal opportunity for the African. The latest version which our friends of the Nigerian Civil Service Union have had to grapple with in manly fashion in their interview with Sir Hugh Clifford is yet more nebulous than that indefinable element which the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report has helped us at last somewhat to understand. The subject under discussion was the requisite qualifications for higher appointments. The Deputation, it appears, had asked his Excellency to define such requisite qualifications. According to the report the Governor "had no doubt that so far as the purely intellectual qualifications were concerned, many suitable Africans could be found; but it was more a question of character; and ability to control their subordinate African colleagues." So far so good. We like the concession as regards purely intellectual qualifications. The African, then, is creeping up and has already attained the intellectual fitness to command equal opportunity in his Majesty's British West African Civil Service, or, at least, that branch of it specifically known as Nigerian. But, of course, we were not far out in our generalisation, for quite recently we have had an Assistant Treasurer appointed in Sierra Leone, and, if we are not mistaken, the Gold Coast has also had similar higher class appointments to record. Again, we say, so far so good. What of the other qualifications, character and ability to control African colleagues? Here also, if we examine closely, we shall find that the whole thing vanishes into thin air. First as regards control. How do men like Mr. Henry Carr, Resident, Lagos Colony, or whatever name it is known by, control their Departments? How did past African Postmaster-Generals, Treasurers, Chief Medical Officers, Solicitor-Generals, Government Printers, Comptrollers of Customs, and a host of other responsible, first class officers control their Departments? If they did it in times past, why not now? If not now, who is to blame? Indeed, the attitude, if true and persisted in, is a serious reflection on recent and past Administrations in being able only to turn out an inferior class of Civil Servants. If, then, want of control is only mere excuse, want of character goes with it, for it is inconceivable that there could have been in the past capable control without character, and if, in truth, capable control is even now possible, then it is the negation of want of character. Truth to tell, at the back of all hair-splitting about character and control is that indefensible, intangible element in the composition of the average European to keep the African in his place. Thank God there are noble exceptions. But we are not far out in saying that with the majority the feeling is there all right enough.

In the olden days it took the shape of slavery. In modern times it takes the form of denial of the rights of citizenship and equal opportunity. And what the African must do is to fight doggedly, perseveringly, and persistently until he lays low constitutionally every ambush in his way to freedom and liberty. On the whole we congratulate our brethren of the Nigerian Civil Service Union. They have fought and fought well. They have fought [illegible] commendable intelligence; and we wish them luck. They may not gain all they set out to win. But that they have laid deep the fortifications from which will in time be swept away the bastile of prejudice and false pride none can gainsay. We wish similar British West African Unions luck, and we should like to see them co-operate and insist upon their rights until they are secured. Your leaders are behind you. But, then, always remember Heaven helps those who help themselves.

From all accounts the meeting at Accra on March 15, to receive the report of the Sierra Leone Delegation with reference to the work of the second session of the Congress passed off with great success. According to the report of the proceedings by our esteemed contemporary the *Gold Coast Independent*, it was largely attended by the paramount Chief of Accra and other principal Chiefs of the Province or their representatives and prominent citizens. A leading feature was the suggestion to promote women's progressive unions, which has already taken a great hold on the Accra community, and where a strong one is in process of formation already. It will, we understand, promote an inaugural ball in aid of the Congress funds as soon as arrangements are complete. We bespeak for these unions the hearty support of our people and the patronage of their functions. We understand that the meeting at Sekondi to receive the Delegates' report on February 20 last was equally enthusiastic and successful. We trust our friends at Cape Coast will also arrange a reception shortly and launch out the Central Province women's union on the same basis. This is a time to keep moving, and we hope our people will rise to the occasion.

It will be noticed that one of the Congress resolutions under Judicial Reforms emphasises "the widespread dissatisfaction throughout British West Africa as to the constitution of the Appeal Courts in which Judges sit on their own judgments," and directs that strong representations be made at the proper quarter with a view to a speedy establishment of a West African Appellate Court, with a submission that no monetary question should be suffered to bar the way. It is true that since then our own Legislature has passed a Bill whereby it is possible for the Chief Justice to drop out and for two Judges to constitute the Court of Appeal. Nevertheless that does not meet the reform contemplated. What has been urged, and urged rightly, is that the time has come to constitute a regular British West African Appellate Court by the appointment of three independent, experienced retired Judges who would run the Circuit once a year and clear the lists. That would give the Judges more time to devote to their general lists, and would be far more satisfactory than the present make-shift.

Then, again, we think the time has come to introduce the system of trial by a jury in civil cases. For the same reasons that seven men just and true are chosen to decide issues between the Crown and a person charged with an offence should the facts in relation to property or other claim be similarly tried. Any reason against the latter would apply to the former. Cases have occurred now and again which lead the public to think that it were safer to entrust the finding of facts to a jury than to one man, be he a Judge and however eminent and capable at that.

Trial by assessors, it is also submitted, should give place to trial by jury. The anomalies of the present state of the law have been too often stated to need repetition here. Now and again the public conscience has revolted against certain convictions where the Judge has gone diametrically against the opinion of the three assessors. That state of things makes martyrs of the convicted persons in the eyes of the people which is unwholesome. Then lastly there should be the right of appeal on facts, or mixed law and facts, in criminal cases. This is also urged by Congress resolution.

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NIGERIA FILMED

FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION.

(*By a Special Representative.*)

Last week, as stated in WEST AFRICA, a private view was given of the first portion of the film taken for the Nigeria Section of the British Empire Exhibition (1924). Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., the Governor, was unable to be present, unfortunately; but Lady Clifford, C.B.E., the wife of the Governor, was there, and, I understand, delighted with the film. Others present included practically all the members of the Group Committee; many distinguished members, past and present, of the Nigerian service; many representatives of the commercial, banking and mining interests in Nigeria; and the following: the Rt. Hon. Sir F. Lugard, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.M.G., G.C.B., D.S.O., Sir William Lawrence, Bart., Mr. H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G. (chairman of the West African Group Committee; lately Lieut.-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria), Mr. Charles Strachey, C.M.G. (of the Colonial Office), Col. Haywood, C.M.G., C.B.E. (Inspector-General of the W.A.F.F.), Mr. C. E. Dale, C.M.G., C.B.E. (member of the West African Group Committee), Capt. Dickenson, D.S.O., Lieut.-Col. Ffrench, D.S.O., Col. G. Mair, C.M.G., D.S.O., Lieut.-Col. Giffard, Mr. L. H. Moseley, Dr. W. S. Clark, Major C. E. Roberts, Capt. Stobart, Capt. Milne Holme, Major Budgeon, Mr. Angus Johnstone, Major C. T. Tyrer, Major Pomeroy, and Major Lawrence (Nigerian Commissioner for the Exhibition).

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Let it be said at once that, in the opinion of the writer, this first portion of the film indicates that the complete picture will be one of the finest films ever put before the public. It should go down in film history as a classic of travel pictures. Last week's view showed, for the most part, scenes in the Northern Provinces, the most important illustrating the cotton, hides and tin industries. Durbars held at Dyo, in the Yoruba country, and at Zaria, in Hausaland, were shown, besides the sporting side of Nigerian life represented by the polo pictures taken at Kaduna and the tennis at Lagos. The remaining portion of the film dealing with the Southern Provinces will be shown in about a week. The general opinion is that the pictures are splendid, but it must be understood that the film was not cut up into sections or titled. Presented in that rough state, one subject running abruptly into another without any indication to the spectators as to what they are looking at, any film is at a serious disadvantage. Yet despite this it was highly praised.

From the industrial side—so much as we have seen of it—the strong impression left on the spectator is that of a hard-working Nigerian of invincible good humour, who expresses his happy spirits whenever possible by dancing. The Yorubas and the Hausas have evidently a genius for trade and commerce. From the spectacular side the film hypnotises one into silent watching. The desert salute, for instance, by 3,000 horsemen—I believe Kano can turn out from 8,000 to 10,000 horsemen—is magnificent. To see those massed horsemen on their beautiful long-tailed steeds sweeping along a great vista of country into the eye and, at some signal which may not be seen, coming to a dramatic halt, horses coming back on to their haunches, in front of the Governor, is a sight not easily forgotten. Those matchless riders—with a single rein—give a show that will grip the public. There is humour in the film—there must be in a picture of this kind—and we see the Emirs' jesters (a survival of our Court jesters), who are supposed to take the most extraordinary liberties in speech with impunity. It is interesting to point out that the pictures of the glass-making industry at Bida are the first of their kind. Bida is supposed to have a secret formula for making cheap glass which Europeans would like to learn. Another interesting feature of the film is the picture of "his Excellency," with the Emir of Zaria on his right and the Emir or Sultan of Sokoto on his left. This is understood to be the first time the Emir of Sokoto has left his town and his presence on the occasion gives an unique interest to the picture. But the sheer excellence of the picture—the beauty of the scenes—the perfection of this tropical photography by Messrs. Greville Brothers, whose travel films in this respect are unequalled—make this superb picture of Nigeria independent of any unusual features.

In the dark of the picture-house I happened to perceive close by me a familiar profile, and spoke. Sir Frederick Lugard, who was lately Governor-General of Nigeria, and is, of course, intimate with the life there and Native customs, had been gazing with fascinated interest when I asked his opinion. He expressed himself very definitely about the beauty of the pictures and pointed out to me again and again the significance of certain happenings, the folklore interest of details and the distinctive differences of the many tribes in Nigeria. Sir Frederick is, of course, a wealth of knowledge concerning West Africa, which is no doubt being drawn upon in many ways for the service of the Empire.

The scenes photographed are as follows:—

Mr. Norman Greville, of Messrs. Greville Brothers, with a camera-man, arrived at Lagos on the "Adda" on February 8th and was shown round Lagos and the environs by Major C. T. Lawrence, the Exhibition Commissioner, in order that they might see what shots could be obtained. A short picture was taken of an European wedding at the Roman Catholic Cathedral—that of Miss May and Mr. Lewis—who are shown leaving the building after their wedding.

February 9th.—A panorama of Lagos was aranged, including Apapa, Ebute Metta, Iddo and Yaba from the top of the new electric light chimney-stack on Iddo Island. Shots were also taken at Lagos Lawn Tennis Club in the afternoon.

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February 10th.—Mr. Greville was motored to Abeokuta, where the following shots were taken: Ogboni Chiefs and people (with Alake of Abeokuta) on Olumo Rock; Ogboni Chiefs' procession to sacrificial cave, saluting Alake en route; panoramic view of Abeokuta; arrival of Alake of Abeokuta at the Sacred Heart Hospital at Abeokuta and greeting Reverend Father Coquard; close-up, showing the Reverend Father Coquard explaining plan of building to Alake; the Alake and Father saluting the assembled crowd from the balcony of the hospital; the Alake receiving the salutations of his Chiefs.

February 12th.—Motored to Oyo Rest House, and arranged for film of Oyo Durbar next day; when the following shots were taken: his Excellency the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., passing to the Afin in motor, followed by the Ibadan Divisional Chiefs mounted horseback; close up of his Excellency greeting the Afin of Oyo, C.M.G., outside the gate of Afin; procession of his Excellency and Alafin to Audience Chamber; his Excellency and Alafin seated on daïs with Captain Ross, C.M.G., Resident, Oyo Province, and Mr. S. M. Grier, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Alafin's wives and messengers; close up of same; panorama of assembled crowds; (prostration) "Dobale" by the Balogun Ibadan and Chiefs; (prostration) "Dobale" by the Bale of Ogbomosho, with "rolling over"; panorama of his Excellency, Alafin and assembled European ladies and gentlemen; his Excellency and Alafin departing close up of Alafin returning to Afin.

The following pictures were taken in Kano city: Emir of Kano: Emir mounting his horse in inner courtyard of palace; entering the outer courtyard; Emir's mounted police in attendance, emerging through main gateway of the palace in order to meet the District Officer and his assistants; portrait of Usuman, Emir of Kano, holding staff of office.

Pictures of Kano City: Nassarawa Gate, showing camels, donkeys and pack-oxen passing through; traders' houses in commercial quarter, commonly known as "Park Lane"; everyday street scene in Park Lane; panoramic view of Kano City, taken from Dalla Hill.

Emir's workshops: Tyring a cartwheel.

Native Treasury: Taxes being brought in by pack oxen; unpacking and counting the silver.

Irrigation scene: Primitive method of irrigating onion and tomato farms.

Kano Mosque and Emir's Palace: Panoramic view, members of Emir's Mounted Police force in foreground; church parade after the Friday service.

Kano market: Panoramic view of market; pottery and jewellery stall; bootmaker's shop; greengrocery stall; two well-known personalities in Kano market—the dwarf is 3 ft. in height, his tall friend being a member of the Emir's police force.

The Central Prison: An albino, imprisoned for extortion after accumulating considerable wealth from the illiterate peasants by passing himself off as the brother of a well-known Political Officer; light-duty convicts making prison clothes; the weekly bath.

Cotton field in boll; picking cotton and leaving the field; transporting cotton to market; transport arriving at British Cotton Growing Association; oxen loaded and camels lying down at B.C.G.A.; grading and purchasing; cotton being weighed and stored at B.C.G.A.; cotton being stacked at B.C.G.A., overflow from stores; ginning (interior); ginned cotton coming through condenser (interior); filling boxes for pressing (interior); finished bale (exterior); loading railing wagons with bales for shipment to England; Natives ginning and spinning, in order as on film, the Native names (Hausa) being Kada, Gurza, Sutu, Shibba, Kadi, Wadari; weaving; woven rolls of cloth; tailors sewing up gowns and cloths; embroiderers at work, and embroidery for gowns, etc.; dye pits showing dyed clothes, etc.; cloth beating; finished gowns, turbans and trousers for men and cloths for women, and men and women attired in same.

Survey Department: In the drawing office, plotting maps from survey field books; computing areas with the planimeter; typewriting in English and Arabic; pupils receiving instruction in the use of the prismatic compass; surveying with the theodolite; a class learning English; graining zinc plates for a photo-zincographic process of printing maps; at work in the Kano Native Administration Printing Office; sun printing; lithographic hand press at work.

Bauchi Plateau.—March 5th: Keffi Consolidated Tin Co., Ltd., Bukeru mine; hand stripping of overburden in steps by Pagan labour; centrifugal gravel pump, raising the wash to the sluice boxes, the wash being picked down into the sump by Hausa labour; head of the sluice box, and general view of the Tail race.

Ropp Tin, Ltd.: A caterpillar tractor hauling one pontoon of a dredge; general view of Willoughbys in operation; Wifley tables; Hartz jigs; Natives dancing on dam to make puddle wall; general view of dredge showing bucket ladder from in front; side view of the same; general view of the dredge tables.

Bisichi Tin Co. (Nigeria), Ltd.: Dry season workings in the Forum river; the same; Dando pumps at work; streaming boxes; streaming boxes, nearer view; general view of dry season river bed work at Bisichi, showing streaming boxes fed with Dando pumps; constructing hydraulic pipe line over Bisichi river, Dando pumps being used to unwater the bridge foundations.

Rayfield (Nigeria) Tin Fields, Ltd.: General view of paddock in Old Shen River showing gravel pump at work; the same looking north; view of the sluice box; Pagan labour on task work; shifting ground into race; 52 brake horse power crude oil high compression engine (Campbell) driving 10 in. nozzle pump; loading trucks with earth for dam building; tipping trucks on dam under construction.

PHELPS-STOKES COMMISSION TO EAST AFRICA

New York, Dec. 27.—Investigation of the hygienic, economic and educational conditions in the light experience developed in our Southern States will be carried to East Africa this winter as the result of the success of a similar investigation in West, South and Equatorial Africa in 1920-21.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, who headed the earlier Commission, will serve as chairman of the newly formed Education Commission to East Africa. He will sail on the S. S. "America" on Saturday, Dec. 29, with Dr. James Hardy Dillard, of the General Education Board and President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds, and Dr. Homre Leroy Shantz, Agriculturalist and Botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture, who are the other American members of the Commission.

Leave France on 17th

The full party will leave Marseilles on January 17th, 1924, and spend eight months in East Africa, Egypt, Soudan, Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda, Urundi, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa and South Africa will be included in the itinerary.

This Commission has been organized through the co-operation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the International Education Board which was recently established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; Mission societies of Europe and America, and Governments directly concerned in Africa.

12-28-23

Gold Coast Native

Other members of the Commission on Education in Africa: Professor James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, a native of the Gold Coast and formerly a professor in Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.; and Dr Garfield Williams, Educational Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. James W. C. Dougall, of Scotland, and George B. Dillard, son of Dr. Dillard, will serve as secretaries of the Commission.

The purposes of the Commission will be to inquire as to the educational work being done in the areas to be studied; to investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of the religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions; to ascertain to what extent these needs are being met; to assist in the formulation of plans designed to meet the educational needs of the native races, and to make available the full results of this study.

To Visit Abyssinia

The Commission is making an exhaustive study of conditions in East Africa partly because of the urgent request of the British Government and the full approval of the Belgian, Portuguese, and Abyssinian Governments. Dr. Jones has in receipt of a letter from Prince Ras Teferi of Abyssinia in which a cordial invitation is extended to the Commission to visit Abyssinia. "You will be entirely welcome. I favor strongly the development of American culture in Abyssinia and anything that contributes to the mutual friendship of the two peoples."

COLOR BAR IN SOUTH AFRICA IS BANNED BY PRETORIA COURT

London, England—The following Reuter dispatch to the London Daily Mail tells of a recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court in Pretoria, South Africa, vitally affecting the interests of the colored residents of that territory:

12-22-23

"Pretoria, Tuesday.

"A decision declaring the color bar in the Transvaal to be repugnant to the general law of the land has just been delivered by the Supreme Court, in a considered judgment by Mr. Justice Krause, in which Mr. Justice Tindall and Mr. Justice Morice concurred.

"The matter arose on an application by the Attorney-General for a ruling on a question of law in a case in which mine manager was acquitted by a magistrate of contravention of the Mines Works Machinery Regulations by permitting a native to be in charge of a locomotive on the ground that the regulation was ultra vires, mainly on account of its unreasonableness and because it did not apply to all classes alike.

"Mr. Justice Krause said that the real point was whether the regulation was not ultra vires in that it discriminated between white and colored persons at all. It would be dangerous to hold in the absence of express statutory provision that the Governor-General had power under cover of the general words of the section to make such a regulation. —Reuter."

Native Labour Position.

It is to be regretted that at certain periods of the year there is a great shortage of native labour on the tinfield generally, and, of course, more particularly on those properties which are far removed from native markets, etc. With a view to meeting this difficulty the deputation which waited upon the Governor asked for his assistance in the recruiting of native labour from other provinces. His Excellency at once agreed and promised to write out to the residents by the next mail instructing them to give the mining companies every assistance in the matter.

The local Council, who, of course, have the problem always before them, after considerable deliberation, submitted to us a scheme for a form of contract labour. Your Council gave this scheme very serious consideration, and I regret to say they were unable to see eye to eye with the local Council in the matter, their view being that, even if the Government agreed to the scheme, which was very doubtful, it would inevitably lead to increased costs. The local Council were instructed accordingly, but I should like to take the opportunity of placing on record that your Council greatly appreciate the work of the local Council in this connection. The shortage is largely seasonal, and I am advised that at this moment there is a plentiful supply of labour in most parts of the tinfield. The solution would appear to lie in the adoption, wherever possible of hydraulicing and the other labour-saving methods.

12-15-23

During the year under review the temporary concessions accorded to the industry in 1921 in connection with working conditions and mining rentals were withdrawn as from April 1, 1923. These concessions proved of great benefit during the period of depression and low prices, and I am sure you will concur with me that the thanks of the members are due to the home and Nigerian Governments for their action in this connection.

CONDITIONS IN AFRICA TO BE REPORTED SHORTLY

Hygenic Economic and Educational Status Will be Obtained by Board.

NEW YORK Dec. 26.—Investigation of hygenic, economic and educational conditions in East Africa will be made this winter by a commission financed by the International Education Board established by John D. Rockefellow Jr. the Phelps-Stokes fund, mission societies of Europe and United States it was announced tonight. Approval of the British, Belgian, Portuguese and Aynssinian governments has been obtained.

12-27-23

The commission, after studying condtions, will suggest plans to meet the educatonal needs of the native races. The investigation will follow lines of a similar expediton in West, South and Equatorial Africa [illegible] years ago.

American members of the commission —Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, of the Phelps-Stokes fund, chairman; Dr. James H. Dillard, of the general education board, and Dr. Homer L. Shantz of the department of agriculture—will sail on the America next Saturday.

The party will leave Marseilles on January 17 and spend eight months in East Africa.

Race Problem – 1924.

Africa.

Notes.

CAPE VOTERS.

(*Communicated.*)

At the second inaugural meeting of the Cape Native Voters' Association held last Tuesday night in the Weslayan School Room, Colesberg, and after an eloquent address by the Organizing Secretary, (Mr. S. M. Bennett Ncwana), the following resolutions was passed unanimously:

"That this meeting of the non European electors of Colesberg hereby resolve to form a branch of the Cape Native Voters' Association and pledges itself to do all in its power to educate the 458 non-European Voters, in the Fiscal Division of Colesberg to co-operate with the other centres in the realization of the Association's Ideal programme."

After the election of office bearers and committee members for the year a vote of confidence in the S. A. Party was passed; and a vote of thanks to the Organizing Secretary terminated the proceedings.

Correspondence.

The Editor "Imvo Zabantsundu"

Dear Sir,—In my visits to Native homes in different parts of the country, where I see the various vernacular publications, as well as sometimes "The Health Society Magazine" and "The Outlook". It has occurred to me that a new organization in America, offers a suggestion of practical helpfulness.

I refer to what is known as the "Back to the Bible Bureau", formed "To secure the co-operation of editors and publishers throughout the United States and other countries in an effort to reach the great masses of the people daily with a helpful and inspiring Bible message." In 1922 the Bureau supplied verses which were placed at the heads of editorial columns of newspapers aggregating over four million in circulation. The plan has been very favourably received by both publishers and readers. An editorial says: "Thousands who do not consistently read the Bible as they ought are helped by the message of the verses. Many have said that they are committing the verses to memory as they appear. The possibilities of this work—most of the results of which we may never know in this life—are tremendous, grounded as they are in God's promise to accomplish His will with His Word".

For the texts I would suggest one or two verses, according to the space made available, from Bagster's *Daily Light* selection for the date of issue, and would be glad to provide the volume if application is made for this purpose.

Yours truly,
JESSIE W. COOMBS,
Lovedale P. O.,
19th November, 1923.

SEND AMERICAN COMMISSION TO EAST AFRICA

(A. N. P.)

New York, N. Y., Jan. 5—The fruits of investigation of hygienic, economic and educational conditions in southern American states, and in South Africa has encouraged the directors of the Phelps-Stokes fund, the international Education board, and mission societies of Europe and America to cooperate in sending a commission to make a similar study in East Africa.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the Phelps Stokes fund, who headed the earlier commission will serve as chairman of the new commission. He left for Africa Saturday, accompanied by Dr. James Hardy Dillard, of the General Education Board; Dr. Leroy Shantz, agriculturalist and botanist of the United States department of agriculture.

Other members of the commission are Major Hanns Vischer, secretary and member of the British Advisory Committee on Education in Africa; Professor James Emman Kwegyi Aggrey, a native of the gold coast and formerly a proffessor in Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C.; and Dr. Garfield Williams, educational secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

INAUGURATION OF LIBERIA'S PRESIDENT.

SPECIAL ILLUSTRATED DISPATCH FOR "THE AFRICAN WORLD."





1. An official group:—President King (second from left), Colonel Weaver, A.D.C. to the President and the Hon. T. Wesley, Vice-President. 2. The Presidential Inauguration Procession:—H.E. President King in centre, beneath floral arch. 3. The Corps Diplomatique:—The American Minister, the Spanish Consul-General, the British Chargé d'Affaires and M. Dresselhuys, Liberian Charge d'Affaires to Britain. 4. Mrs. (President) King and her son; the President's brother is behind. 5. Native Chiefs from the interior and Kru Dancing Girls in the procession.

Listeners In.

How frequently have men from our Overseas Dominions lamented the popular ignorance in Great Britain, in high circles and low circles, of our Imperial heritage! Mr. Bruce, Prime Minister of Australia, was our latest critic on this subject. Mrs. Kamba Simango's talk to British children over the wireless last week suggests a form of publicity that, properly worked, might do very much to dispel this ignorance. Several of my friends who "listen in" night after night have used superlatives in their expressions of delighted interest in Mrs. Simango's charming dialogue on children's life in West Africa. Mrs. Simango was a Miss Easmon before her marriage, and many old boasters will have happy reminiscences of Dr. Easmon, a popular West African medico of the good old days. The description given of the lives children lead in an African village, their games and toys, and their training for native industrial life was both fascinating and informing. A happy additional touch to Mrs. Simango's dialogue was the description also of the Native wireless, the drum—far more ancient than Marconi, and quite as effective. It was a happy innovation in broadcasting, and will, I hope, be extended.



MONROVIA, December

The ushering in of the month of Novem is the signal in the capital city of Liberia for the display of activity seldom seen during any portion of the year. The rainy season with the accompanying dampness and chilliness passes over, and everybody feels the rejuvenation that comes from moderate warmth and sunshine.

It is also the beginning of the harvesting season, and this year we have had an unusually large crop of rice, grain, vegetables, and fruits, as well as an abundant supply of fish. This, of course, means for all the people greater satisfaction, and is a cheering reaction from the stringent and hard times.

The Presidential Inauguration.

In the State there have been some disquieting remarks broadcast throughout the country as to what would be done by the People's Party in seeking to hinder the Legislature from announcing the re-election of the successful Whig candidates and the inauguration of the President and Senator Wesley. These rumours were disquieting, not because there was any fear that any attempted forcible move could not be easily quelled by the police, for the determination of the Liberian Government is to enforce and uphold law and order in this country at any cost, but the very fact that the leaders of that party, who had once held prominent posts of responsibility in the State, could stand at the back of any movement that looked toward confusion and disloyalty, caused serious thoughts, and an investigation of the sources whence this spirit emanated. That source has been located and tabulated, and all loyal citizens of both parties in this country will join hand in hand to discountenance any such disloyal expressions, and suppress any treasonable acts. Happily this has passed away, and yesterday the Liberian Legislature, composing the Senate and House of Representatives, convened, and the entire personnel of the Whig Party candidacy were duly qualified at 3 p.m. by the President. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon. S. A. Liberty, is a man of high social and political standing, and has been member and Speaker of the House before.

At 4 p.m. the Legislative Body called at the White House, and formally announced to President King and Senator Wesley their respective election to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Republic for four more years. Mr. Richards, leader of the Whig Party, reaffirmed the confidence of the Liberian people in President King and his associates.

It is remarkable to note that the People's Party have withdrawn their several contests, and abandoned further opposition to the Administrative Party.

The New Session.

MONROVIA, January 5.

The National Legislature of Liberia convened in its annual session on December 5, 1923. The Whig Party, the party in power, had all its candidates elected at the biennial election held in May previously. The candidates of the People's Party in Sinoe and Maryland came up to Monrovia for the purpose of contesting the seats of the candidates of the Whig Party, but so great was the sentiment against such a cause that they felt constrained to withdraw their contest.

On the opening day of the Legislature Session, the President administered the customary oath to the newly-elected members, and the great legislative wheel began to move. On the 6th the Legislature in Joint Convention announced to Mr. King and Hon. H. Too Wesley that, according to the votes cast at the biennial election, they were elected as President and Vice-President for the ensuing four years.

On December 13 His Excellency the President delivered his annual message to the Legislature before a crowded house. All the Powers were represented by their respective Ministers and Consuls, and all the foreign residents doing business in the city were present, as well as the officials of Government and citizens generally from all parts of the country.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

Government Publications.

Of all the excellent books now being issued under the auspices of the several West African Governments perhaps the "Forest Officers' Handbook of the Gold Coast" is the most striking as regards utility and foresight. It is the work of Mr. Chipp, Deputy Conservator of Forests. It is as complete and comprehensive as it is possible to make it. The serious need for forest conservation in face of the widespread damage done by the shifting cultivation of the native is emphasised in a striking chapter on forest policy. There are numerous useful and informing maps, plates, and plans—political, physical, meteorological, and botanical. Regulations and penal laws affecting forestry are given, and an extremely useful lot of "Notes" on necessary outfit and of life on the Coast are appended. Officers of other than the Forestry Department will find this book of much value. What would we of old times have given for the facilities now enjoyed by West African officials of Government patronage of the publication of the work of our labours!

Another publication of practical utility to the Administrative officer in Nigeria is a revised issue of Dr. Allan Parsons' "Hausa Phrase Book," of which the Government have secured the copyright. I well remember the initiation of this capital little work, in the preparation of which I was originally destined to have a share, had not other occupations intervened. It is another addition to the official handbooks of great utility.

Listeners-in.

I referred last week to Miss Kathleen Easmon's (that was) smart little lecture on African children, which was broadcasted throughout Great Britain, and which charmed a great many. Apropos of broadcasting generally, a "Morning Post" correspondent suggested recently how it might be made to serve a useful purpose in Africa. For the dissemination in an original manner not easily to be misunderstood of Government proclamations, messages, instructions, and the like. The course of trade could also be broadcasted. The idea is immensely fascinating; and, besides being quite feasible and entailing the saving of much wasted time and energy, would, I believe, make an irresistible appeal to African intelligence. It would stimulate him as nothing else I can think of would do. It ought to be seriously entertained. The writer in the "Morning Post" has not only put a benevolent and far-reaching scheme into our minds, but from intrinsic evidence he is a man who knows and understands his Africa. This arresting suggestion should be followed up. The voice of Government from the air would soon confound all fetish oracles, amongst other results of practical value.

The Best of Both.

The Rev. John Goodchild's address to the Colonial Institute on "The Impact of Civilisation on Native Races," on the 6th inst., was followed by a discussion in which a planter intervened with some very arresting remarks on production by natives. He was bold enough to question the harmlessness of a rapid absorption of civilisation, and was bold enough to say that a native did not benefit spiritually until he had benefited materially. He boldly advocated plantation culture with the aid of Europeans side by side with the natves' own little farms. What they learned of scientific culture and labour-saving implements on the large plantations they developed on their own farms. One got the best of both plans in this way. There is something in this. Is it not a fact that the few cases where plantation culture is in existence in West Africa the native cultivation is of a higher standard? And I do not think the same result is apparent where Government experimental farms are in operation.

The Juju Rock.

This month's "Blackwood's Magazine" has an article by the writer who signs himself "Lake Chad," on the Jebba Rock, so familiar to all up-country travellers in Nigeria. It is, perhaps, one of the most picturesque sights in the whole country, and I have in old days spent many dreamy hours gazing at its rugged sides and pondering over its mysteries. To the solution of the latter "Lake Chad" gives a new complexion—new at least to me—from a narrative supposed to have been supplied by a local *Sariki*. It traces the legend of the juju back to the wicked old buccaneering days and the concealment by a white runaway of stolen treasure. Someone out in Nigeria in the present year of grace will doubtless read this yarn and try to verify it. I have my doubts about its accuracy—at least so far as its being the cause of the "juju" atmosphere goes. Amongst peoples whose custom it is to endow prominent natural objects with mystical powers, the explanation seems a little far-fetched. I don't think "Lake Chad" has penetrated the secret mystery of that impressive rock which broods over the River Niger at Jebba. There's a story behind it, but whether "Lake Chad" has got it right I don't know.

African Women.

The official reception of the resolution passed at a meeting of African women at Lagos—to which I have made previous reference—was somewhat crushing in both its length and political attitude. Its chief value lay in its deprecation of that great bane of African aspiration, reliance on the Government for all improvements and progress. Throughout its paternal tone runs the admonition of self-help. A suggestion was included that the women should seek the assistance of a member of the Legislative Council for the initiation of a debate on the questions raised. A better plan would be to admit women to membership of the Council. I should like to see an African Lady Astor or a Miss Bondfield sitting at the Council board. We should be in the twentieth century then with a vengeance, and I am willing to bet that the lady members would be equal to the occasion. In my long career in Africa I have come across women rulers of great tribes, and of their astonishing capacity for practical administration have many recollections. That spirit is not dead. I make this alarming suggestion quite seriously. Will the Coast Press back me up?

Liberia.

The re-election of President King for a further term of four years augurs well for the continued progress of the Republic. The most interesting part of the Presidential message was that referring to the tribes of the interior. Peace and quietness, a revival of trade, and, above all, much activity in road construction, were points of great promise. So also was the pronouncement that closer touch between provincial natives and the central Government was being progressively observed. Those of us who have met President King feel sure that if high endeavour meets with its reward the advance of Liberia is assured under his guidance and direction.

The Lagos Moslems,

Conference and co-operation having failed to heal the open breach between the two sections of the Moslems of Lagos, the mosque has been closed and the intervention of the law has been sought. In the circumstances this course is not so regrettable as it might appear at first. When matters come to a deadlock in Africa they generally settle themselves when some outside authority makes up the minds of the disputants. It may be so in this case. At least it is to be hoped so, for these sectarian squabbles have wide ramifications now that Lagosians have the franchise.

J. W.-G.

THE RETURN OF PREMPEH.

The hesitation of the Gold Coast Government to consent to the return of the exiled Chief of the Ashantis is a little difficult to understand. One would have thought that the guarantees given by the influential section of this highly sensitive people that the restoration of the exile to his own land would lead to no political disturbance would be sufficient to dispel official alarms. Further, Prempeh's ancient enemies, the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast Colony, are urging that he should be allowed to end his days in the land of his birth. A concession to African sentiment in this respect would not only be gracious, but have that touch of Imperial dignity which appeals most of all to the Oriental side of African mentality—the gesture of regal expansiveness which disdains to be vindictive. The effect of such a gesture would be incalculable in maintaining good-will towards the British administration, whereas to allow Prempeh to die in lonely exile must inevitably stir up some underground rancour. That this must be clear to the administration of the Gold Coast is unimpeachable. The administration of Ashanti is not composed of men who go about with their eyes shut. There must be some other grave reason, of which we do not know the details, which stands in the way of this fine gesture of Imperial power that the return of Prempeh from banishment would indicate. Its spontaneity has been already spoilt by the evasive delays with which the appeals have been met. The time, in our view, has now come when either consent should be given or the reasons for non-consent be explicitly and publicly stated. Nothing really beneficial—but quite the reverse—can transpire from the continued treatment of this matter as a State mystery. Those who know African mentality will grasp the significance of this point of view, and appreciate the necessity of some kind of definite official announcement on the subject.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

"Character."

West Africans who are jealous for the material progress of their fellow-men are severely critical of the new standpoint which denies to an African stability of character. Racial inferiority used to be the bar to African advance, now it is lack of character. As a comment on this I clip the following from the "Gold Coast Leader" of March 24 last:—"If that nebulous thing called character after all means the habit and practice of the simple virtues such as perseverance, thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, thrift, temperance, self-control, reliability, honesty, and respect for parents, then the African has not a very long way to go in catching up the others." How true this is of the African who is unspoiled by European influence we who know him well can testify. Is not the spoiling of this typically African character due to the influences and tendencies of the modern progress of which we are the pioneers? It is a nice little point for consideration in view of Sir Hugh Clifford's answer to the Nigerian Civil Service Union that the qualifications Africans were deficient in were not intellectual but those pertaining to "character."

Taxation in Togoland.

Not only in Great Britain, as well as in British West Africa, is the taxpayer the over-burdened taxpayer to be heard on all occasions, but I take the following description of the position of affairs in French Togoland from the columns of the "Gold Coast Independent" of the 14th ult.:—"In every household, in the streets, you hear people murmuring and complaining of the exorbitant charges of the Customs, licences, and taxes of various kinds levied by the French." The correspondent complains that all incentive to trade is being killed in Lome. Togoland was the one German colony which paid its way. European administration seems to be on the way to becoming an expensive luxury for an African community.

DR. JESSE JONES IN ENGLAND.

Compiler of the "Education in Africa" Report.

With a view of getting into touch with the Colonial Governors who are now in England, Dr. Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Trust, is on a visit to this country. His recently published report on "Education in Africa"—an investigation upon which the Fund spent no less than £10,000—has been received by many of them with acclamation, and he has already made appointments for consultations on educational matters with several of the governors.

It was at the age of eleven that Dr. Jesse Jones left his native village in the Isle of Anglesey, and went with his widowed mother and sisters to America, where, by the way, for the first time he learned English! He worked his way through Columbia University, where he studied sociology, and became Research Director at Hampton Institute, the first Negro educational establishment in the States. He gave great assistance to the United States Government in connection with the Census of 1910, and as specialist in charge of Racial Groups in the Bureau of Education did much on behalf of the negro troops during the war. His two-volume report on "Negro Education" gained him the Grant Squires Prize from his old university.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, of which the Director, was founded by Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes, a member of a family which has long identified itself in work for coloured people, and its purpose is the financing of educational research and schemes for the benefit of the negro race both in America and Africa.

OLD ORDER CHANGETH NOT.

Slavishness of native chiefs to their magistrates is consistent right up to the Bunga at Umtata.

This is the impression gained by Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., of the late South African Native College, Fort Hare, Alice, C.P., as the result of his tour through East Griqualand, details of which he supplies in an article in the "Kokstad Advertiser."

"Any departure from the beaten track of custom, even if it be obviously advantageous, is not likely to make headway," he says. "Education is mostly a mere name. Illiteracy is the rule, education the exception. Loyalty to the chief and to the resident magistrate is almost absolute. In fact the regard they have for the magistrate is one of awe and reverence. For example, in a public native meeting I held in the Malenge Valley someone during my absence happened to catch sight of the local magistrate a mile away riding innocently on his errands. He got up and proclaimed the fact, and created quite a consternation among the listeners who, for the moment, all stood up for a while and anxiously followed the movements of the official until he disappeared beyond the hill, utterly oblivious to the proceedings of the meeting. This provoked the curious question: 'Is this a black or white meeting?' (meaning, Is this meeting being held without or with the consent and knowledge of the magistrate?). Someone answered that it was white. Then my address was suffered to continue. This slavishness of the chiefs to their magistrates is consistent right up to the Bunga at Umtata. It is in some respects a laudable trait in these chiefs, because it makes for easy and stable government and for the effective control of the vast masses in that territory. But it has its corresponding drawbacks, for in their loyalty to tradition and authority these chiefs and their people are not willing to learn and embrace new things and methods that are necessary to their present condition under European civilisation and industry. For instance, they will not abandon their antediluvian methods of cultivating the soil in favour of the newer dry farming system taught by the demonstrators from the Tsolo School of Agriculture."

IMMIGRATION LAWS.

Stricter Regulations Owing to Unemployment Position.

The Southern Rhodesia Department of Immigration has issued notice and warning that owing to the prevailing unemployment in the Territory the Administration is compelled to revise existing regulations dealing with entrants into the Territory. Any person who is unable to comply with one or other of the following conditions will now be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant, and dealt with according to law:—

(a) Intending immigrants seeking employment are required to be in possession of a sum of money, their own property and for their own use, of not less than £50, or definite evidence of the immediate availability of such a sum within the Territory.

(b) Intending immigrants proceeding to employment and unable to produce the means specified above are required to supply evidence of bona-fide employment awaiting them in the Territory for a period of not less than six months, such evidence to show the nature and period of employment and proposed wage, whilst the ability of the prospective employer to carry out his undertaking must be supported by a certificate under the hand of a Justice of the Peace or other competent public official to whom he is known.

(c) Visitors to the Territory must, if required, be in a position to produce evidence of (i) their being in employment elsewhere and intention of returning thereto; or (ii) possession of the sum specified in (a) above, or of its ownership and immediate availability.

With regard to (a) and (b), general assurances of friends as to employment, or courteous offers of a home for a time, will not be accepted. By conforming to the above conditions in so far as they concern them, employers of labour in Southern Rhodesia will obviate inconvenience and unnecessary expense to prospective employees whom they are desirous of introducing into the Territory.

The Chief Immigration Officer, when interviewed by a representative of the "Bulawayo Chronicle" recently, was asked if there were many people coming up to Rhodesia without the means or securities required under the immigration regulations. In reply he stated that, notwithstanding the wide publicity given to the requirements of the Rhodesian immigration laws throughout South Africa and in other countries by the exhibition of public notices and through the medium of the Press, there was a disregard or ignorance of such conditions existing. Many persons continued to arrive in the Territory without any means of support whatever or prospects of employment. It was hoped that the notice now issued would obviate inconvenience and expense to intending immigrants and visitors to Rhodesia, as well as relieve the Rhodesian public expenditure of the burden so incurred.

ALIENATED LAND.

The Chartered Company's Admission of Liability.

In the House of Commons on Monday, Colonel Wedgwood asked the Under-Secretary for the Colonies whether schedule 1 of appendix 5 of the report of Lord Cave's Commission contained the entire list of Rhodesia land alienated by the British South Africa Company for considerations other than cash; and whether, in view of the importance of this feature of the question, he would lay copies of this schedule upon the table of the House.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore replied: The schedule referred to contains a list of the grants for which liability was admitted by the British South Africa Company at the time the schedule was prepared. In the course of the proceedings before Lord Cave's Commission the company agreed to admit liability for two further grants and subsequently one other grant was transferred to this schedule. I do not think that it is necessary to publish further papers, but I will forward to the hon. and gallant member a complete list of the grants for which liability is now admitted.

Historical Research in Africa.

In reviewing the numerous books descriptive of African tribes and customs which have come from the press in the last four years I have often deprecated the neglect of following up the material given by their several authors which appeared to be available for historical research. Professor Newton, in his lecture at King's College on the 1st inst. on "Africa and Historical Research," referred to the vast fields waiting exploration by the historian of Africa. "The Africa," he said, "that lies beyond the Tropic of Cancer was a story that began only with modern times, and had most of its chapters within the compass of a little more than a hundred years." Of tribal history there is little save tradition that will serve the purposes of the historian; but of this tradition there is a good deal that will repay sifting and comparison. Professor Newton's plea for a group of people engaged in research into the historical lacunæ of Africa is a timely one. The Professor indicated one or two lines of specific research which I should like to emphasise here in case they meet the eye of those interested in the subject. The history of the slave trade is one. Another is embodied in the following quotation from his lecture: "We should like to know more of the circumstances of the first traders there (the Gold Coast) and of the founding of the Portuguese settlement which governed Sao Jorge da Mina (St. George of the Mine), the predecessor of the modern Elmina. Christopher Columbus was said to have accompanied the expedition sent out by King John II. to establish the first fort there, but we still know little about its story."

THE CREDIT OF LIBERIA.

The announcement that the Receiver-General of Customs in Liberia is proceeding to England to investigate the charges that the half-yearly interest on the coupons of the 1912 gold loan is often in default is a wise and proper move on the part of the Government of the Republic. Sums more than sufficient to meet this interest are, it is contended, regularly transmitted, and it is the Receiver-General's intention to investigate where the irregularity in paying it lies. Our correspondent in Monrovia states that Liberian opinion inclines to the view that some underground force is at work with the intention of reflecting adversely upon the credit of the Republic. That there are no just grounds for this reflection the correspondent in question gives in detail the half-yearly sums thus transmitted. The yearly interest, he says, amounts to £21,250, and in the year 1922 £26,700 was transmitted. For the first half-year of 1923 £10,000 has been forwarded; and, according to the "Financial Times" of Thursday, the money due for the payment of the January coupons is available. The matter of the delay would appear, under these circumstances, to require the early investigation of the Receiver-General.

BASUTOLAND TRADE.

Basutoland trade statistics for 1922 show an excess of imports into the territory over exports of £32,775. The imports under main headings are: Merchandise, £623,755; livestock, 935 head, mostly cattle and sheep, £1,570; grain, wheat, and wheat meal, 1,485 bags, £2,644; maize and maize meal, 36,584 bags, £25,176; kafir corn, 13,126 bags, £10,677; other produce, £597; Government imports, £37,700. Total imports, £702,125.

Exports. Livestock, horses and mules, 364 head, £1,937; cattle, 2,342 head, £8,022; sheep and goats, 2,999 head, £1,373. Grain: Wheat and wheat meal, 128,204 bags, £138,995; maize and maize meal, 20,316 bags, £11,188; kafir corn, 13,984 bags, £11,319; other produce, £4,227, of which £3,669 represents 3,149 bags peas; wool 12,829,330 lb., £377,333; mohair, 2,326,367 lb., £104,833; hides and skins, 210,247 lb.; sundries, £6,584; total, £669,330.

In the abstract of totals for the various districts of the territory Maseru heads the list, as is usual, showing a total of imports £175,077, and exports £127,362.

These figures indicate a decided improvement in trade conditions over 1921, the increase in imports being £145,672, and the increase in exports £158,882. Merchandise imports were £155,607 more than in 1921, and livestock shows an increase of £664. On the other hand, grain imports show a remarkable decrease of £10,796, which is all accounted for by a big drop in the importation of mealies into the territory.

In comparing the exports with 1921, horses show a decrease of £1,058, sheep £2,284, and cattle £36,551. This last item shows how the depression in the cattle market was reflected in Basutoland. Grain exports also show a heavy drop, wheat being down £13,767 and mealies £5,804, though kafir corn had an increase of £2,756. Had it not been for the improvement in wools the statistics would have presented a dismal state of things. The quantity of wool and mohair exported was practically the same as in 1921, yet wool shows an increase of £165,352 and mohair £41,077, solely accounted for by the better prices obtained for those staples. Hides and skins also show an improvement of £1,888.

INDIANS ASK EQUALITY IN AFRICAN COLONY

Conference Opened in London by Kenya Representatives; Seen as Test Case.

BY HAL O'FLAHERTY.

SPECIAL CABLE

To The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service. Copyright, 1923, by The Chicago Daily News Co.

London, England, May 5.—A preliminary conference has been opened here concerning what is considered by many as the most crucial test case raised by natives of India now in Africa, who challenge Great Britain's right to carry the "white man's burden" of ruling backward peoples.

Representatives of Indians living in Kenya colony, British East Africa, demand the right of equal vote and equal power with the Europeans. They even extend the controversy to cover the right to equal citizenship for Indians and Europeans throughout the British commonwealth of nations.

They contend that the British commonwealth is no longer a commonwealth run by Europeans, and that it no longer stands for the domination of the European whites over other races.

Would End Racial Aloofness.

In this controversy over the rights of Indians in Kenya colony, the Indian delegates see the first step toward breaking down the "racial aloofness" of Europeans residing in vast districts peopled predominantly by Indians.

For many years Indians have been filtering into British East Africa, settling on the land and engaging in trade with the natives, until to-day they outnumber the European population two to one.

It is asserted by Europeans living in Kenya that the British government should restrict the Indian emigration to that district and maintain the supremacy of the European peoples by giving them rights of suffrage and arbitrary power over Indians as well as Africans.

In support of this claim they offer proof that the African natives despise the Indian settlers, fear them and want the British residents to remain all powerful. The Africans point out that the majority of the Indians in Kenya are of a caste which in their own homeland is unfit to use political power and is certainly unfit to govern uncivilized races.

Demand to Be Denied Indians.

British authorities see in this dispute over the Kenya citizenship rights of the Indians an initial blow at Anglo-Saxon supremacy, which, if suppressed in Africa, would quickly fail in other crown colonies flooded by Indian immigrants. That the present conference or succeeding conferences will refuse the Indian demand for equal suffrage seems to be a foregone conclusion. The Europeans, who have liberated Africa from barbarism and furnished the brains, capital and governing capacity for civilizing purposes, now refuse to share with the immature races the fruits of their toil.

Referring to the participation by this country in some form of a world court, the Baltimore *Afro-American* said:

But of special interest to the Negro group is the fact that Africa with its untold millions of undeveloped wealth will be the bone of contention among European nations for several decades. If some standard of international justice is not set up to curb the selfish aims of some of these powers these teeming millions of colored people will be the veritable slaves of first one dominant group and another for the next hundred years.

When whole nations become robbers, brigands or oppressors of men it is just

and Mrs. B. Minton were the directors.

Mr. and Mrs. William Tarpin, Mr. and Mrs. J H Harper and family were called to New York to attend the funeral of little Bernice C. Williams, infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Williams.

The stork visited Mr. and Mrs. Glen Jones recently and left a baby boy.

Mrs. Annie Robinson (nee oJnes), attorney-at-law, and Mrs. Helen Jones Browne, daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Jones, visited their parents on Winthrop avenue, Sunday.

Rev. C. C. Alleyne preached in Newark, N. J., Sunday afternoon, May 6.

Please send notes so they will reach us by Saturday or Monday morning. Write on one side of paper.

Although the system of consultation is a good one we yet feel that it has been a mistake to file both the Natives (Urban) and Registration Bills before they were made laws for the purpose of getting the native opinion. The native women fracas at Springfontein over the Municipal pass Regulations is a demonstration of the mistake which was made. Before these two bills become laws the bulk of our ignorant natives shall have done much to strengthen the feeling of opposition against the abolition of passes.

The leaders of the natives will be well advised to go at once to Springfontein to persuade the natives there to obey their authorities until these laws are passed into a statute book. It is no use waiting for the municipal authority will be compelled to take drastic measures to enforce the law. In order to avert such steps the native leaders should intervene at once.

Was Tutankhamen, whose grave has been desecrated and about whom the people are full of curiosity, a Negro? Perhaps Dr. Clark Wissler, the American anthropologist, will endeavour to prove that this ancient monarch was a "Negroid," a blend of different bloods. If so, a curious result will be the difficulty of knowing where "Negroid" begins and where it ends. But away with childish differentiations which but tend to increase human perplexities.

Republic of Liberia.

INTERNAL TRADE DEVELOPMENTS: THE 1912 GOLD LOAN.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, February 28.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of Government to meet the wishes of the foreign mercantile community, who have formerly made much complaint about the closing of the interior to trade, as was reported in the Department's last communication, these merchants, especially the British, do not all seem anxious to take advantage of the first instalment of policy along that line.

The President held a conference with the merchants of all nationalities previous to the drafting and submission of the measure to the Legislature. In this draft was included some of the suggestions made by the persons taking part in the discussion. After the passage and publication of the law the merchants protested against some of its provisions, and were thereupon granted another audience by the President in order that they might be heard thereon.

Contact With "Native" Producers.

At this audience it transpired that these people had no desire to extend their trade to any points beyond where they were established anterior to the war. They felt it impracticable to go further. When the clamour was first raised there seemed to be no difficulty save the alleged "disinclination" of the Government to permit foreigners to come in contact with the "native" producers. Now, however, the difficulties appear to be enormous in every point of view.

Particular exception is taken to the ninth section of the Act, which compels them to employ Liberians. They first contended that the reasons they did not employ Liberians was because the merchants were restricted to the coast belt and secondly that the embezzlement laws placed them at the mercy of dishonest employees. Now that this has been changed, they are still inclined to import men outside the country. This raises a somewhat serious economic question, makes difficulties for the Government, and naturally stirs up local resentment against the imported foreign employees.

The President's Tour.

His Excellency the President left for the Interior on the 24th February, on a tour of inspection and to hold the annual Council of Chiefs. His Excellency will be away from the capital for a month.

It is interesting to note here that it is only eighteen years since the Government has undertaken the extension of its administrative system to the hinterland. The first steps were taken by President Barclay in 1905, when the interior of the country was one chaotic mass of warring chiefs and robber bands. Successive Presidents, by moral suasion, by just administration—and by just we do not mean perfect—and only in the last resort by military force, have succeeded in largely attaching the loyalty of these populations to the Government, overcoming their suspicion of our purposes, and eventually securing their co-operation in the Government's endeavour to establish peace and public security in their territories.

Alleged Loan Irregularities.

The General Receiver of Customs, Mr. Sydney de la Rue, is proceeding to Europe on leave. He is authorised whilst in England to inquire into certain irregularities in

meeting the semi-annual interest coupons of the Liberian 1912 gold loan. Money is regularly transmitted by the Receivership is concerned, nevertheless complaint is in these coupons are regularly transmitted. The minimum sums necessary under the agreement to meet each semi-annual interest coupon is £10,625, or a total of £21,250. In 1922, up to and including December 29, the sum of £26,700 was transmitted. During the first quarter of 1923 the sum of £10,000 has been transmitted, which will be almost sufficient to meet the first semi-annual coupon for 1923. There is therefore no just grounds for the charge of default against the Liberian Government.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

KENYA.

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—In discussing the question of Kenya Colony, is it impossible to get down to bed-rock facts? There must be many more than 310 million Indians who have never heard of Kenya. Of perhaps one million who may have been told that we are trampling on the rights of the immigrants the great majority could not find Kenya on the map. I note that Mr. Sastri declared last Saturday that "the question of the treatment of Indians in Kenya was a matter of life and death, not only to India, but to the British Commonwealth." To anyone who retains a sense of scale such a statement must seem ridiculous; but Mr. Sastri, whose bitter anti-British speech in the Council of State the other day surprised even those who had watched his evolution, spoke with considered purpose. He has perfectly understood the effect of similar pronouncements on the mind of Mr. Montagu; and by making our flesh creep, he believes that he can secure flagrant injustice to our fellow-countrymen who built up Kenya Colony and to the African natives for whose welfare and progress we are responsible.

If Mr. Montagu, instead of rushing off to India to arrange methods of placating a little body of Westernized agitators, had simply announced that the Government would not look into the question of political reforms till the War was ended, India would have been spared great disorders and the loss of many lives. When Gandhi was permitted for many months to preach rebellion to the ignorant and excitable masses, it was intimated that to stop his fatal activities would bring about a disaster. At last, and after he had done irremediable harm, the Government decided to arrest him. The result was, as all who knew India expected, a welcome period of comparative tranquillity.

The Indians in Kenya were contented and prospering until an artificial agitation was engineered from India with political objects. Their presence in Kenya has already checked the progress of the natives, because they absorb the work which the latter, with our instruction, could undertake. If they go on increasing in numbers, the uplifting of the natives will become impossible. In the War, when the Colonists and the natives gallantly defended the colony, the Indians were practically useless and a few of them proved traitorous.

Before the Joint Select Committee, of which I was a member, Indian witnesses said frankly that they contemplated the control of the government of the colony, though this plan is now being disavowed. India in the past has produced great rulers and may do so again; but the class of "limited intelligentsia," which Mr. Montagu has placed in power, gives no evidence of any capacity for government and great aptitude for organized agitation. There is surely enough work for Indian politicians in India without interfering in a distant British colony which, failing our protection, they would never have entered. I have before me the appeal of the East Africa Women's League, which gives an admirable statement of the facts of the situation, and should be read by everyone who desires to form an impartial judgment.

For the Government, faced with Mr. Sastri's threats, there is an old but infallible guide of conduct: "Be just and fear not." When equal citizenship is conceded by Mr. Sastri's friends to the 50 million of "depressed classes" in India it will be time to ask for it in Kenya.—I am, Sir, &c.,

SYDENHAM.

A WARNING TO WEST AFRICA.

It is to be hoped that the result of a recent case in the Central Criminal Court will be a warning to the unscrupulous in, and from, West Africa who attempt a fraudulent exploitation of the cocoa business. In the case in question two West Africans named William Dangerfield Essien and Samuel Mayford were charged with conspiracy in an attempt to raise money on forged bills of lading. A fictitious shipment per s.s. "Elmina" of some £5,000 worth of cocoa was presented to the complainant as cover for an advance of £2,000. The latter, having referred to the shipping firm of Elder, Dempster and Co. to vouch for the genuineness of the bills of lading, found they were false, and with admirable promptitude gave the presenters into custody. No such shipment referred to on the bills of lading was on the "Elmina," and the defendants must have had confederates at Seccondee, the alleged port of shipment. Though provided with defending counsel by the court, neither defendant could give a satisfactory explanation of their possession of the bills. Essien, whose record appears to have been bad, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment; the other defendant, who appeared to have been his tool, was bound over. The case is of importance to the West African commercial community, and we hope that the collusive partner on the Gold Coast in the fraud may yet be brought to book. Flagrant criminal acts of this kind bring grave discredit and suspicion on Africans engaged in commercial transactions in the products of their country.

WHAT WE THINK.

INDIANS IN KENYA.

Means of giving public expression to the views of all the parties concerned in the question of the status of Indians in Kenya Colony have been frequent of late. The European settlers have stated their views with emphasis, and representative Indians have also been vocal on this delicate and important question. The public meeting to be called by Mr. John H. Harris, of the "Aborigines and Native Rights Protection Society," will doubtless reflect the views of the native community so far as it is possible to express them. A recent distinguished advocate for the Indian point of view is in the person of H.H. the Aga Khan, who, in a communication to Reuter, emphasised the age-long connection between India and East Africa as regards trade and immigration, and their title thereby to be considered on the same level as European settlers who can boast scarcely half a century of history. The argument is—with all respect to His Highness—not quite convincing. Further, we have the views of Sir Charles Crewe from the point of view of the Union of South Africa. Franchise rights to the Indians in Kenya would end, he contended, in a Monroe doctrine for South Africa. Conflicting arguments press on all sides, and it appears to us that it would be a wise move to defer the final settlement of the whole question until the Imperial Conference meets in the autumn. Let us always remember that the trusteeship of Great Britain towards the native inhabitants is the keynote to the whole controversy, and it should be transferred to a calmer atmosphere, where statesmanship and long views prevail.

A Changed Town

THE Bishop on the Niger, Dr. Lasbrey, recently visited Achi, a town in Southern Nigeria. Of this place he writes: "Three years ago the place was a byword for barbarism, but today there is to be found a congregation of three or four hundred worshippers...delivered from the dread of evil spirits, and rejoicing in the blessed hope of everlasting life. It is not through any very wonderful or up-to-date methods that these results have been achieved. The church is a mud building with a mat roof, and the seats and other furniture are all of mud; the evangelist is a young man with just a smattering of training, and the only books he possesses are a Bible and prayer book and one or two school primers."

New Work in Nigeria

THE General Mission Board of the Church of the Brethren sent last December two men, A. DeHelser and H. Stover Kulp, out to Nigeria to investigate the possibility of opening a mission in that territory. They have received very courteous treatment on the part of the English Government as well as the natives, and have made a beginning by establishing themselves at Garkida. There is also a medical man completing his interneship this year, who will sail this fall. The two men on the field report that they are preaching Christ to the natives there both by the spoken message, and the demonstration of the hand. Mr. Helser took the Livingstone College medical course, and is able also to bring relief to a great many of the suffering sick.

Slave Trade Revived

THE traffic in human beings now going on in certain parts of Africa, says the *Continent*, will be brought to the attention of the League of Nations when it meets in September. Abyssinia seems to be the center of the most active slave trade, large numbers of natives being exported to Arabia, where they are held in servitude by wealthy Moslems. Persia and Baluchistan also afford a market for slaves, and many of them eventually find their way to those countries. The French have discovered that monthly shipments of slaves pass through the port of Ladjourah in French Somaliland and farther to the south between the island of Madagascar and the mainland. Great Britain and France, which control the east coast of Africa with the exception of Eritrea (Italian), have been aware of the slave traffic for years and have made sporadic efforts to stop it. Prior to the war small British naval units were maintained in the Red Sea to search vessels suspected of carrying slaves.

been marked by wide spread interest in the evangelistic meetings that they conducted. The Cairo audiences were composed chiefly of Coptic, Moslem and Protestant students and graduates of schools and colleges to whom tickets had been given and the new Y. M. C. A. auditorium was crowded afternoon and evening. Many signed cards to indicate their desire to join Bible classes. In Assiut also large meetings were held in the ancient Coptic and the modern Protestant churches. The people of Egypt are awake politically and intellectually and intensely desire independence but they are not yet aroused to spiritual realities and have not moral and spiritual leaders capable of guiding the people to God's ideals. To understand and to apply the message of Christ is Egypt's greatest need.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, AUG. 7, 1923

New Books.

Among the new books sent to us we recommend the following to our readers:—

(1) "The South and East African Year Book and Guide for 1923" published by the Union Castle Steamship Company and obtainable at 5/8 post free at Courtney's, East London. It is invaluable to all those who wish to know anything about the geography of their own country, all the provinces with their towns, villages, products, population, distances, facilities for visiting, and copious detail information thereon. The book is strewn with excellent maps displaying full topography. Its 916 pages give wonderful value for the money.

(2) The Negro Year Book edited by Prof. Monroe Work at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, U. S. A. is an annual encyclopedia that gives all there is to know on the statistics of American Negro progress. The latest edition we have in hand, costing only 2/, includes a good deal about the conditions of Natives in South Africa, their problems, publications, education and progressive movements. Its 500 pages are worth four times the price charged. 8-7-23

(3) All who wish to read something startling on the Native Problem of this country cannot do better than to invest a shilling on a pamphlet called "South Africa,—A Glimpse into the Future" written by Mr J. Stuart Franklin, a Bloemfontein lawyer, published by Juta and Co. It is only thirty-eight pages but full of thought provoking matter that ought to be known by every thinking man in this country. We do not by any means agree with many of the theories propounded in it, but we are compelled to admit that they are original, presented in a brilliant literary style and worth studying.

(4) The Annual Reports of Lovedale and Fort Hare are always worth reading as they give definite figures of the progress of Native education.

(5) Those with a taste for Economics should glance at "Every Man's Wages," a 47 page pamphlet written by George Burgess (price 8d. of Griggs & Co., Durban), It discusses the ways of increasing wages everywhere.

(6) It is a pity that a Government blue-book that ought to be in the hands of every Native teacher in this province should cost as much as 3/6 a time. This is Dr W. J. Viljoen's Report on Education for the year ended 1922. Ever since Dr. Viljoen took charge of the Cape Education office, we native people have been made to feel each one a friend in the Superintendent General, a friend such as we had, not possessed for many a long day. His bold plan of securing an Education Commission (1919) with black men in it, has borne splendid results in the appointment of Mr W. G. Bennie as Chief Inspector for Native Education, the right man in the right place, and the consequent beneficial recasting of our education system which is growing more modern and practical every year. These two gentlemen are hindered only by the prevailing financial slump in the country from doing a great deal more for both Native education and the vexed question of the salaries of Native teachers. They are worthy of praise for succeeding in what they have already done in face of heavy and discouraging odds. We hope, in future issues, to make excerpts from their illuminating remarks on the state of Native education as contained in this volume.

(7) Noteworth strides are being made in Bantu publications of late, especially in Zulu and Xosa. As if to answer the challenge in "Bantu Literature" (Jabavu) that no Zulu book has as yet been written by a Zulu man, to-day we have three. The first two, by Lamula and Dube, we have previously noticed. This month (July) we have received "u Tulas'zwe," a collection of Zulu fables edited by J. Stuart, published by Longmans, Green & Co (2/6) with fine pictures of Zulu ancient warriors; and "Abantu Abamnyama, Lapa bavela ngakona" by Magema M. Fuze published for 5/- by the author at 14, William St, Pietermaritzburg.

It gives in 253 interesting pages the primitive Zulu ideas on the origin of mankind as well as their religions, beliefs and incidents of Zulu history.

Then there is also a thousand page new volume called the "The King, Cetywayo Zulu Dictionary." We congratulate our Zulu compatriots on these signs of progress.

Xosa writers are making a bold bid to get even with their rival Sesuto authors who, according to "Bantu Literature," are at the head of all Bantu publications.

(10) "U Hambo luka Gqoboka" by H. M. Ndawo, 1/8 post free P.O Isigoga, Matatiele is a book that ought to be in the hands of all our Native teachers and ministers. It is an ably written allegory with some attractive poetry, the style being reminiscent of S. E. Mqayi the Xosa poet laureate, the tone elevating, and the matter educative. This young author needs every support and encouragement from his countrymen.

(11) The Palmerton Mission Press in Pondoland East under the enterprising management of Rev A. Edmunds is also busy doing yeoman service for our people. Among its latest emissions are "Ifundo zokufundisa ukuzilazonke Izixelo Ezinxilisayo" (6d), "U Tixo Ugumlilo Odlayo, (1/7), and "Iball lenqobo ye Seketi vase Mfundisweni" by the popular Rev. T. R. Curnick, (6d). All these pamphlets are helpful and informative.

(14) We have already received in vernacular the readable book "Iball lomfi a Rev. P. J. Mzimba "(5/6, Lovedale Press) by his son Dr L. Mzimba.

(15) An able novel "U Zagula" (2/3, Lovedale Press) was issued last June by James Jolobe who has in his 123 closely printed pages beaten the record in lengthy Xosa novels. With Guma and Sinxo he is the third novel writer produced by the St. Matthews Institute, which deserves a compliment for this achievement. The language is conspicuous for clarity, the idiom closely following the English manner and the narrative related with literary judgment. The author is a natural story teller, and with youth in his favour and a growing Xosa reading public backing his efforts, he will develop into a high class writer.

(16) The latest and most captivating book of the season is "U Tiyo Soga—Incwadi yobom bake," translated and adapted from the English version of Rev. J. A. Chalmers by Rev. Tiyo Burnside Soga (Lovedale Press). Here we have in 160 closely typed pages the unfolding of the story of the first ordained native minister of Xosaland, one of her best gifted sons, educated at Lovedale and subsequently in Scotland, and to day still a name to conjure with in the Eastern Province. The story itself while worth writing and reading has been distinctly enhanced in attraction by the authorship of Tiyo Burnside, whose delight and verve permeate the story. It is no mere slavish interpretation. In fact, but for his own acknowledgements and explanation, one would never know it was taken over from another version.

He has made a new book, and given modern Xosa linguists an example of the possibilities of the art of an idiomatic translation. Every page literally brims with arresting and vivid gems of vernacular phraseology, the style being distinctly in advance of his first book "Intlalo ka Xosa" where the very copiousness of vocabulary often proves an obstacle to the narrative. Here, he is happy in his felicitous digressions into Xosa history from a Native view point for once in a way and general Native social life. The spelling needs much revision in word division but it takes away nothing from the graphic delineation of a superb personality who lived in the historic times of the gloomy disasters of the cattle killing and other evens of anarchy by a bellicose people to whom the Gospel was being introduced.

The story of the hero, along with the background of the exciting events of his environment, all couched in a decorative linguistic vehicle, renders this volume a regular Xosa classic.

Education in Africa.

[*Continued*]

Every department does excellent work. The rugs, mats, and robes of mohair and wool are especially good. They are not only woven by the girls, but dyed in beautiful colors with home made dyes. Recently a Native rode up to the institution with a bag of wool clipped from his own sheep and returned in a few weeks to carry away a splendid blanket, woven by these Native girls. Miss Cook's idea in instituting weaving was to make it a home craft." 8-7-23

(b) Mariannhill is one of the most important schools in South Africa. . . It was founded by a pious monk of the Trappist Order whose motto is ORA ET LABORA and their life is given to work and prayer. . . The school work is based on the syllabus of the Natal Education Department, well known for its adaptation to the needs of the Native people. Stress is laid on practical subjects such as methods of teaching, physiology and hygiene, agriculture and the Zulu language. The industrial activities include carpentry, brickmaking, stonecutting, leatherwork of all kinds, tannings, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, stained glass work, photography, tailoring, shoemaking, painting, printing, poultry-raising. A considerable part of the work has some elements of factory methods. Father Bernard Huss, the principal of the training school for teachers, is initiating and organising activities for community betterment. He is interested in Native Music, recreation, and school agriculture. He is making valuable contributions in the arrangement of agricultural instruction in elementary schools and is the author of a standard textbook on agriculture for Native schools. His collection of Zulu songs for school use is centering the attention of the Native people upon the beauty of their own music. Under his direction the normal students have dramatized

stories of Native life and are thus building up an interest in the recreation of the people and making large use of the helpful games and pleasures which he finds in the Native Villages."

(c) The Inanda High School for Native Girls is also based largely on the lines of the above with slight differences in emphasis and view, for "the chief emphasis is on the preparation of teachers, wives and mothers for the Zulu people."

(d) The Native Hospital and Health Activities of the American Zulu Mission constitutes a notable work in behalf of the health of the large Native population of Durban and neighbouring Zulu communities. Dr J. B. McCord is the head of the staff. "It is generally agreed that there is a vital need for this work and for Native doctors.

(To be continued)

Correspondence.

The Editor "Imvo Zabantsundu"

SIR,—I observed in the Cape Mercury a week or two ago, that Major Ballantine our M.L.A. has induced Government to purchase Lots 1 and 5 Block P in the Upper Kabousie known as Fort Merriman's grazing for the Natives in the Dontsa and Gwili Gwili areas.

The extent of the property purchased is about 1,800 Acres and consists of the heaviest grassed land in the Stutterheim District.

Major Ballantine went to a great deal of trouble in persuading the Minister for lands and the Native Affairs Department to purchase this Property, not the Minister for Agriculture as was stated in the Imvo some time back. The thanks of the whole Native Community is due to Major Ballantine for what he has done in this matter.

I believe I am correct in stating that Major Ballantine induced the Government to purchase three Farms in Kama's country near Middledrift some two years ago for the benefit of the Natives.

Further Major Ballantine took up the matter of appointing Native Demonstrators in Agriculture in Ciskeian areas, and I am informed the Government have agreed to appoint certain Demonstrators.

Notwithstanding all that Major Ballantine has done for the Natives, I have not seen that the various Native leaders have expressed their thanks and appreciation in the Press, or that the Natives have held any meetings to discuss all that Major Ballantine has done for them, and pass resolutions thanking him.

I should like to know what other members of Parliament have done for the Natives during the last 25 years. The Native Location Act of 1909 was not an improvement on the Native Location Act of 1899, it reduced the Natives to still greater degredation and was little better than veiled slavery.

Yours truly.

F. C. BOUSFIELD.

Stutterheim,

10th Aug. 1923.

The Curse Of South Africa.

The curse of South African white people is the evil of hatred that lies so deepseated in every one of them, excepting the rarest individuals. The Kenya settlement and the right warning of the French authorities to the unbehaving and unrefined American tourists have brought South Africans to the end of their political wits. What they are unfortunately doing now is to polute France's unquestionable uprightness in her even justice to her subjects. Their hatred of man of colour has now come to the surface. There is a babel of charges against France's native policy which is only made to excite feelings of horror for no reason whatever. South Africa has its own native problem to solve and it does not matter to her what other powers may think of it, their policy is the only policy they found to be thoughtful and workable in South Africa. Whether it be wrong and foolish, it does not matter, she has guns ammunition, and a large army of police to overawe, the resenting natives.

France has her own native policy which is the best policy for her, and which explains itself as the only honest and upright policy that would suit the whole world of politics. There have not been wanton shooting of natives in her colonies as in South Africa. The native riots and strikes followed by the cold blooded shooting of them in South Africa only tend to bring home the truth that, "*where there is smoke there is fire.*"

South Africa will not force France to swallow her bitterest pill of hatred of the natives. France does not want to be-lie herself by adopting a baneful policy which she knows is wrong and evil and say it is right. Why should South Africa show the world that the foundation of her native policy was simply obstinate, ill-tempered, bullying and trickery and bound to fall if any power or dominion treated its natives differently?

The evil of hatred is typical of South African whites and the source is traced to their exploitation wars with the natives, and they have not been able to restrain this evil and to confine it to natives.

A COMPARISON.

Acrobatic feats are common with our politicians. We have witnessed some delightful displays. But the recent somersault performed by General Hertzog in connection with the Coloured problem has been amazingly startling. Last week in Kimberley he displayed an unwonted love for the Coloured people. He declared that the Coloured man had "made good," and that he is hence entitled to full political rights. If that were evidence of a sincere repentance for his past folly, if we could cherish any sincere belief that he had really become convinced that all the Nationalist and Free State Colour prejudice should be abandoned by him, we would hail his conversion with unlimited praise. But, sad to say, we accept this Kimberley confession of his love for the Coloured man as one of his sudden acrobatic tricks done for the sole purpose of winning over the Kimberley Coloured voters to the belief that they have something good to expect from a Hertzog Ministry, should it ever—God forbid!—come about in the whirligig of politics that Hertzog would come into power.

The time for a General Election is coming round, and promises of reform will become more frequent; but we doubt whether we shall ever witness such a preposterously hollow profession of passion for our cause as was made by Hertzog at Kimberley. Sudden conversions are always questionable in politics. In the present instance we have merely to consider the past, or even the present attitude and conduct of the Nationalists towards the Coloured people in the provinces where Hertzogism is rampant.

What is the condition, social, economic and political, of the Coloured people in Hertzog's own province, the Free State? Serfdom still prevails there. The Coloured man is regarded as a pariah. He is not only without the franchise, but he is and must remain a landless helot. He cannot even purchase a piece of ground in a cemetery. Why does Hertzog not preach in the Free State the doctrines that he so glibly pronounces in Kimberley? There is no call for him to come into the Cape Province where our people already possess some political rights and some economic position, and endeavour to woo us with his specious promises. We do not trust such promises coming from such a quarter. In the Transvaal the case is similar. Tielman Roos should remove all the unjust fetters from our people in the Transvaal before he prates about what the Nationalists will do for us if they get into power. All these insincerities and shams are too shallow. We can easily see through them. Let the Hertzogs and Tielman Rooses put their own states in order, or endeavour to do so. That's the first thing we ask. If they do that, then they will have some justification for preaching their platitudes elsewhere. Until they do so, we must perforce view all their promises as hollow, insincere and untrustworthy.

Let the Coloured man of the country compare the actions of Smuts with those of Hertzog. We are even making a mistake in using the word "compare." There can be no comparison. It is even a glaring contrast. Much has been done, but more remains to be done, by Smuts even, before we shall be satisfied. What has been granted to us has moreover been granted in the teeth of the bitterest opposition of the Nationalists. What we would ask can we expect from such a party. Its members are antediluvian in their views. They are narrow-minded and illiberal. Look where one may, the picture presented to the mind of any candid person is one of glaring tones of bitter Colour prejudice in the provinces where Nationalism prevails. Nothing but glaring intolerance meets us in every constituency where Nationalist tendencies are visible; and hence we trust that our voters will not be caught by the wiles of any Hertzog or Tielman Roos.

composed of his own men and members of the B. P. Association. We learn from the press that the results are favourable. This step taken by the P.C. of late, is a most valuable improvement and surely it operates as powerful stimulus to fidelity and impartiality in the general view of the people. It is high time lesser chiefs took a leaf out of the Paramount Chief's book. Lastly the P.C. should

S.A Native National Congress.

Text Of The Resolutions Passed.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

Appended we give the text of the various resolutions passed by the South African Native National Congress, which oneded in the location last week-end. A deputation was appointed to lay these resolutions and those published yesterday before the Government, and it leaves for Cape Town this morning. The resolutions read as follows:—

"The South African Native National Congress in annual convention assembled at Bloemfontein on the 24th day of May 1923, and being representative of the Bantu population of the four Provinces of the Union of South Africa, hereby solemnly resolves to place on record the following declaration, statement or Bill of Rights, viz:-

"(1) That the Bantu inhabitants of the Union have, as human beings, the indisputable right to a place of abode in this land of their fathers.

"(2) That all Africans have, as the sons of this soil, the Godgiven right to unrestricted ownership of land in this, the land of their birth.

"(3) That the Bantu, as well as their coloured brethren, have, as British subjects, the inalienable right to the enjoyment of those British principles of the "liberty of the subject, justice and equality of all classes in the eyes of the law" that have made Great Britain one of the greatest world Powers.

CECIL RHODES' FORMULA.

"(4) That the Bantu have, as subjects of His Majesty King George, the legal and moral right to claim the application or extention to them of Cecil Rhodes' famous formula of equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi, as well as the democratic principles of equality of treatment and equality of citizenship in the land, irrespective of race, class, creed or origin.

"(5) That the peoples of African descent have, as an integral and inseparable element in the population of the great Dominion of South Africa and as undisputed contributors to the growth and development of the country, the constitutional right of an equal share in the management and direction of the affairs of this, the land of their permanent abode and to direct representation by members of their own race in all the legislative bodies of the land, otherwise, there can be no taxation without representation.

"Congress, therefore, respectfully urges members of the great European races of the Union to take the whole question into their serious consideration, and calls upon Parliament to take steps in the direction of so amending the South Africa Act of 1909 as to make provision for some adequate representation of the non-European races domiciled within the borders of the Union of South Africa in the Parliament of the Union and in the Provincial Councils thereof.

NATIVE (URBAN AREAS) BILL.

"That in view of the gravity of the political situation confronting the country and people of the Union, this session of the annual convention of the National Congress be adjourned, pending the return of the deputation from Capetown.

"That, whereas it is desireable and expedient that all peoples of African descent domiciled within the borders of the Union of South Africa and in other parts of the Continent of Africa,

"And whereas it is in the best interests of the African people that all existing Bantu organisations, such as inter-denominational Native Ministers Association, Native Teachers' Association, Native Farmers' Association Workers' Union, Bantu Women's Leagues, Vigilance Committees, and so forth shall be affiliated with this Native National Association.

"It is resolved that the South African Native National Congress shall henceforth be known and discribed for all intents and purposes as "The African National Congress."

(The Friend).

The Paramount Chief's Court

Basutoland Star

In fulfilment of our promise in our last issue we hereby wish to glve the summary of the last report received from our Sesuto correspondent Though the most part of his report deal with the court of the Paramount chief generally, we will however confine ourselves to the important points of his letter. 6-12-23

He reports that from the 3rd May 1922, thecourt kept a record of cases tried. Cases that came before that court since that date until the 30th January 1923-nine months altogether, were 168 in all. Of this number no appeals were lodged to the courts of ths Assistant Commissioners nor to that of the Resident Commissioner. This was not because the delinquents were satisfied with the judgements given. In most instances the delinquents were not satisfied. but the courtiers instead of allowing appeals to pass they recalled cases for trial again and consequently reversed their Judgments. In this way one case was tried and decided three or even five times by the same court. These cases are still a puzzle even to day, because the new members of the court will have nothing to do with that muddle of the old courtiers. In those days the laws of Lerotholi were still a bye—word. The plaintiff and the defendant received punishment alike. Justice was a dead letter.

The change in the formation of the court since Februay 1923 was accounted for a wonderful progress in the modern history of the Basutoland native courts. From February until the first week of June, the new court was responsible for a grand number of cases tried of 198- that is, within a space of four months and five days, making thirty surplus cases over a period of nine month's work of lhe old court Of this number of 198 about ten or fifteen at the most are appealed to the Assistant Commissioner's courts Some me of the appellants reason's of appeal merited some consideration, but the court allowed appeals to pass because they felt they had done what was in their power to do, while other appeltants reasons were nonsensical but yet the court felt duty bound to grant them their wishes, satisfied that the higher courts would bring home to them the futility of their action To this latter course the old courtiers took exception and complained to the P. C. against new members that they were encouraging appeals and asked that they should be dismissed. The P C. informed the new courtiers of this and asked them for an explanation. They treated him to be patient and keep a watch because the results were not far off from realisation to wich he complied without hesitation. After the elapse of a short time from this talk, the P C was taken by surprise by the new members in an interview with him when they told him the trouble at this court was over. There were no longer casesthey some times spent time idling because there were no cases to try.

In reporting on the dicipline of the court, our reporter concludes that both old and new courtiers have still much to learn and put to practice in their dealings with the delinquents. Their

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II A.

Continued from Cord I

trust of dispensation of justice to the people put them in a highest estimation that commanded the respect of every—one towards them. They have a a mistaken conception of their qualifications as judges. They are more or less inclined to address the delinquents in rude and threatening language by which they do more harm to themselve than to the former. In fact they belittle themselves before the eyes of the public. To this is added the evil of jealousy between the old and the new courtiers which is due to the apparent competion to win the favour of the Paramount Chief. We regret that should be so, as these differences would not enhance the favourable progress that so much efforts have been made to achieve. We wish they would sooner arrive to a compromise for a united policy of right against wrong

If tney kept as their watch—word, that nothing count but right, they would soon find that they are not only favourites of the P. C but that they were even popular among the Basuto nation. For they would be looked upon as the rescuers of the wreckage of the Basutoland chieftainship. Without a compromise of tnis kind they are sure to return to the old condemned policy of administration of justice.

Then the public, in utter disgust would raise a hue and a cry of "*alas, our chieftainship*" with one mournful gasp.

Sale Of Leting.

Basutoland Star

The nineth day of June witnessed a well represented pitso of the local native residents at the residence of the headman of the village.

The subject was introduced by the Headman by announcing that he was instructed by the Assistant Commissioner to invite all the prominent men of the village and to inform them that he wished the bye-law prohibiting the sale of leting enforced, in the camp, and that those men were asked to co-operate with the Headman in stamping out that evil practice in the reserve. He wished them to impose the fines as law 21 of the Lerotholi's law book directed, and to hand over the fines to him. The men were to express their opinions on the matter as the order concerned them.

We may, before proceeding any further, remark that we wonder why the A.C. does not demand all the fines to be deposited with him for safe-keeping in order that they should be used for the benefit of the Basuto residents, in the way of sanitary improvements and road-repairs.

The discussion was then opened. The men held that there was no doubt the National Council made a law prohibiting the sale of leting in Basutoland. The law was enacted by the council without reference to the Basuto nation on whose behalf the law was made, and who they claimed to represent. That law was never approved of by the Basuto nation, and the result was that it was never at any time enforced as the chiefs themselves never recognised it. They enacted it but never at anytime respected it.

They, in the camp, could do nothing but to carry out the orders of their Assistant Commissioner. But nevertheless they wanted the headman to bring it home to their "*father*" that the taking of strict measures over the people living in this camp alone by him, would be viewed by his children here as partial and persecutive. They knew that, although he lived in the camp, his jurisdiction extended over all the district of Mateteng. They prayed him to deal leniently with them. In the course of the discussion some heart-rending hardships were elicited which it was asserted had it not been the sale of leting would have resulted in horrible tragedies. They had just emerged from unparallelled hardships due to years of drought, and have seen many cases of men and women who lived on dregs, who collected blood at the Butchers' slaughter-poles to go and prepare food for their familiies To these difficulties there were added clothing, tax and etc. If the people did not sell leting Basutoland prisons would have been filled up by tax defaulters. They were not yet over those difficulties. One of the teachers mentioned that he was able to keep on his roll little over hundred day scholars, while in normal times he used to have over two hundred scholars. Those he had now managed to pay for their schoolfees, books and clothing through the sale of leting. He alleged that the law would hit hard upon many families.

While they prayed the Assistant Commissioner to be lenient, they, yet, assured him that they would wholeheartedly co-operate with the headman in clearing out of the reserve the undesirables. Special attention was drawn to the surrounding villages where beer canteens were run openly where the law was absolutely relaxed. Some speakers gave about three or four instances which took place directly after the promulgation of the law, that is some years ago. The chiefs, in whose wards these happened pretending to enforce the law, ordered the canteen-owners out, and instead of closing it, ran it themselves and charged the common people who brought their beer there for sale certain fees. This, nodoubt amounted to a serious abuse of authority, but what could the common people have done who are more or less at the mercy of their chiefs?

Two men and one police man as the third man, mentioned that there are traders in Basutoland who were now running canteens openly in this district, but they could not say if that was an offence, as trader's licence in Basutoland opened to a trader many privileges which the traders outside Basutoland did not enjoy. They are traders, hawkers, bakers and etc. The interpretation they put on that was that the policy of the government was to make the white man to live on top of the black man where-ever a chance of making money was concerned.

There was only one man in that meeting who spoke in favour of the law and he was interrupted, called a traitor and a back-biter.

We are personally not in favour of the principle of applying the law unevenly. It is a great temptation to the section that must obey authority and respect the law while a greater proportion of the nation has to go on breaking the law scot-free. It is the easiest way of inciting and encouraging the people to lawlessness. Nevertheless nobody has yet convinced us that the sale of leting was not a danger to the Basuto people. The supporters of it themselves consciously believe that it is morally deteriorating We have seen families that commanded respect but the sooner they got in touch with the sale of beer their steps went faster to the devil than they swelled their purses. There are any amount of proofs of this nature.

There are advantages derived from it but the disadvantages are appalling and shameful and totally eclipse their parallel.

None of the supporters of the sale has ever come out with a scheme for running these canteens safe from the dangers they entail, and we are sure the whole nation would be obliged to him, and would even go as far as knighting him. He shall have done the nation greater service than the Right Honourable Dr I. P. ka Seme B A: L.L.D.

A HINDRANCE TO BRITISH TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—I read with great interest "Natal Settler's" letter in your *Spectator* of May 19th. I, too, have suffered in the same way. At the present moment I have been waiting two solid months for a pair of English-made wirecutters that were to be sent up from the coast for me on order; it looks as though the order has been sent on to England. All my wire had to be ordered for me. English-made tools you cannot get here, as well as other commodities too numerous to mention and in the manufacture of which England excels. It is as "Natal Settler" says; you are offered the foreign-made article every time, and very few people will go to the trouble of insisting on the English article.—I am, Sir, &c.,

O.F.S., South Africa. SENEKAL.

AFRICAN PRODUCTS.

Raw Products of the World. Vol. I. By Ralph Davol, author of "American Pageantry," "Two Men of Taunton, etc." The information given by the author is of special value at the present time. He has visited Africa and during the war was employed at the war trade board in research work dealing with Africa and Oriental countries. He gives some interesting facts which will be found instructive to the reader as well as to the business man, among them being that—

Africa is essentially a land for raw materials.

That the different towns, islands and country of this wonderful African continent is largely devoted to cotton growing, two islands supply the bulk of the world's cloves, another raises sugar and hemp, still another coffee, tobacco and cotton, cinnamon, sugar, vanilla and cocoanuts are island grown, and still another hides, wool, mohair, wheat, corn and rubber and almost all of the productions that are found on our farms. On the island of St. Helena are found Norfolk pines and eucalyptus—it is also considered a great whaling port.

In the Union of South Africa are wool, mohair, hides, ostrich feathers and many kinds of farm products. It is slowly recovering from the effects of the war period and many manufacturing plants are now starting up. Gold and diamonds are their main income. Cape of Good Hope exports diamonds, wines and feathers.

The above tells only in part of the many productions of this wonderful country—in looking over the list, which is authoritative, the reader will decide that Africa grows everything that the U. S. A. produces and then doubles it with many other valuable productions, minerals, etc.

The principal drawback of Africa is its climate. On account of tropical fevers and malaria it is uninhabitable and on the richest soil is found the tse-tse fly and sleeping sickness, which excludes the white man. Snow occasionally falls in Morocco and Johannesburg. Rainfall varies in some parts of Africa from one-half inch to 140 inches per year Monsoons on the Indian ocean are a disturbing factor on the east coast

The book contains a very interesting article on the native tribes and then it discusses the labor situation There are 150,000,000 natives in Africa, but productive efficiency is at a low percentage. The great explorer Livingstone said that it was a great achievement for any man merely to live and survive in Africa.

The walking delegate has arrived in Africa—labor unions are organized among the miners—it is said that outbreaks of I. W. W. have been suppressed at Johannesburg. Some day Africa will be known for its purchasing power when the negro realizes that he is both a producer and a consumer. Export duties imposed on many colonies during the war have now been repealed. Not many colonies have a differential tariff discriminating against the United States.

To convince the reader that the world is moving in Africa he should read the information given under the title "Transportation Facilities," in which the writer says that railroads are being laid so rapidly that new maps cannot keep pace with the changes. And there is another change—the Ford truck is taking the place of the six-ox wagon and sooner or later we expect the announcement that Coca-Cola and Tanlac carriers will be "treking across the veldt" with these products from the U. S. A. This interesting book is published by the Davol Publishing Company, of Taunton, Mass.

Education in Africa

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D Columbia has, under the auspices of the phillanthropic Phelps Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe, and with the assistance of a strong committee, produced an epoch-making report embracing all education among the aborigines of Africa from the Sudan to the Cape Its title is "EDUCATION IN AFRICA" (350 pages, 10 inches by 7½ in size, price being only the cost of printing: 8/6 cloth cover, 6/6 paper. pub. Phelps Stokes Fund, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York). Dr. Jones had already achieved fame as a research scholar with his exhaustive report on the education of American Negroes ("NEGRO EDUCATION—A study of the Private and Higher Schools for Coloured People in the United States of America, 1917, two bulky volumes) which stamps him as a master of his subject both in theory and experience

The present volume is an excellent work of collation, comparisons, deductions, statistics and recommendations for every important country in Africa, being in fact a reliable reference guide for all intending to go out to Africa on educational work, missionary enterprise, government service and even business propaganda. The author of the report was chairman of a commission including Prof. J. E. K Aggrey, M.A. (a Gold Coast native who made use of the opportunity to achieve for himself a world-wide name as a public orator and preacher), Dr H. S. Hollenbeck M.D., of Angola Mr. and Mrs. A W. Wilkie United Free Church missionaries of the Gold Coast and Mr. L A. Roy of New York acting as Secretary. The commission travelled and conducted investigations during the twelve months August, 1920 to August, 1921 in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Liberia, Belgian Congo, Angola and South Africa.

As the field they travelled is rather too wide for a brief review, we shall confine our criticism to the one section best known to us, South Africa, from which inferences may be drawn with reference to the others.

South Africa occupies forty four pages of the report, the work of a visit of two months. Praise is due to the commission for their ability to grasp the essentials of the conditions of the country in so short a time, and we must admit that the educational work of this country has never been better summarised and described before. The main source of information, however, appears to be one: Dr. C. T. Loram, the commissioner for Native Affairs, Natal. The Education of the South African Native. This circumstance rather limits the outlook on South Africa considerably to that of Dr. Loram alone. Fortunately Dr. Loram happens to be the greatest educationalist we have in the country so far as Native education is concerned His estimate of its present value, his ideals for its future development, his information thereon and his views on the general policy of Native education place him at the head of all available authorities In addition, he is responsible for its organisation in Natal Native Schools; and, as he is himself a Native white man of South Africa who graduated at the Cape and then at Cambridge [England] and finally in Columbia University (U.S.A.), he has a better training in, and wider vision of educational theory than most people here As his perspective is nicely balanced, it was fortunate for this commission to have him for their guide, philosopher and friend.

The tradition of South Africa has always been British. It is only during recent years that the American theories on the adaptation of education to local environment have been introduced For this reason the report naturally inclines towards adverse criticism of our prevailing systems, favouring the Natal system which has been shaped by Dr. Loram on American theory: "The system of Natal) is undoubtedly the most effective organisation which the Education Commission observed anywhere in Africa With adequate financial support and some improvements now in process, the Natal system of Native schools should become the ideal for all other systems in Africa." (page 194).

The questions then arise: Is the American system a sound one? Is it not too phillistinic in work of elementary and secondary stages? And is it adequate in work of University standard? Upon a correct answer to these queries depends much of the value of this report for it is conceived wholly from an American angle of view.

Our opinion is that the American system is sound and that it constitutes the most common sense mode and theory for elementary, secondary, industrial and agricultural education. But in University work it is doubtful if it is as good as that of Europe It is admittedly less exacting in graduation tests than that of European universities. Be that as it may, the tenets that form the basis of secondary education do not necessarily hold good in University education. One of the essential aims of a University training, according to European tradition, is to develop, by specialisation, independence of thought, inventiveness and ability to cope successfully with the changing situations of life in the world rather than to amass general information on a wide range of subjects as is so often done in American Universities This is the difference in viewpoint between American and European University education although there is otherwise much in common.

The European system, therefore, as found in African countries, is generally based on wrong lines in elementary, secondary and industrial training. It is inclined to be too bookish and not taking sufficient cognisance of local environment In a land of abundant possibilities in the improvement of sanitation, cultivation, social life and discovery of flora and fauna through original enquiry, it neglects the teaching of hygiene, agriculture, domestic science, physiology and nature study, This criticism is levelled by Dr. Jones against and to the disadvantage of nearly all the schools in Africa. He is right.

Concerning University training the commission discovered only two centres in Africa providing for this type of education: Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone and the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Alice. This item will be news to many. Now the commission judges these colleges by the same criterion as they employ on elementary and secondary schools. This is not sound, for the "practical" or broad and humanistic subjects are the best subjects for study here. While it would be excellent to turn out graduates in Agriculture and Commerce (courses for which are in fact provided at Fort Hare) it is equally necessary and desirable that leaders of the African races should be recruited also from specialists in Law, Medicine Theology, Education, Anthropology and kindred arts, scientific as well as humanistic. So much for the general view of the commission In their detailed investigation of individual schools and training institutions they have guaged the situation in each case with telling accuracy. Their comments, criticism and recommendations are definite, constructive, suggestive and helpful to all interested. The report is a gold mine of information. In each country the economic and sociological background based on reliable data is first set up, and then an intelligent analysis of the corresponding educational needs is worked out to justify the comments on true research methods. The style is often eloquent, especially in the opening chapters but frequently marred by repetition, prolixity and a tendency to sermonizing in the pulpit manner.

Possibly this is due to divided authorship. Its bias is distinctly American and Columbian. American methods, views and achievements are extolled as the best in everything. This is provable and justifiable in many cases but we venture to think Europe too has much to teach America. It is significant that in this report the Africans advertised as specimens of the highest intellectual culture are not those qualified from European Universities but from the United States. Europe is unnecessarily suppressed. Instead of photographs of men like Dr. Ayodeji Oyejola

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II B.

(Continued from card II A)

(Edinburgh), Dr. Awunoor Renner, M.B., Ch.B. (Lond.), Dr. Akidiya Lapado Olawole, M.B., Ch.B. (Liverpool), Dr. Mediri Molema, M.B., Ch.B. (Glasgow), Esuman Gwira Sekyi, M.A., [Lond.], and hosts of other men who have distinguished themselves in European colleges, we get only four, men from American colleges, two of whom are still engaged in working for their degrees at Columbia University, the other two being from Harvard and Wisconsin. It is also difficult to understand why the name of Prof. Aggrey, the Negro who was admittedly the shining star of the commission should be so completely subordinated to that of Dr. Jones. This flaw is not negligible for it has already brought Dr. Jones in conflict with intellectual classes of Negroes at home in the United States. For example in an issue of the "Crisis" during 1921 the Negro editor Dr. W. du Bois in an article on this subject, bitterly resented the settled policy of Dr. Jones to keep Negroes subjected to the superintendence of Europeans in the management of their educational work regardless of their qualifications and capacity to discharge the functions of their responsibilities, stating that this principle had roused the disfavour and opposition of the cultured group of American Negroes against Dr. Jones. In this report this principle is diplomatically handled and only slightly hinted at in page 194 in the course of a paragraph on Natal Training Institutions for Teachers: "It is probable that the staff will ultimately consist of Native teachers with European principals." Dr. Jones publicly expressed this as his guiding principle in a consultation committee meeting attended by the present writer, so that there is no misunderstanding nor misinterpretation of the position. If this view is shared also by the other members of the commission then we may here inform them that it will not find favour anywhere among the intellectual classes of black people in the world. Black people do not look upon themselves as doomed to be underlings time without limit, even though circumstances and discretion compel them to-day to bow down to humiliating positions. The element of race consciousness among all dark-skinned races has advanced too far for that, and they are looking forward to the time when they shall ultimately themselves occupy the positions of responsibility in the education of their people just as they already do with regard to church work in the United States of America.

COLOURED JUVENILE ADVISORY BOARD THREATENS TO RESIGN.

A deputation consisting of Dr. A. Abdurahman (Chairman), and Rev. Canon Lavis and Mr. S. Reagon, members of the Juvenile Advisory Board (Coloured), waited upon the Hon. F. S. Malan, Minister of Mines and Industries, last week, as a result of two resolutions which were adopted earlier in the month at the meeting of the Board.

The deputation pointed out that the Juvenile Affairs Act dealt only with children who were subjected to compulsory education, so the machinery created by that Act did not assist the Coloured child. The Europeans had found that teachers in the past had not given sufficient assistance to the European Board, and the Juvenile Affairs Act was consequently passed by Parliament. The deputation pleaded for similar obligations being placed upon Coloured teachers, who in the past had given very little assistance to the Coloured Board to look after the Coloured child.

Before that was done, however, it was necessary to give the Board a full-time Secretary. The present Secretary, who had also charge of the Coloured Employment Bureau, had found his time so occupied during the period of depression that he had practically no spare time to devote to the important work of the Coloured Juvenile Board. The work had been neglected, and the Board had resolved that without the immediate appointment of a full-time Secretary it would be futile to attempt to carry on.

It was pointed out to Minister Malan that the White Board had not only a well-paid full-time Secretary, but several assistants and a thoroughly equipped office, and it was time that a full-time Secretary was given to the Coloured Board.

Minister Malan promised to give the matter consideration.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES. NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL, 1922.

(Continued from our last issue.)

ATTORNEY-GENERAL I beg to second the motion.

DR. QUARTEY-PAPAFIO: Your Excellency, I beg to move an amendment to the motion of the Honourable the Secretary for Native Affairs "That this Council while recognising the necessity for an improvemen in the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, decline to give a second reading to a Bill which does nothing to remove the grievances complained of under the existing law; which weakens the inherent rights, and powers of the Chiefs, and which seeks to create new native authorities not racy of the soil."

I am sorry, Sir, to detain the Council for a moment, but where it is proposed to interfere with the ancient constitution of this Country it is a serious matter for the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast Colony to consider.

Sir, for centuries past—at least long before the dawn of European civilisation in Africa—the peoples of Africa have been accustomed to rule by native customs and native customary laws; and Bossman, Rowland, Breckenbridge, Depuis and other writers on West African matters have supported the view that the peoples of Africa, especially those on the Gold Coast, have been accustomed to have highly organised native forms of Government existing amongst the tribes. These governments were exercised for long time side by side with the European occupations without let or hindrance and the native form of government appreciated very much the system of laws then exercised by the European occupation or European Government who exercised powers in those days until the time, I think about 1844, when a few Fanti Chiefs surrendered their criminal jurisdiction to the British; that was the beginning of the weakening of the rights and powers of the Chiefs. About nearly 40 years afterwards was the first Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 passed by Sir Samuel Rowe and afterwards amended by Sir John Rodger's administration, which made further encroachments on the inherent rights and powers of the Chiefs. These processes have in them the tendency to reduce the Chiefs to an unenviable position of indecision as regards their power, as to whether they are to get their inspiration from the Government before they perform their duties as Chiefs, thereby becoming a department of the Government; or they are to attend to the demands of their people, their subjects, who put them on the Stools. This state of affairs, which was very unsatisfactory position of the Chiefs, appealed strongly to their people as to whether they should do what is their duty to perform or not. The Chiefs have a desire to do what is good and proper but at the same time they are hampered a good deal by these various measures crippling their hands in order to do what they could to their people. This state of matters seems to be very difficult to make out and to the extent when we come to speak of all these various methods affecting the Chiefs. The great tendency is for the Chiefs to do what is necessary and to improve the condition of their people as well as to serve the Government loyally. But they are crippled, as I have said before, by the fact that these measures give them no proper support and strengthen their native constitutions. They desire to show their power for the good of their people as well as for the service of the Government. But the difficulty is how to perform their work and to be liable to the Government and at the same time to attend to the demands the stringent demands—of their people. The country is in this unsatisfactory state of matters when it is proposed by this Bill to create new native authorities who are not natives of this country. For instance like the Hausas, Yorubas and others who are to be made Chiefs by Government appointment. Creating strangers or foreigners Chiefs of this country is not the custom of the country, as it has neither the customary law nor precedent showing that the foreigners being created Chiefs of this country would do any good. The Chiefs of the country are there and the foreigners who are now to be made Chiefs are men who reside in one way or the other in one division of the country. These divisions of the country belong to the Chiefs and these strangers have no land at all. What relations will they—the landless Chiefs—bear to the aboriginal Chiefs of the country and without land how are they then to be made Chiefs? These proposed Chiefs will have no precedent to go by and the Honourable the Secretary for Native affairs has not explained what relations these landless Government Chiefs would bear to the aboriginal Chiefs. It is rather a confusion more confounded when we see these people mixing up with the aboriginal Chiefs.

Then with regard to the grievances, some of these Chiefs are altogether ignored in some of the schedules. It appears that their tribunals are ignored and not taken notice of. For instance, taking as an example from the Ga Division, we have one or two important military Head Chiefs—military commands—who ought to have appeared in the schedule, but they are not in the schedule. For instance the "Akwashong" Chief should have his tribunal properly registered or the Mankrado of Osu should also appear in the schedule but they are not there. No tribunal of the Osu "Mankrado" or the Akwashong of Accra is noticeable. These tribunals should be regarded because they are of ancient origin and they are related to Stools which are not only ancient but powerful and have for a long time been associated with the customary laws of the constitution of the country. It would be a great pity if such tribunals were ignored altogether because they are performing some very good work and supply links in the chain of native institutions. The Osu Mankrado as well as the "Akwashong" of Accra's Tribunals are made by the ancients and we have no right or reason to ignore them now at this time of the day when they have performed such good work in the past.

The other grievance is the Chiefs, not having proper regard paid to their positions, are losing control over their people, and that should be improved.

The Barristers should also be allowed to help in the Native Tribunal. Then according to the tribal organization of the country all the Stool Chiefs being equal the power and influence should also be taken notice of and regard paid to them just the same as to other Chiefs. The grievance about the jurisdiction is that why should one Chief have more power than the other It is alleged that one is Sub Chief and the other is not. According to native institution there is no such things; and all the Chiefs are equal in power and in dignity—no Chief should be overlooked or looked down upon than the other. Especially when you take the Ga Division you find that all the Chiefs in the country come from different tribes; and the Chiefs of different tribes should have their tribal Stools and tribunals recognised—the Stools represent different tribes. In Accra for instance we have so many different Chiefs about the places. All the Chiefs are representatives of different tribes, and as they are of different tribes their tribunals are also different, and ought to be taken notice of. No one Stool Chief should be given lower jurisdiction than the other; and no one Chief's Stool or tribunal should be overlooked. All the Chiefs are equal in dignity, in power and in influence and should be respected in the same way and the native jurisdiction should be extended to all of them equally because all of them are equa except the first—the Ga Manche—who is the paramount Chief, and superior only by reason of the fact that he leads the tribes in war.

Then with regard to the positions of tribunals, these are well looked after by the Chiefs. They have done good service to the country and they should be encouraged. The native Chiefs should be encouraged also in their efforts to serve the Government and to do that which is right by the side of their people.

In regard to sanitation they should be encouraged more and more with a view to improving the sanitation of the country and lessening the number of deaths that are now taking place.

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: Your Excellency, I take it that the last speaker intended to move formally

that the second reading of this Bill be not taken and I rise to second that motion.

After listening to the speeches of Counsel yesterday before this House and also to the effort made by my friend the Honourable Member on my right this morning, it is quite evident that both the Chiefs of this country, represented by the Honourable Mr. Hinton Mills, and also the Bar who were represented yesterday by my learned friend, Mr. Renner, as the eye of the community, think that there is something in the Bill which is inimical to the interests of the community and the country, and that therefore the Bill should be withdrawn or carefully reconsidered on the lines suggested by them. I therefore have no hesitation at all in seconding the motion that the second reading of the Bill should not be taken, having regard to the question of the underlying principles thereof, which go to strike the very roots and foundations of the constitution of this country.

Now, Sir, it will perhaps be in order in this relation to refer to the fundamental basis of British connection with this country, because this Bill undertakes to regulate the jurisdiction of the Chiefs, and, in so doing, as I have stated, not only seeks to regulate or facilitate but strikes at the very foundations, of our constitution, and, therefore, I am asking leave to draw the attention of the Council to the original basis of British connection with this country, and this is reported in the Bond of 1844. That Bond is a very short instrument, and, in order that those members of this Council who are not familiar with it may know what it is, I beg leave to read it. It is dated March 6th, 1844, and appears on pages 367-8 of *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, and it reads as follows:—

"1. Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, within divers countries and places adjacent to Her Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast, we, Chiefs of countries and places so referred to, adjacent to the said forts and settlements do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction, and declare that the less objects of law are the protection of individuals and of property."

"2. Human sacrifices and other barbarious customs such as panyarring are abominations, and contrary to law."

"3. Murders, robberies, and other crimes and offences will be tried and enquired of before the Queen's Judicial officers and the Chiefs of the districts, modifying the customs of the country to the general principles of English law."

"Done at Cape Coast Castle, before His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor on this 6th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1844.

Their
X Cudjoe Chiboboe, King of Denkera
X Quashie Ottoo, Chief of Abrah.
X Chiboe Coomah, Chief of Assin.
X Ighke, Second Chief of Assin.
X Quashie Ankah, Chief of Donadie.
X Awoossie, Chief of Dominasie.
(Signed) Quashie Ankah.
X Amonoo, Chief of Anamaboe.
X J e Aggrey, Chief of Cape Coast.

"Witness my seal on the 6th day of March, 1844, and the 7th year of Her Majesty's reign.

"(Signed) H. W. HILL,
Lieutenant-Governor (L.S.)

Witnesses, and done in the presence of:—
(Signed) George Maclean, J.P. and Assessor (S.).
F. Pogson, 1st W. I. Regiment (S.).
Commanding H. M. Troops.
"S. Bannerman, Adjutant of Militia and Police (S.)

Blue Book: 'Africa, Western Coast, "p 419".

In Those days there were kings in this country, and I would respectfully draw attention to the fact that such jurisdiction as is enjoyed by His Majesty's Government be derived from the Kings and Chiefs as representing the people and from this it will be noticed, that these kings and chiefs have inherent jurisdiction. That position has never been shaken or tampered with by ignorant people in any way, and I think it is reasonable and fair to Government to bring up the position they have taken up in this regard.

I am quoting again from a communication which was addressed by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Officer then administering this Government; but before doing so I should like to refer Your Excellency to what the late Mr. Sarbah wrote about the position and relation of His Majesty's Government to this country with respect to the jurisdiction of the chiefs of this country. I am quoting from page 66 of his book entitled *Fanti Customary Laws* and he wrote as follows:—

"The King, by the Law of England, is the Supreme Lord of the whole soil. Whoever, therefore, holds lands must hold them mediately or immediately from him; and while the subject enjoys usufructuary possession the absolute and ultimate dominion remains in the King.

"As far as the Gold Coast is concerned, this portion of the English Law does not apply, for it is a group of territories under native rulers taken under British protection. It is British territory, but not so by conquest or cession. As a matter of fact the Colonial Office stated on March 11th, 1887, as published in a Parliamentary Blue Book of that year, that it is inaccurate to state that after the successful Ashanti Expedition of 1874, the Protectorate was annexed by Great Britain and became a Colony, inasmuch as the greater portion of the Gold Coast Colony still remains a Protectorate, the soil being in the hands of the native and under the jurisdiction of Native Chiefs.

"According to native ideas there is no land without owners. What is now a forest or unused land will, as years go on, come under cultivation by subjects of the Stool or members of the village community or other members of the community."

That is the reason I read that paragraph, and I read it in connection with such assumption as may be gathered from this Bill to confer jurisdiction, or to remove, or to curtail it, or to extend it, or to confirm it. That is the reason I read that paragraph. I refer briefly also to a letter written by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on November 23rd, 1865. It is quoted at page 28 of "The Truth about the West African Land Question" by the speaker, and reads as follows —

"I have to acknowledge your Despatch No 144 of 17th October, enclosing the copy of a notice which you have issued, in which you define the limits of Her Majesty's possessions on the Gold Cast. I am unable to approve the step which you have taken in declaring the territory within five miles of eight separate British forts to be British territory, and I have to instruct you to recall the notices in which this is done. Whatever influence you may be able to exert in discouraging or repressing barbarous customs leading to loss of life will be very proper, and I shall be happy to approve your exercise of it, but the extension of British territory is a different matter, and cannot receive my sanction."

This has been so far recognised right down to the time of Sir Hugh Clifford, the present Governor of Nigeria, who, in his time, confirmed this over and over again.

We have also a letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated January 9th, 1913, quoted in the same work at page 29, in which he writes as follows:—

"The Secretary of State is anxious to secure the co-operation of the Head Chiefs and Chiefs in all matters which affect the welfare of the Colony and its inhabitants, and that the Government will always be pleased to receive and consider their views with regard to legislative measures or matters of administration."

I am submitting respectfully, Sir, that in this legislative measure that is proposed to be enacted, it is most desirable that the full views of the chiefs should be taken thereon and that Government consider them seriously. And to show that they have altogether the same view we have got the Western, Central and Eastern Provinces represented by the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, who spoke yesterday through Counsel to the effect that the fundamental principles involved in this Bill are detrimental to their constitution. I think, therefore, that it is important for us to consider whether we should relegate this Bill to Select Committee, involving as it does, these fundamental principles.

MIXED PICKLES.

BY A READER.

PROGRESS OR RETROGRESSION?

Progress, like every other thing, has two ways leading to it, the false and true. The false begins with tall talk but ends igneminously. It may be possible in its course to show off, proposing loud programmes or even exhibiting some issues, but the foundations being false, like the proverbial house that was built in the sand, it will all come down in a heap to the surprise of the proposer. But what of true progress? It begins with searchings of heart and proceeds cautiously. Fools call it timidity, but the wise know what it is. It shuns all praise and high titles, but sets forth with the aim of doing good to the greatest majority. Its progress may be slow, but it is solid and its results are lasting and win the admiration of all.

Since Governor Guggisberg assumed the reins of Government in this country as His Majesty the King's Chief Representative, the term progress has become a household word here. His Excellency began with it and kept repeating it in and out of season that even the School boys became sick of it. Fools caught it up and passed it on heedlessly without thinking of what it might mean. But the wise seriously watched the speaker. In the space of a few months many castles had been built in the air. Government Secondary Schools had been established all over the country, and the enemy who was gnawing at the vital parts of our National Constitution had been killed and beheaded. There was self-government on the municipal councils and there was progress by leaps and bounds. But how many of these things are real to-day? Instead how much have we lost. All of a sudden Government started a news-paper venture to fight the people's voice. Then there was Government trading competition by a motor lorry transport Department, which happily has now broken down under its weight. As to the latter it died a hard death and even now there is an attempt to revive it under another name, but we have opened our search lights and the advocate of progress quakes in his shoes. To crown it all, our advocate of progress decided that all things must give way to a deep water harbour and though the finance of the country could not stand and there is not the population to make it pay, and the people say they do not want want it, the advocate of progress thinks that way lies the only course to progress and so all must follow willy-nilly. As to our National Constitution his signal is 'divide and rule'. At the commencement of the so-called progress course we were assured that none but the Natural Rulers or their accredited representatives would be heard, but what is it today? A paramount Chief objects to the destoolment of his sub-chief, but Government destools him. Government charges an Chene in his own state and destools him. In other words, Government in this case becomes both the accuser and the judge. Is that the way to uphold constitutions? Yet last but not the least the Natural Rulers have met in conference at Cape Coast and have despatched telegrams and cablegrams protesting strongly against the Takoradi Harbour, but their objection is not respected. Is that the true way to progress? We never saw it in that fashion. Surely this kind of obstinacy is not for nothing, and there may be an axe to grind in the matter. The employed white men must live, and a baby firm must have a job.

But there is a God in Heaven to whom an oppressed people in their own country and on their own land have raised their voice like one man, and it shall not be in vain. Even Pharoah would have heard. Let us hope that Governor Guggsiberg will also hear the groans of the people and stop his doubtful schemes.

LETTER FROM MISS LUCILLE REAGAN, OYO, NIGERIA, W. AFRICA

An interesting letter from Miss Lucille Reagan, Oyo, Nigeria, West Africa, to the students of Texas, was received in the office of the student department recently. Miss Reagan left Texas as a missionary to Africa nearly two years ago. She was closely connected with our student work during her college days in Texas. We rejoice in her splendid progress and feel that she will accomplish wonderful things for her Master in the field where she has chosen to serve Him. We give some interesting sketches from her letter:

"I call myself a student, too, and well I may because I am a language student, history student and even a student of a people and their customs. Years ago I used to think that when I received my appointment to the foreign field that my examination days would be over. And somehow I thought that I would not have to study more either. But fortunately I learned better for I have arrived in a school where I am more or less my own school master. True, I have a native to help me with the pronunciation of the language, but I must assign my lessons, study them and then recite them. But it is well worth learning in order that I may bring to these people 'the good tidings of great joy.'

"I have only been here a little more than half of my first tour and I can say from my heart that I do not regret coming. I cannot speak the language at all well, but I am learning more and more as the days pass. The people have encouraged me saying, 'little by little you will learn, little by little you will hear,' and it is surely so. But even then I count myself blessed to be allowed to serve in His work among these people.

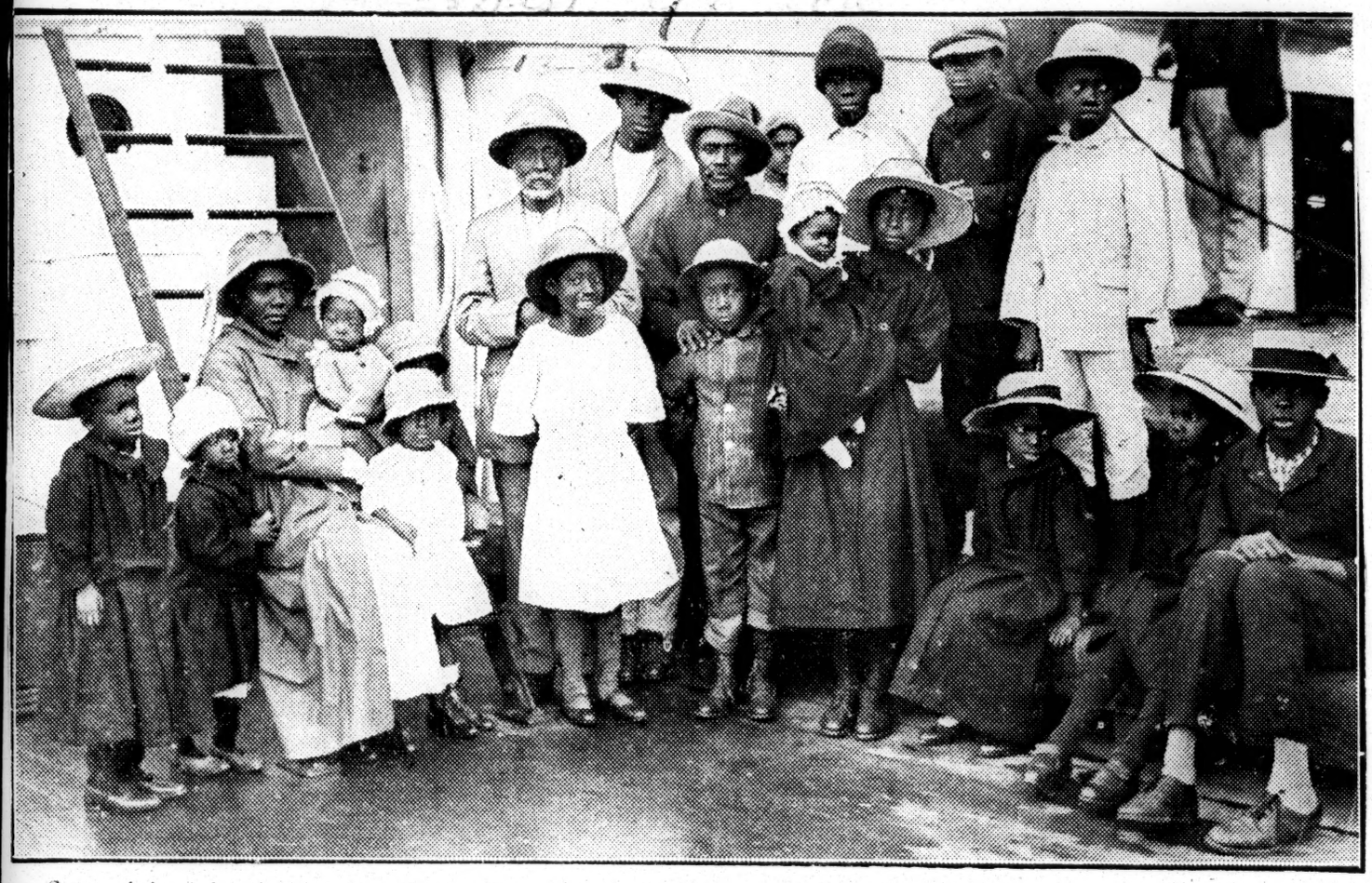
"We are few who represent the Christian religion. And the forces against us are many, but we have One who is stronger than them all and in His name we stand.

"We try to help these people in many ways. Each missionary keeps so many boys or girls in school. The mission furnishes them clothes, books, food, money and a place to live and schooling. In return these boys work three hours every day and many of them when they have finished their schooling become mission teachers, preachers, or medical workers.

"We need helpers in this great work of ours. It is not an easy task and if you want an easy job we do not want you. But if God has called you to Africa let me plead with you not to turn a deaf ear. There is joyous contentment in His service. Pray with us for Africa."

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SOME OF THE EXILED ASHANTIS.



Some of the Ashanti Chiefs and the families of those who followed King Prempeh of Ashanti into exile. They were photographed on Monday at Liverpool on their arrival at the port from the Seychelles Islands en route for West Africa on the "Abinsi." There are 24 in the party and their names are given elsewhere. King Prempeh is to follow. He has been absent from the Gold Coast for 30 years.

(Photograph by courtesy of the "Liverpool Daily Post.")

EX KING PREMPEH

TO BE RELEASED SHORTLY.—OTHER ASHANTI CHIEFS ON THE WAY HOME.

Ex-King Prempeh, deposed in 1895, and exiled in the Seychelles since 1896, is to be released within two years at the outside Probably the release will be earlier, for the Gold Coast Governor has received favourably a petition for release, and an informant states that Mr. Churchill, before leaving office as Colonial Secretary, had agreed to release taking place so soon as ever the Governor deemed this compatible with the interests of the Colony.

Meanwhile a second party of his chiefs, their wives and families, left Liverpool on Wednesday (January 10th) by the "Abinsi" for the Gold Coast. They have been exiled since 1896.

Efforts to get the exiled King's return have been practically continuous on the part of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, for different reasons. The royal clemency would relieve the Colony and its dependencies of an annual charge of £1,250 on its revenue. That is one good reason for the request, perhaps a principal reason.

Prempeh, who is about 60, has become a Christian while in exile. He was confirmed and baptised by the Bishop of Mauritius (Dr. Golding Bird).

Not long ago Dr. O'Rorke, the Bishop of Accra, explained to a representative of WEST AFRICA that his (the Bishop's) feeling was that it would be a safe and generous action on the part of the Government to allow ex-King Prempeh to return to his own country.

At a meeting of the Gold Coast Legislative Council on September 22nd, Mr. Casely Hayford moved, and Dr. Quartey-Papafio seconded, a resolution that the ex-King should be repatriated in view of his advancing years. Nana Oforiatta, Nene Mate Kole, and Nana Essandoh III supported.

This week's party repatriated, consisting of 24 chiefs, wives and children, left Bombay in the "Circassia" on January 1st. Their names are as follow:—F. Apia, W. Apia, S. Apia, P. Akroma, J. Akroma, M. Akroma, Akreyamay, F. A. Koffi, K. Koffi, F. Kaublanc, A. Ajewah, M. Akroma, R. Akroma, A. Akroma, M. Akroma, P. Akroma, H. Apia, J. Apia, L. Apia, L. Apia, W. Apia, E. Apia, R. Apia, J. Koffi.

K. Koffiia has died. He was between 60 and 70 years of age, and died on the voyage when in the Irish Sea, and with his clothes and bedding was buried at sea. The children of the party wore clothes for the most part kindly given them by the first-class passengers of the "Circassia." One of the men was wearing brown boots, white flannel trousers, and a coloured flannel jacket.

One man, Akreyamay, and Miss or Mrs. A. Ajewah, did not sail, being too ill; their departure is only postponed. The first party was repatriated under the order of Mr. Churchill in April, 1922, and numbered 10:—(Mrs.) Yah-Aconde-Boatin, Paul Boatin, George Boatin, Henry Boatin, Smith Boatin, William Boatin, Thomas Boatin, Alphonsine Boatin, Sarah Kwantibisah, Joseph Koffor.

An article dealing with the Ashanti situation in 1895 and to-day, the Golden Stool affair and recent progress, will appear next week.

A TRIBUTE TO ADVERTISING.

"We have decided that we must sell our business, because we ceased to advertise. Advertising would have saved us, and could save us now."

Day and Martin, the famous blacking manufacturers, frequently mentioned by novelists and poets, is to be sold. Mr. Burlison, the managing director, gave the reason quoted above for the position in which the firm finds itself.

Waiter (down the service-tube in a quick-lunch restaurant): "Chris without Charlotte one cab!" It meant: "One portion of Christmas pudding without sauce, one portion of apple charlotte, and one of cabinet pudding."—"Morning Post."

THE QUESTION OF AFRICAN LABOUR.

In "La Dépêche Coloniale" a strong appeal is being made for improving the health of labourers in Africa. The writer points out that fever, sleeping sickness and other maladies are rapidly destroying the Africans, and in a recent case, where 40 to 50 men were wanted, only two were available. In another case owners of plantations who had need of men were so discouraged that they sold their land and went elsewhere where labour is more plentiful. At Libreville an association of planters and merchants has recently been formed to debate and if possible overcome this trying problem. In its note to the Colonial Administration the association laid stress on the fact that in some parts of Africa the Africans were less inclined to work than in other parts of the continent. Another factor against procuring labour was that alcoholism was decimating the country, especially at the coast, where drink was easier to procure.

In his reply to the association M. Augagneur, the Governor-General, admitted that Africans as a rule were not much disposed to work for wages, and he did not see how this could be changed. But he promised to exercise as much influence as he could in order to help the association. He promised also that contracts would be made with various chiefs so that a fair number of hand-workers could be procured

Bantu and Negro Music.

It is to be hoped that West Africa will take note of the efforts being made by South African Universities to investigate Bantu music and songs. The negro music of West Africa, particularly in the forest belt, is such a unique product of the country that it should be studied before changing conditions make it too late, as it explains much in native temperament. Professor Kirby, of the Johannesburg University, states that at Vienna he found they had records taken of many forms of African music, and he is trying to do the same completely for South Africa. We certainly ought to have in London similar records for the whole of West Africa.

Transvaal Provincial Poll Tax.

Illegal Levy To Be Refunded.

Mr E. Barrett, Secretary for Native Affairs, has communicated the following official statement :

"The Government has had "under consideration the posi- "tion created by the judgment "of the Appellate Division of "the Supreme Court, which con "firmed the view of the Trans- "vaal Provincial Division that "the Poll Tax Ordinance, 1921 "(Transvaal) was ultra vires in "so far as it affected N tives "and it has been decided, in "view of that judgment, to re- "fund to Natives the amounts "paid by them as poll tax under "that Ordinance.

"The manner in which re- "fund will be effected will be "communicated to the Natives "at an early date throuh the "District Officers of the De- "partment of the Native Affairs

. . . .

The Government is doing the only thing possible in the circum stances. The Government was either badly advised or was guilty of a lamentable indiffierence when it permitted the Transvaal Provincial Council to impose a tax on the Native people, and it is fitting that amends should be made by the body primarily responsible for the injustice. That the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1921 was ultra vires in so far as it affected Natives was not difficult to decide, and in our editorial of the 20th August, 1921, we endeavoured to prove the illegality of the tax, using precisely the same arguments as were contained in the judgment of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, Thereafter we continued to urge the Native people of the Transvaal to withhold payment of the Provincial Tax pending the decision of the courts.

However, the refund is the thing, and Government is largely absolved by its promptness in acknowledging the injustice ; and by its readiness to make good without reference to the Provincial Council and without awaiting the assembling of Parliament, the Government has to a great extent re-establishment itself in the esteem of Natives, not only in the Transvaal but throughout the Union and the Protectorates.

The aggregate of the monies to be refunded is a considerable sum, which might with much benefit be distributed among the many institutions, religious and educational, which exist for Native uplift. But the money is the actual property of the Natives who paid it, and they cannot be deprived of their rights in the matter. They paid because they were ordered to do so by responsible officers of the Government, and there is no equitable course now by but to repay to each misled Native the amount which is due to him. The disposal of the aggregate amount in any other way would be as gross an injustice as the original levy, and the Government cannot afford to gamble with the confidence of the Native people.

. . . .

We have reason to believe that the officers of the Native Affairs Department will be instructed to adjust matters with individual taxpayers when next year's tax collection is made. Perhaps this method is as good as any other but the adjustment should be made from the Department's own records and no reliance should be placed on the individual Native's ability to produce a receipt for the amount of the improper levy. The average Native is not alive to the value of such documents, and it would be iniquitous if the Government attempted to evade its obligation to make refund in those genuine cases where documentary proof of payment is not fortcoming.

. . . .

It is difficult to believe that any exempted Native would be so stupid as to pay the tax of £2 10s while its legality was in doubt But it may be that a strong sense of duty and a desire to conform with the law prompted a few such Natives to make the unnecessary payment. If there are any such cases the Government will be compelled to make a cash refund and any exempted Native who has a claim should promptly apply for satisfaction to the Native Affairs Department.

—Umteteli—

A Review.

We have received a copy for review from Mr Guybon B Sinxo, the author of *"U-NOMSA"* a modern Novel in Si-Xosa, printed and published by the Lovedale Institution Press, at 1/ and 2/2 Post free.

This little novel book of 89 pages in all, is most dramatic and interesting It gives a full food on which to digest. It is full of thoughtful and wise counsels and the evils common in the lives of our people are forcibly set- forth and brought home to our senses Every home will find itself visited in these few pages of this novel and will find absolutely necessary not to be without a copy of it. The writer evinces a full command of the language employed. His style is elaborate and lucid. The student of the Kaffir language should avail himself of the opportunity of obtaining a copy of this little novel. He will find it full of information and interesting. He would never feel tired of reading it and of imparting the knowledge acquired from it to others as the information therein has no class that it does not suit. Young and old are all given their share in it.

It is a book that should form part of literature read by the Youngmen's Youngwomen's and Mother's Societies Teachers should have it in their book shelves, and they would be properly employing it if they used it as one of the reading matters for their scholars, especially their higher classes.

Although the Reviewer is not well vest in the Kaffir language, we yet trust he will not be severely taken to tax for pointing out what impressed him as little errors for which provisions should be made in the next edition of this book.

Nomsa, the chief actress in the play has been given the finishing touch of the pen, as well as Temba Reading chapter 10, in which the future tie of the two is completely solved, one cannot desist breaking into laughter through the mirthful emotions that part of the book affects. The play is simply picturesque of the youth of this day.

Nongedi's proposal to Temba

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comes all of a sudden. It is not well connected. It should have been preceded by gestures and pretence as girls of this class are always naturally inclined to be. Her closing performance has been highly exaggerated in our point of view. It is estranged by the employment of a pistol. Boiling water, or stone or axe or some instrument that native women commonly used in extreme state passion, would have brought the matter more home.

The last utterance of Velesazi affects misbelief. No matter how entangled a man is in sin, it is not conceivable that he would commend his soul to "Satan."

We must in conclusion thank Mrs E. N. Tlale for the kind assistance she rendered in acting as our vocabulary that solved for us difficult words.

Robbing Natives.

The Transvaal Proncial Council proposes to rob the Natives of £60,000 That may seem to some to be a brutal way of stating the poll-tax position, but to our mind it is not a whit too strong For the Provincial Council has extracted from the Native population a large some of money to which it had no right. When the poll-tax was imposed, the leaders of the Natives were determined to question its legality. They believed that the Provincial body had no right to tax them. But the tax fell due before the legal position could be defined by the courts of law. Under those circumstances an appeal was made to the Natives to pay under protest and let the law decide whether the demand made upon them was just. It was certainly assumed then that if the law declared the tax could not legally be levied, the money would be refunded. Had it been stated that those who paid the tax would not get the money back even though the courts found the exaction to be illegal, we doubt whether any Natives at all would have paid.

The Natives paid because they trusted the honour of the white man. They thought that the Provincial Council was composed of white men, and that if they paid under protest and their protest was held to be justisfied, they would get their money back. And they must have it. The public cannot allow the white man to be regarded as a common swindler simply because the Transvaal Provincial Council has given itself over to ridiculous meddling and muddling and mismanaging. It is not a bit of use whining that there are legal or administrative difficulties in the way of a refund. The natives won't listen to any hair-spliting explanations All they know, and all they will say is that their money was taken from them that the law, to which they are told they must always appeal and submit, has declared that their money should not have been taken, and that the white men who took illegally decline to give it up. You will never get the mass of Natives further than that. They paid. They hold receipts. Why cannot their receipts be honoured and the money refunded?

The Transvaal Provincial Council has done an immense amount of harm to the community already. We hold it to be the worst legislative body with which the country has ever been cursed. But all its sins of omission and commission put together will not equal the crime it will commit if it does not refund the poll-tax to the Natives who paid it. For that final madness will do more to lower the prestige of the white man in the eyes of the Natives than anything ever done in South Africa. A mistaken policy the Natives may exuse Wrong methods due to lack of understanding of their ways and ideas, they may overlook But not cheating. Not robbing them of their money and refussing to give it up when the highest court in the land has pronounced the action to be robbery—the Natives would never forget or forgive that. If the Transvaal Provincial Council does not disgorge the poll-tax money taken illegally from the Natives, then it will insult every white person in South Africa.— "Sunday Times" Johannesburg.

A Lecture Tour.

Inter-Racial
1-9-23

From the "Northern Post" (Aliwal North) we cull the following interesting accounts of a recent visit by Mr D. D. T. Jabavu:—

The black man's place in South Africa. Interesting address by Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, B A.

The Aliwal Native Methodist Church was favoured on Thursday last, when Prof. Jabavu, of the South African Native College, addressed a large gathering on the above subject. He grandly defined the object of his visit to be to promote better feeling between the races. Racially we were called to sleep "three in a bed," and it behoved us to understand each other, that we might work together for the mutual benefit of South Africa. The Government's policy seemed to be one of drift—it was all the more important that thinking men and women should get together to solve this problem of relationship.

Mr Jabavu proceeded to admit that the title of his address had been suggested by a recent article in "The Friend," and by reading the book just written by Mr Peter Nielsen, Nielson claimed that there was no difference in nature between white and black, and an immense difference in achievement. The black man's powers were potential rather than revealed by actual attainment. His solution was in some sort of segregation, and in an extensive scheme of immigration so that whites might outnumber blacks. Mr Jabavu claimed on the contrary that complete segregation was both economically and territorially impossible as was the scheme of the influx of 5,000,000 whites. The country could not profitably support such an invasion.

The Professor then went on to draw attention to the various shades of native African thoughts. Dealing with Booker T. Washington, evidently his hero, he said that Washington's aim was the economic stability of the natives—their most important concern was education and property. The natives must be induced to produce more to extend their wants. Civilisation could not be built on poverty. Prof. Jabavu in this respect compared Africa with Australia and New Zealand. If the natives were taught dry farming and could be induced properly to work the land, the balance of imports as against exports could speedily be redressed, and prosperity brought to all.

Marcus Garvey, the negro Bolshevist, was next dealt with, and dismissed in a sentence or two as a wild impractible extremist. His claims to unite the African people in an aggressive policy were both absurd and impracticable and would bring no good but only loss to the world. Not by fighting but by education would the African win redemption.

Dr. Du Bois, another American leader, and the finest literateur that the native race had produced, was on the other hand seeking that the relationship between black and white should be discussed scientifically, that causes of friction might be removed, and harmony established.

Last of all there was the school of thought led by Dr Aggrey who sought co-operation between white and black, such as that established by the Johannesburg Joint Council. White and Black were to come together to discuss the problems that affected both. We did not know each other sufficiently. Native Welfare Societies such as those established in our big towns by Dr C. T. Loram were of great value. The speaker hoped that ere long one would be established in Aliwal North.

Speaking of himself Prof. Jabavu indicated that the dream of a great European State stretching from end to end of Africa was not without its value but as presented by some of its advocates, it was impracticable The native could never be ousted by

immigration. He must always be reckoned with, and the problem was to find a satisfying relationship. The speaker pleaded Europeans should drop their own racial squabbles, and settle down to work together for the good of South Africa. Parliament should abandon such abortive and useless discussions as had recently filled its time. Then for the native the way for advance was along the lines of education and agriculture. The whole country was certainly the loser by the possession of a large illiterate population, and the material enrichment of the native by habits of industry and enterprise would mean increased financial gain and prosperity to whites as well. Prosperous agriculture meant increased values all round. Thus to give the native a settled purpose, a knowledge to work out that purpose, would free us from such unfortunate happenings as the Bullhoek affair. An illiterate people would always be the prey to foolish and fanatical leadership. More than all else the natives needed a proportion of leaders with well-balanced minds. His own father had said what the natives wanted was firstly education, and second, more education, and thirdly, still more education.

In conclusion, Mr Jabavu pleaded that a working basis of agreement between the races was needed, and this would be found only as we sat down before the facts, and were willing to let our opinions and prejudices go in face of knowledge so won. He looked for the time when there should be an organisation at work everywhere seeking the mutual interests of both white and black.

A vote of thanks to the speaker was moved by Mr Carson and seconded by Mr Greenslade and heartily carried, after which Prof. Jabavu gave a homely and winsome address to the native people, speaking in Xosa. The Rev. C. Crabtree presided.

Native Vigilance Association.

The Local Native Vigilance Association for some weeks past has had an exchange of views with the Borough Council regarding certain alleged mismanagement of the locations by the Borough Police in the enforcement of regulations A delegation from the Association was accorded an interview with a special Committee of Council at which interview the delegates were expected to tender evidence of the charges (some of which were grave) laid against officials. From the report it would appear that no specific cases of mismanagement were cited by the delegation. Subsequently the Association wrote asking permission from Council to hold meetings at the locations, where it was hoped to gather evidence to support their grievances. It seems curious, however, that the Location Inspector found it necessary to convene a meeting of the inhabitants of all the locations with the view of finding out whether the Association were a desirable body. In our opinion it would have done no harm whatever if the desired meeting was allowed to take place, if anything at all it would have been more convincing evidence if the inhabitants disowned the Association then and there rather than at a meeting called under the auspices of the Location Inspector. The Inspector might have merely asked for the opinion of the inhabitants regarding the proposed meeting of the Associations but he is not free from the impression created that he was suggesting a coming danger. We are not out to take up the cudgels of the Association or discussing the management of locations at present, but only point out that the Association could have in the first place, obtained a general sanction of the inhabitants prior to embarking on a delicate question of this sort, whereby their persons would be safeguarded. As things stand, they practically have been let down at a most critical time. The Location Inspector would be free from being suspected of creating impressions in the minds of the inhabitants if only he kept aloof for the present. The assertion by some of the location residents that the Vigilance Association is not known by them is utter nonsense. The body is known from years past We can recall the names of some of the residents of Brownlee Station who were members of the body viz: Bikani Soga, William D Soga, J. Raxa, R. Mantsayi. The Association also has members in the country districts and has worked hand in hand with the Borough Council in certain affairs until quite recently. It is therefore inconceivable that the members of the Council can believe or pretend to believe such gross misrepresentation of facts. However, the fact that there is talk of harsh and unjustifiable administration of the law with Natives in the locations, and the town proper, by the police seems to suggest to us strongly that there is some fire to cause the smoke and it would be well for the police to handle law in a way help rather than do injury to the people and they in turn will find that they have no enemies among the people in the necessary duty of enforcing law and order.

BISHOP CLAIMS AFRICA WILL BE RULED BY NATIVE

Believes He Will Conquer the Whites and Take Lands; Christians Vs. Moslems

San Antonio, Tex., Jan. 12.—Although Bishop J. F. Hartzell, 80 years old, retired, served 20 years as Methodist bishop of Africa, he is planning to go back to Africa. Here recently he said:

"In the interior of the Kabyle mountains there is a race as white as any Caucasians. It is believed that they are of the old race of Berbers, who were separated from the others of their tribes and came south into Africa.

"In spite of the fact that some of the countries of Europe have colonized vast areas of the land, the colonists never will grow in numbers until they can control the continent.

Rapid Increase

"The Negro races of Africa double their population almost every 50 years, and it is a safe estimate that within the next 150 years there will be 400,000,000 native Negroes on the continent. These vast numbers will not be denied their birthright, and one of the greatest problems facing the civilized world today is whether or not they grow to be Christians or Mohammedans."

Bishop Hartzell urged that the natives of Africa be called Negroes, and not "blacks" or "colored people."

"It has been proved that the natives of Africa today," he said, "wild as their present state may be, have come down from a civilization that gives evidence of having been almost as great, if not greater, than that of the present day.

"That they will rise again cannot be questioned, and they are making the first step now in that direction.

Natives Go to College

"How large a step it is only the ones who have watched it can know. One college alone has graduated over 10,000 natives in the last 36 years. They are eager to learn and schools of farming and industry can make of them empire builders. One of the greatest proofs of their desire for learning is the way in which they crave reading matter.

"It will not be many years until the Cape to Cairo railroad is finished, and one will be able to enter a sleeping car at Alexandria or Port Said and travel all the way to Cape Town via Cairo and various other cities and points of interest without change of cars. I am looking forward to the pleasure of making this trip by rail, although I have been over the route in my work."

Of the more than 100,000,000 natives in Africa about 40,000,000 are professed Christians, he said, but of the latter only about 2,000,000 can be classed as really Christians.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Acute Position in Kenya: Colonial Office Protests.

The position in the country districts as regards the Indian question is extremely acute, cabled Reuter's correspondent on January 25. A number of meetings of settlers at various centres has been held, at which strongly worded resolutions were passed, mainly to the effect that the granting of Indian claims would be "resisted by any methods considered advisable." It is understood that steps are being taken to organise a central committee at Nairobi, with district leaders, in order that the whole country may act together "in taking extreme action if necessary."

An especially large meeting at Nakuru passed a resolution supporting the formation of the central committee, declaring that "the white community declines to be a pawn in the game of Indian politics," and also protesting against the appointment of Mr. Ormsby-Gore as Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

According to the "Morning Post," Indian fears of violence are clearly shown in a letter to Sir Robert Coryndon stating that the European Reform Party is spreading rumours that the Colonial Office attitude is being adopted for the express purpose of exciting "peaceful, level-headed Europeans." It holds Sir Robert Coryndon responsible for any outbreak, and asks him to take action to stop this "creed of violence." Sir Robert Coryndon replies that he considers the anxiety exaggerated, but has given the complaint consideration.

We are authorised by the Colonial Office to state that the question of the position of Indians in Kenya is engaging the close attention of the Secretary of State in consultation with the Governor of the Colony, with the object of reaching a settlement which will be accepted by all parties. Attempts at this stage to anticipate or prejudge the decisions upon the several points at issue can only have the effect of making a settlement more difficult, and are therefore to be deprecated.

THE HEART OF ANGOLA.

Geological Party's Mission: New Light on a Strange Country.

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, January 5.

After six months in a land of mystery, great natural wonders, and intense heat, Dr. L. Reinecke has returned to Cape Town.

He was engaged on a special geological mission on behalf of an American oil company holding important concessions on the Angola coast. This was not his first visit to Angola, but it was his strangest and most strenuous. The main work of the party was a geological exploration, which included the mapping out of many areas hitherto unvisited by white men. Angola in parts of its interior is extremely hot, also in parts unhealthy, and is marked by regions where dread malaria takes its toll. But, despite all this, it holds out a lure to the intrepid, to men who want to go where very few have gone before.

In the opinion of Dr. Reinecke, Angola is a country of immense wealth, much of which might be exploited successfully. It should one day be a country of vast European enterprise. Its enormous natural resources and hidden wealth cannot remain for long a closed region to exploration and the searching quest of man. Just now it seems to be attracting a great deal of attention in view of the oil possibilities.

The chief town, St. Paul de Loanda, which was the headquarters of the exploring party, lies on a small bay about 210 miles south of the Congo mouth. On the south Angola borders on the South-West Protectorate. The exploring party made a steamer voyage of 1,500 miles from the Cape in order to reach the point of departure of their mission.

Angola at the present time is rich in agricultural resources. Mealies and manioc, sugar cane and cotton, coffee and tobacco figure among the cultivated products. Among the exports from this strange land are coffee, rubber, wax, palm kernels, and palm oil. Gold dust, ivory, and gum are also exported. But essentially the prosperity of Angola may be said to depend upon the jungle products obtained through the natives and from Portuguese-owned plantations. The development of the country has been very slow in comparison to its natural wealth, says Dr. Reinecke. There is an abundance of iron in the mountains, also copper, lead, sulphur, and petroleum.

Dr. Reinecke's party visited places about which so far very little has been made known. They kept to the coast, more or less, for about four months, and about two months were spent in the bush-land of this great territory. This is the wildest part of the country. At one time no less than sixty eland were seen in a herd.

Mr. G. C. McKinnon was Dr. Reinecke's assistant, and they had sixty native carriers. Sometimes they travelled four days between water holes. Although hunting was not the object of the expedition, much game fell before the rifles of the party. On several occasions the Congo buffalo was seen, small buck abounded, the spoors of elephants were discovered, but no elephants. The party had one or two narrow escapes from lion attacks. When a buffalo was shot the meat lasted the party for several days.

At one place, far from the coast, the party came upon a tribe strongly resembling the Hottentot, living in the most primitive way, and showing no evidence of having been in contact with white men before. These natives were a vivid brown colour, very small in stature, and very different to the Congo negro type. They wore garments made out of fibre from the baba tree, and covered their bodies with a reddish paint. The tribe are known as the Quisama, and speak a strange language, different to that of any other tribes in the territory. They live in grass huts and use bows and arrows to shoot game.

An estimate of the number of members of this tribe is 5,000. The fact may be noted that they received Dr. Reinecke's party in all friendliness. That was fortunate, otherwise the bold explorer might not be safe in Cape Town today, happy in the accomplishment of adventurous work in a queer country.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa

A BARREN SESSION.

The Gold Coast Leader
March 24-31, 1923
Gold Coast, West Africa

THE Estimates session of the Legislative Council was in some respects a barren one. From the point of view of effective criticism it certainly was. In every modern system of Government of an enlightened nature there must of course be a Government majority, otherwise it cannot be worked at all. But as we have pointed out before, in such a case the majority is the majority of the people, and should rightly express the will of the people. Here, however, it is otherwise. There is a make-believe of the representation of the people, which is not true in fact. We remember that when pressed in the House of Commons the last Colonial Minister attempted to vindicate a given policy by the statement that the matter had received the consideration of the people's representatives in the local Legislature. It served the purpose very well, but then every one, who knows anything of the working of the Crown Colony system, knew that it was the merest camouflage. To put it more forcibly, it was far from a correct statement of facts. The system by which the Gold Coast continues to be cursed is simply and nakedly an official system, and it is only here and there that a man is found strong enough to criticise freely according to his conscience. Why? For the simple reason that all the men are selected by Government, and recognition and advancement depend upon the pleasure of Government. To some the idea of rubbing shoulders with Governors and high officials is fascinating. To others the possibilities of decorations are alluring. Between the Government and the people the position of such is like being between the devil and the sea. It requires tactful manoeuvring. Such a member spends sleepless nights thinking out how best he may appear to be serving the people and yet be faithful in his allegiance to his patron the Government. The results are some of the monstrosities and abortions daily witnessed in our political history. The trouble is that this double front must affect character and must set up false and dangerous standards of public morality before the rising generation.

Then we must not forget those vested interests which, finding representation in the present system, were inhuman if they did not look to where their bread was buttered. Such are those interests whose very life blood depends in a large measure upon Government. To put it from the wordly point of view, they are out to make money and to further their enterprises, and it will be foolish to expect them to kick violently, or kick at all, against any Government measure. Such with the other class generally who find it convenient to say aye with Government when a hood-winked public might expect them to say nay.

And there are lastly others, in the minority it is true, of robuster consciences, who feel it their duty to vindicate the public cause at all hazards. They meet with rebuffs. They may now and then be treated to the cold shoulder. They may suffer in other respects too subtle and too calculated to be easily defined. Happy such if, having counted the cost, they go doggedly on.

With the foregoing analysis it will be obvious why the public voice is not heard in an effective way where it may be expected. Now events are moving so fast in this country, and the rate of material and intellectual advance so amazingly rapid, that every nerve must be strained to effect a change in our constitution. We are glad to know that at last the Aministration has the matter in hand, and that it is being vigorously pushed forward. It is due equally to the people and to the Administration itself that there should be no halting by the way. To the people because they have waited long and patiently. To Government because delay would place it in an unfavourable light since we are prepared to give Government the benefit of the doubt that it has had before its mind points requiring explanation. We have done all in our power in the past to afford light upon the matter, and we conceive it our duty to continue to assist until all difficulties have been cleared up. We have said before, and we repeat, that our system is the simplest and the most democratic of any that can be compared with it. The rule of popular representation is indigenous in our constitution, and far from the Chiefs being a class apart, they are interwoven in it, and, until elected by the people they are mere commoners. Hence it is that, if they are to have seats in the Gold Coast Legislature, they must be subject to election by the same authority which elects them to the chieftainships in the country. We learn that his Excellency the Governor is going away shortly on furlough. We are in a position sincerely to wish him a pleasant trip. Although we may not see eye to eye with him on several points, yet we must own that from his own point of view he has the interest of the country at heart, and that, at least, must form common ground between us. We have always wished our Governor to be a constitutional Governor. We should like to see him at the next Estimates meeting presiding over a Legislative Council whose members are sent there by the choice of the people. There will be nothing to prevent him even then carrying out his pet schemes. But then both he and the people will have the satisfaction of knowing that the people's wishes have been expressed in a constitutional manner and constitutionally refused. For we repeat that the present system is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring. It is an effete make-believe continued for the confusion of counsel. It has been scrapped in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia. Why should we continue to be harrassed by the nightmare? We have pleaded long, and we have reason to know we have not pleaded in vain. His Grace the Duke of Devonshire must rise to the situation and appreciate, we respectly urge, the anomaly of our case. And when he has done so, we cannot but think that with the Governor he will see his way to recommend to his Majesty the King an early and a substantial change in our constitution.

THE COLOR OF THE ETHIOPIAN

Montgomery

The Montgomery Advertiser says: "If the league of nations needed another touch of color to complete its comprehensive variety, it has found this in Ethiopia, which has been recommended for membership." How does The Advertiser get that idea about color- By the name Ethiopia it refers to Abyssinia, which, though in Africa, is a Caucasian nation.

Columbia

—Jacksonville Times-Union

Aside from the fact that the literal meaning of the word Ethiopia is "the land of the sunburnt faces," our point is sustained by Webster's New International dictionary, and other authorities. Webster's says:

9-26-23

"ETHIOPIAN—As now used the term comprises the Negro, Bantu and Negrito peoples of Africa, together with their descendants, the darker races of Oceania—The typical Ethiopian is of dark or nearly black complexion, has frizzly black hair, a broad flat noce, scanty beard, thick and everted lips, large teeth—There are however, wide variations, including at least two very distinct types, the Negro and Negrito—Probably of mixed Hamitic and Negro race. An Abyssinian," etc.

The royal family of Ethiopia claims to be descended from King Menelik, a son of King Solomon. The present despotic king, in power by virtue of a successful revolution, makes the same claim. His photograph shows him to be Hamitic-Semitic. His wife's photograph, however, shows her to be a full-blooded negress, if appearances account for anything, and generally they do. The King's army consists of negroes. His courtiers are negroes. (See current number of Asia Magazine).

ETHIOPIA IN LEAGUE, ABOLISHING SLAVERY

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
9-29-23

Thunders of Applause Greet Her Delegates.

(By the Associated Press.)

GENEVA, Sept. 28.—Ethiopia today was formally admitted to membership in the League of Nations, the Abyssinian empire having convinced the powers of the league that she was done with slavery forever. When the names of the Ethiopian delegates were called her representatives strode to their allotted places picturesquely clad in costumes of rich and colorful material. The applause rivalled that which greeted Ireland when the sons of Erin were received into the family of nations.

When the plaudits had subsided, Prince Dedjasmatch Nadeou, the chief delegate, with finely chiseled ebony features and a black Vandyke beard, mounted the rostrum and spoke in the name of his ruler, Her Majesty Ouizero Zeoditu. Ethiopia had had a glorious past, he said, but being deficient in modern progress had sought admission into the great league which stood for progress in modern civilization and for helpful co-operation between the peoples of the earth.

The empire was admitted to the league as a result of instructions from Abyssinia authorizing the delegation to subscribe to an engagement respecting the abolishing of slavery. As the delegates already had power to assume all the other obligations of the league, no further impediment to Ethiopia's election existed. The election of the nation was unanimous.

THE COLOR LINE IN LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE administrators of the Union of South Africa have gone all of the lengths possible to enslave, degrade and defraud the natives of the Union, not only excluding them from all participation whatever in the government but making them slaves to white employers of labor, by making it unlawful for natives to own or lease land, which compels them to have the protection of the white planters in order to live in the Union. On the other hand, the employers of labor have made the condition of white laborers in mine and factory and field almost intolerable by pitting cheap native labor against white labor, even going so far as to give natives an opportunity to master the skilled trades in order to take the places of white craftsmen, and to give to native labor much of the rough work heretofore done by white labor.

The International, published at Johannesburg as the official organ of the Communist party, sees very clearly that the white laborers have got to adopt a different attitude towards the native laborers, or both will be reduced to the same level of wage-slavery. In an exhaustive article on "The Scrapping of the Color Bar," the International says:

The white and black workers must come together for common action; there is no other way. Excuses and obstacles can be conjured up galore; blind passion may storm and rage; tomatoes and brickbats may fly; but we challenge anyone to put up a logical argument against it. Lying down can end only in worse degradation; fighting capitalism with the forces of white labor only can never win out, it has failed again and again. Not barbed wire fences between workers, but an alliance, far more natural and well founded than that between workers and Nationalist landowners. We preach no lowering to Kaffir standards; that, like miscegenation and rape, is being brought to pass by the class now in power, and can hardly be abated this side of the revolution. But just because the revolution is the only way out of this as of every other working class degradation today, the only way to win even a shilling rise or prevent even a shilling drop, the white workers must rise to the occasion, take the big view, marshal all their class forces, and with their united front deal to the accursed tyrants the knockout blow that will free humanity from exploitation for ever.

If the trade unionists of South Africa will take this broad view of the International there is going to come about a very radical and far-reaching change in the political and economic conditions in that country. If they have found out that they cannot maintain a position of respect and decent wage and working conditions for white workers while leaving black workers outside of white trade unions, to be used and abused by employers of labor, they have learned a lesson that will ultimately bring them freedom from State and capitalist oppression and degradation. They cannot accomplish this as long as black labor is ignored by white labor and used by employers to ruin both. If the International can convert the white and black workers to its policy of fair cooperation and equality of wage for white and black workers, they would soon be in a position to bring the Dutch land owners and the English mine owners to their senses.

It took the American Federation of Labor, and many of its affiliants, a long time to learn the lesson which the International is preaching in the Union of South Africa; that is, white labor cannot successfully accomplish its purposes if black labor is ignored and barred out and left free to be employed whenever there is trouble between the union and the employer; but they have learned the lesson here, and we do not think they will soon forget it.

End to Negro Adventurer

NYC MAIL
OCTOBER 27, 1923

Death Takes William Edward Ellis, Who Once Sought to Be King of Abyssinia.

William Henry Ellis, romantic figure in America's negotiations with Abyssinia in 1904, has gone on his last adventure. He died in the City of Mexico a few days ago. He was fifty-nine years old.

Known as "the man who would be king of Abyssinia," Ellis's career was a remarkable one. He was a cowboy, banker and capitalist and the only negro to invade Wall street.

As a mirror of fashion and gaudy extravagance, he made sensational tours of the country a score of years ago. Employed with a leather and hide merchant in San Antonio, Ellis found the opportunity which made him a financier while making a business trip to Mexico in 1890.

BEGAN AS COLLECTOR

Owing to the uncertainty of making collections in that troubled country, American cotton brokers would not export their material across the border and were selling it in the home market for about one-half the price it would bring in Mexico.

To become wealthy in cotton exports was a simple matter if one could make the collections. Ellis was successful in the venture and his career of finance began.

AIDED OFFICIALS

As a student of traditions of his ancestral race, he made several trips to Abyssinia, that rich, warlike country of Africa, and consorted with the famed Menelik, "king of kings."

When, during Roosevelt's administration, the matter of making a trade treaty with Abyssinia was broached by Consul-General R. P. Skinner, American consul of Marseilles, Ellis went to Washington and volunteered his assistance. Although he was not given official credentials, he had a way with King Menelik which tended to put the real officials in the background.

WAS MADE A DUKE

Fearing that his own entry into the court of King Menelik would be an anti-climax to the entry of Consul-General Skinner, Ellis hurried ahead and formed a caravan of his own. He took with him a heavily jeweled saddle, valued at $3,500, a gorgeous array of weapons and other presents for King Menelik, who in turn made Ellis the Duke of Harrar and Hawash, with a fief of 1,000,000 acres of fertile territory.

Ellis meant to make Abyssinia a rival of the European powers, and Menelik gave him valuable concessions.

After the treaty was drawn in 1904 between Menelik and Skinner, Ellis returned to America and wished to be the special envoy to present the ratified copy of the treaty to Menelik.

LOOMIS VANISHED

Kent J. Loomis, a brother of F. B. Loomis, assistant secretary of State in the Roosevelt administration, was delegated to deliver the treaty. Ellis accompanied Loomis on the transatlantic liner Kaiser Wilhelm II. While the ship was in the English Channel, Loomis disappeared mysteriously. That he fell, or was washed overboard was the explanation given. Ellis completed the journey.

It was Ellis's ambition to overthrow Menelik and make himself king, but the revolution never materialized, and the dusky soldier of fortune turned his attention to Mexico.

Ellis was either a Cuban or a southern boy of mixed parentage, but preferred to be known as a Cuban, as he signed himself Guillerma Enrique Eliseo. Sometimes, however, he tried to pass as a Hawaiian.

A huge colonizing scheme to plant a Mexican province with southern negroes was one of Ellis's early ventures. He prospered, but the colony failed.

About 1902 he became involved in New York affairs, when as president of the New York and Westchester Water Company, he sold out to the city at an estimated profit to himself of a half million dollars.

WAR ON WALL STREET

Ellis made money speculating in Wall street, but later organized several companies to exploit Mexican resources. He was said in 1902 to have been behind the famous Manning and McIntosh claim against the Mexican government, involving 105,000,000 dollars in Mexican currency.

He was manager of several Mexican branches after he decided to make his home in Mexico City.

Ellis was a member of the American Geographical Society, Mexican Society of New York, and Metropolitan Museum of Art. He lived at the Hotel Gillow, Mexico City.—Kansas City Star.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa

SLAVERY PROBLEM CONFRONTS LEAGUE

The New York

Application of Abyssinia for Membership Brings Up the Whole Question.

Times 8-26-23

TRAFFIC STILL FLOURISHES

New York Trib.

King Solomon's Descendant Suggests an Inquiry Into Frontiers of Ethiopia.

By F. Cunliffe-Owen, C. B. E.

Since there seems to be a disposition on the part of the Assembly of the League of Nations, now on the eve of its periodical meeting at Geneva, to make the grant of the demand of the Regent of Abyssinia for admission to this great international body conditional upon his committing his country to a pledge for the abolition of slavery and of the traffic in slaves in the empire subject to his rule, it is having the result of bringing up the entire problem of slavery for discussion—of that slavery which the League, under the terms of its convention and charter, is bound to suppress. It may be pointed out that if any such assurances as are required of him were exacted as qualification for membership in the League of Nations, its ranks would be sadly diminished and it would lose some of its most generous and powerful supporters. For, although slavery is regarded by most people as a thing of the past in all countries subject to the sway of civilized governments, yet it flourishes under many of their flags as an institution; and it naturally follows that slavery cannot continue to exist without the barter and sale of slaves—the traffic in human beings.

The Regent on Slavery.

It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to appreciate the meaning of the reply sent by the Regent to the suggestion on the part of the League that it would wish to dispatch a commission of inquiry to Abyssinia to investigate on the spot the problem of slavery and of the slave trade, and of the abolition there of both one and the other. It was to the effect that, in his opinion, and in that of his Government, such a commission could not be sent to Abyssinia unless similar commissions were dispatched to conduct analagous inquiries in the British, French and Italian territories bordering on the frontiers of the Empire of Ethiopia. The Regent likewise drew attention to the fact that, while he was fully alive to the evils of the traffic in slaves and was endeavoring to suppress it, yet most of the slaves which Abyssinia is charged with exporting to Arabia are shipped from French and Italian ports and are largely purchased, or otherwise obtained, from British East Africa and from the Sudan, that is to say, from territories subject to English rule. But he intimated that it would be very difficult for him to commit Abyssinia to the abolition of slavery, which was a recognized domestic institution of the country, a feature and factor of the entire social system of the nation, and that, since it existed and was tolerated by most of the European powers having colonial possessions in the Dark Continent and in Asia, its suppression would in the Empire of Ethiopia have to be very, very gradual.

While these remarks on the part of Ras Tafari, heir apparent to the throne of Abyssinia, and the Regent, in behalf of the late Negus Menelik's daughter, the enormously portly Empress Judith, or Waizeru Zaurditu, are of a nature to ruffle the equanimity of some of the leading statesmen taking part in the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, and are calculated to remove any mistaken impression from their minds that he approaches them in the rôle of a suppliant, it is to be hoped that his demands for the admission of his country to membership in the League will receive the consideration that they deserve and that they will not meet with rejection.

For he is a very remarkable man, of the most enlightened character, of considerable energy and of sufficient tact and diplomacy to have asserted the authority of the Imperial Government over a motley and most warlike population, ruled locally by Rases or feudal chieftains, who, within the area of their own bailiwick, insist on almost despotic power. He has had also to take into account the relations of his country with foreign nations, and with the rivalries, actual or potential, of those European Governments who either exercise rule just beyond his borders, or who claim a traditional interest in Abyssinia. Each of them is endeavoring to impress upon the Ethiopians that it is their only disinterested friend. This jealousy is reflected among their respective Ministers Plenipotentiaries at Addis-Abeba, who spend their time in seeking to secure for their nation a predominant influence in Abyssinia, and who differ upon almost every conceivable subject.

Among all these international manoeuvres and diplomatic intrigues the Regent has picked his way with a degree of astuteness worthy of his ancestor, King Solomon of the Jews, from whose ephemeral union with the Queen of Sheba at Jerusalem he is lineally descended, in which connection it may be added that the communication of the Regent to the League of Nations bears the seal of the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, which also figures on all the official communications that have been addressed by the Abyssinian Government, to the various Presidents of the United States. It was in order to avoid incurring the hostility of one foreign power by showing any preference for the friendship of the other, in his difficult task of modernizing Abyssinia and of transforming the most ancient of Christian civilizations into one worthy of the twentieth century, that the Regent has applied for the admission of his country to a membership in the League of Nations, so as to be entitled to the good-will of all.

While the actual slave trade is attended by considerable and well-nigh inevitable cruelty, which many Western powers, and Great Britain in particular, have done their utmost to suppress, England maintaining a considerable force of gunboats in the Red Sea and further south along the East African coast, to prevent the shipment of slaves across to the Coast of Arabia and from there to the interior, it cannot be denied that many of the slave traders are native subjects of Great Britain, as are also many of the leaders of those raids by means of which the supply of human flesh is obtained from native villages in African territories belonging to English dependencies.

As I have pointed out above, the trade is certain to continue as long as the system of slavery is tolerated. For, to meet the demand for slaves in Moslem countries, where they are indispensable to the social system and mole of life, it is necessary to secure the requisite supply by means that are often abominable.

That slavery in itself is a cruel thing, nobody that has lived in the Orient and who knows anything of conditions there will be willing to assert. Thus, a far larger proportion of the domestic servants in Cairo and Alexandria are slaves than the average American or Englishman spending his winters in the land of the Nile ever dreams of. The slaves can obtain their legal freedom whenever they like by simply stating at the nearest police station that they desire it. But they do not care for their freedom and do not like the idea of liberty. The very fact that they are in a position to terminate their slavery by merely expressing to the authorities their wishes to that effect causes their owners to treat them with special consideration.

Prefer Slavery to Freedom.

The idea of returning to their native villages in the Sudan or in Central Africa, and to the atmosphere of dirt, superstition, sleeping sickness and tribal tyranny, at the sacrifice of clean, comparatively civilized and comfortable surroundings, in lower Egypt or Tunis or in Algiers, does not appeal to them, and to compel them to go would be nothing less than a cruel outrage. As slaves in the households of the affluent native dignitaries they are cared for and are, therefore, carefree, and much the same conditions prevail in British India, and, indeed, in all those Asiatic French, Italian, Belgian and American Colonial dependencies where the system of slavery still survives.

Until Egypt received from Great Britain, as an act of grace, and not of right, the gift of national independence and of national sovereignty, and as long as the civil administration of her Government was under the immediate direction and control of English officials—that is to say, throughout a period of forty years—a large force of constabulary was constantly employed, under command of British officers, in policing the long line of the khedivial frontier from the attempts of slave traders to run their human wares into Egyptian territory, and it was largely due to their watchfulness that the slave traders were compelled to devote their attention to the Abyssinian border and to depend upon the good-will of the provincial Governors and chieftains of Ethiopia for the access to the seacoast of their wares.

But under the new régime at Cairo the constabulary force maintained for use against the slave traders has been, to a large extent, abolished as an expensive and superfluous luxury. Its English officers have been for the most part dismissed, and those few who remain have their authority restricted to the maintenance of order of the towns and villages. It never was a popular service in Egypt, since there was not a native dignitary, from the Khedive, the Princes and Princesses of his house, the leading Pashas and Beys of his Court and Government, downward, who was not glad to connive at the frustration of the laws against bringing slaves across the frontier for their own personal interests. Indeed, I recall a great anti-slavery meeting held at the Mansion House in London during the latter of the '80s, when proofs were presented of the complicity of members of the khedivial family and immediate household in the traffic. Now that all obstacles on the Egyptian frontier have been removed, it is inevitable that the old-time slave trade, which flourished so freely half a century ago, will be revived in the land of the Pharaohs, in order to meet the demand for domestic slaves and for labor in connection with the various industries that have sprung up everywhere, under English protection, along the lower valley of the Nile

Regent Recommends Inquiries.

The Regent of Abyssinia was well aware of this when he intimated that if the League of Nations sent a commission of investigation to Ethiopia to inquire into the problem of slavery there and to devise means of its abolition, similar commissions ought to be sent to the neighboring countries, especially to those over which the English, French, Italian and even Belgian flag still floats. For, although Egypt is now self-governing and has got rid of most of her English officials, she must remain subject to English control and to the supreme authority of Field Marshal Lord Allenby as long as English military forces still occupy the Valley of the Nile and the Suez Canal.

France has, within the last two decades, abolished the public slave markets in those portions of Northern Africa that have come under her sway, and Italy has done the same in Tripoli. But still there are many small ports along the long coastline of Northern Africa whence slaves brought from the interior and from the hinterland of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli can be quietly embarked and shipped across the Mediterranean to the Turkish ports of Anatolia and even in her European possessions.

Americans cruising in the Mediterranean in the springtime, either on yachts or on board those great ocean liners which periodically convey large parties of tourists to the various points of interest in the Levant, are very apt to catch occasional glimpses of disreputable looking tramp steamers flying the Ottoman flag and with their noses pointed in the direction of Constantinople. If their gaze could penetrate the rusty and battered sides of these ships they might find, below deck, a condition of affairs recalling to them the picture of the Inferno in the holds of those vessels which, in the eighteenth century, were employed in conveying slaves from Africa to the New World. It is a strange fact that, while English gunboats have always been most watchful in capturing the native dhows engaged in transporting slaves from the African to the Atlantic coast of the Red Son these tramp freighters, engaged in slave running from the Mediterranean coast of Africa to Turkish ports, have never been interfered with.

Sultan Abdul Hamid and his successors on the throne of Turkey were bound by treaty pledges to do their best to suppress this slave trade. But it was thoroughly understood that these pledges, more honored in the breach than in the observance, implied no restrictions whatsoever upon the system of slavery. Nor did any foreign power venture to approach the Sublime Porte upon the subject. For, since Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and, until 1918, also Germany, tolerated slavery in their colonial dependencies and protectorates, as does also the United States in the Moslem islands of the Philippines, it was idle to expect the rulers of the Ottoman Empire to abolish a system that is so thoroughly identified with Moslem religious and civil conditions, social system and domestic life as slavery. Nor is there any reason to believe that Turkey, under her new Government, which has achieved such a signal victory at the Congress of Lausanne, where she has not only acquired a new lease of her at one time moribund life in Asia and in Europe, will, in the exultation of her emancipation from foreign subserviency and interference, be disposed to pay any attention to the wishes and views of the Western powers and of the League of Nations as to the suppression of slavery.

ABYSSINIA KNOCKS AT LEAGUE DOOR

FEUDALISM BREAKING UP

New York Times

Land of Great Riches Long Coveted By Big Powers

NOW SEEKS THEIR HELP

9-9-23

Danger of Being Swallowed by One Prompts Regent to Bid for Protection of All.

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

THERE is a story told of the ladroni of Pisa, who, unable to gain possession of the wealth of a rural lord, either by guile or force, invited him to join their "benevolent society" for the suppression of brigandage. Because his retainers were becoming arrogant and mutinous, he acquiesced for protection against his own, only to find that he was in the hands of his enemies.

Analysis of the analogies presented by the history of Abyssinia can hardly fail to remind one of this Pisa tale, modified by the petition of Ras Tafari, the Regent of Ethiopia, to join the League of Nations. Ethiopia, or, as the country is more popularly known, Abyssinia, long has been coveted by the great powers with dependencies surrounding it, and which have made repeated attacks upon its integrity. But Ethiopia never has been conquered, nor have foreigners, from the days of the ancient kings of Egypt, who were not loath to take for their queens the daughters of Ethiopia, ever gained any considerable concessions to exploit the wealth of the country. In the mountains of Galia, Shoa and Gojam rich mines of gold, silver and iron remain to this day undeveloped or merely tapped by the crude methods of centuries ago.

On the other hand, since the days of the truly great Menelik II., who ruled as Negus Negast, or King of Kings, from 1889 till 1913, the feudal system which bound the surrounding Rases or

chiefs to the King has gradually declined. Like the retainers of the rural Pisan lord, these vassals have become arrogant and ruinous, and no one knows better than Ras Tafari, who administers the empire for Empress Zeoditu, daughter of Menelik, that the once mighty feudal State has become a mere shell enclosing a treasure of untold wealth. Being a wise man, he wishes to postpone the breaking of the shell as long as possible. Hence his desire to seek the moral protection of the League of Nations.

There is one serious objection to the desire, which may be ignored but hardly overcome. In Ethiopia there are about 2,000,000 slaves, and one of the most profitable industries of the country is slave raiding and slave trading. If Ras Tafari attempted to suppress it, he would soon find himself with a revolution on his hands. Would he be willing to seek outside aid, certain to be alluringly offered him, should he embark upon such a laudable campaign of emancipation? Hardly, for his reply to this criticism of the League is a reminder of the mote that is in the eye of other nations which possess Moslem dependencies where slavery is an illegal but tolerated institution. The answer to his calculated or ingenuous reply will be awaited with much interest.

Queen of Sheba's Legend.

There is a legend that the Negus Negast always has been a direct descendant of the brief union in the tenth century B. C. of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, when the latter visited Jerusalem. Undoubtedly, the son she bore him was named Menelik. The coat-of-arms of the Negus Negast also is said to be the identical seal of the Tribe of Judah. Moreover, the criminal code of Ethiopia is certainly based on the Mosaic law, and there are in the country about 50,000 people whose religion and culture is identical with that of the Jews of the Old Testament. Beyond that, however, the similarity ceases, for they are not Semites but Hamites and know not a word of Hebrew.

There are serious scientific objections to the popularly accepted hypothesis of the origin of the Tthiopian monarchs In the first place, Sheba was situated on the eastern and not on the western shore of the Red Sea; in the second, the arms of Etheopia—a mitred lion with a sceptre terminating in a cross held in the right paw—bear more resemblance to the arms of Frumentius, who converted the Etheopians to Christianity in the fourth century, than they do to the Lion of Judah. It is likely therefore, that the Queen of Sheba took with her to Jerusalem in her retinue, in order to display her wealth and power before the Jewish monarch, vassal chiefs from the western shores of the Red Sea, who on their return to their own countries carried back certain customs they had learned at his court, and that two of the customs which were to survive longest were the Mosaic law and the Jewish religion, the latter thriving among a small community even after the Christian conversion of the people by Frumentius inspired by St. Athanasius of Alexandria.

When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 there was a rush on the part of the Great Powers to secure territory on the western littoral of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden. First Italy secured that between the Sudan and the sea as far south as the River Mareb which, through the Atbara, flows into the Nile, and then from the source of the Mareb along the shore of the sea to a point almost opposite Aden, on the Asiatic shore all of which she called Eritrea. On the Gulf of Aden, the French and British secured slices of Somaliland, and further south the Italians got another slice, contiguous to what was to become British East Africa, and further west the Protectorate of Uganda. On the Nile side there remained the Egyptian Sudan, gradually to be extended by British guidance to the foothills of the Abyssinian mountains.

The hemming in of Abyssinia was accomplished in various ways, by barter, by treaties and by war, but no enemy ever has been able to penetrate the country to any great extent, and very few industrial, commercial, or other civilizing concessions have been derived therefrom. What Ras Makonnen said, when he reviewed some Italian troops at Rome in 1890, has held good all along: "We fall upon the enemy at the unexpected moment; we choose our time and our ground on which to fight." This has been easy. With narrow passes and mountain peaks rising 14,000 feet above the leve lo fthe sea, Abyssiania is the Switzerland of Africa.

In ancient times Cambyses tried to enter and was forced to flee. In modern times British and Sepoy troops under Lord Napier succeeded in freeing sixty British captives from the fortress of Magdala and were then forced to retreat. In 1876 two Egyptian armies were annihilated in their efforts to carry out the ambitions of Ismail Pasha, who coveted the mines and was anxious to annex Abyssinia to Egypt. Then came the manoeuvres of Arakel Bey, with an army of Egyptians and foreign mercenaries, who attempted to advance up the Mareb only to meet with defeat and massacre. And there were other Egyptian expeditions down to the middle '80s when Italy began to push the conquest of the country from the littoral of Eritrea, which she had already secured. By loans and present and armistices broken by surprise attacks Italy made considerable progress, until she decided upon a final plunge into the coveted interior in the Spring of 1896.

All preparations had been made by General Baratieri, the Governor of Eritrea, when he was replaced by General Baldissera. The former, in order not to surrender to his successor the fruits of his work, made a sudden attack and met with such disaster that it took years for Italy to recover from it. After this, as long as the great Menelik lived, the interested powers, sometimes alone and sometimes together, attempted to penetrate the shell by treaties, but made little headway.

The present area of Abyssinia is about one-third larger than Texas, or 350,000 square miles. Its population is three times larger than that of Texas, or 11,900,000. Its pride is a standing army of picked men about 100,000 strong, which in time of war is increased to half a million by levies from the various kingdoms, in accordance with the ancient rules of feudalism. There is little education, but much religious instruction by the 100,000 priests. The religion is that of the Alexandrian Church, unmodified by the Council of Chalcedon of 451.

Education in Africa

[*Continued*]

Every department does excellent work. The rugs, mats, and robes of mohair and wool are especially good. They are not only woven by the girls, but dyed in beautiful colors with home made dyes. Recently a Native rode up to the institution with a bag of wool clipped from his own sheep and returned in a few weeks to carry away a splendid blanket, woven by these Native girls. Miss Cook's idea in instituting weaving was to make it a home craft."

(b) Mariannhill is one of the most important schools in South Africa. . . It was founded by a pious monk of the Trappist Order whose motto is ORA ET LABORA and their life is given to work and prayer. . . The school work is based on the syllabus of the Natal Education Department, well known for its adaptation to the needs of the Native people. Stress is laid on practical subjects such as methods of teaching, physiology and hygiene, agriculture and the Zulu language. The industrial activities include carpentry, brickmaking, stonecutting, leatherwork of all kinds, tannings, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, stained glass work, photography, tailoring, shoemaking, painting, printing, poultry-raising. A considerable part of the work has some elements of factory methods. Father Bernard Huss, the principal of the training school for teachers, is initiating and organising activities for community betterment He is interested in Native Music, recreation, and school agriculture. He is making valuable contributions in the arrangement of agricultural instruction in elementary schools and is the author of a standard textbook on agriculture for Native schools. His collection of Zulu songs for school use is centering the attention of the Native people upon the beauty of their own music. Under his direction the normal students have dramatized stories of Native life and are thus building up an interest in the recreation of the people and making large use of the helpful games and pleasures which he finds in the Native Villages."

(c) The Inanda High School for Native Girls is also based largely on the lines of the above with slight differences in emphasis and view, for "the chief emphasis is on the preparation of teachers, wives and mothers for the Zulu people."

(d) The Native Hospital and Health Activities of the American Zulu Mission constitutes a notable work in behalf of the health of the large Native population of Durban and neighbouring Zulu communities. Dr J. B. McCord is the head of the staff. "It is generally agreed that there is a vital need for this work and for Native doctors.

(*To be continued*)

Negro Character.

We remember recently a very remarkable illustration of the unconquerable humour of the Negro. Dr. Aggrey, the well-known educationist and a Fanti from British West Africa, was attending the last Missionary Conference in the United States. While on his way to attend one of the meetings he boarded a car, whereupon the white occupants rose in a body and flung him out into the road. The worthy doctor by no means discomposed got up, brushed his soiled clothes, and promptly got into a taxi-cab, saying with a broad smile —"they told me to be as economical as possible so I wished to ride in a twopenny car. As they won't have me there I must charge them a dollar for a taxi." If Dr. Aggrey's imperturbability is an instance of the humour of the Negro, so is the personality and career of the late Colonel Charles Young, of the United States Army, an instance of the pertinacity and industry of the Negro. Young successfully survived all the humiliations and insults of his time at West Point, rose in spite of every obstacle in his way to high rank in the service, and died generally if grudgingly honoured. Racial antagonism was too strong for him to be allowed to take his share in the Great War, where his military genius would doubtless have told.

Race Problem—1923.
Africa

The Native Vote.

The Basutoland

The Nationalists Confession.

7-13-23

The Uitenhage results of the recent bye-election have awaken the National Party to the vital importance of the native vote in many Cape Constituencies, and have been compelled to admit that the natives were not such idiots as to give their vote indiscreetly. This is borne out by Senator Ehrlich's own words, when "he declared it was the Native voter who gave the S. A. Party its present Majority and admitted that the National Party had no defined native policy except on the question of Segregation." Although he charged the natives of irresponsibility in the exercise of their vote, this ommission in their Programme of the native policy, explains the wisdom of the natives in exercising their vote in these Provinces as also does colour bar for which the Labour Party was responsible.

Let them come out with their native policy and see if the natives won't be responsible. We are sure they will support the party that have a policy that suits their case.

We here under reproduce from "Umteteli" of the 7th instant the speach of Senator Ehrlich, at Upington:

Senator Ehrlich, speaking at a Nationalist meeting held last Saturday at Upington, referred to the Native franchise and insisting on the segregation policy of the National Party. He said the non European vote was the decisive factor in many Cape Constituencies but that the Native voter did not realise his responsibility in the exercise of his voting power. The Native, he said, was influenced by matters quite foreign to the points at issue, and this was unsatisfactory both to the white and coloured voter. The Senator suggested that the Native population should vote only for their own candidate, and that the Cape Province might for that purpose be divided into three sections—western, eastern and midland. In each of these divisions the Natives would vote together and elect men who would directly represent them in Parliament. Senator Ehrlich said that members whose return to Parliament was largely due to the Native voter did not greatly interest themselves in matters of vital moment to the Native people, and that it was left to the Nationalist and Labour members to champion the Native cause. He declared it was the Native voter who gave the S. A. Party its present majority, and he admitted that the National Party had not defined its Native policy except on the question of segregation.

We are satisfied that the Native voter exercises his privileges with discretion. What he does not know about the position of the Native people in European politics he soon will know, and it requires very little study to determine the hopelessness of Native adherence to the National Party; while the colour bar prevents the Labour Party from exercising any favourable influence on the Native voter. We do not believe that S. A. Party members who owe their seats to the Native voter are in different to those matters which affect Native interests. But they are few and strongly opposed, and the results of their work cannot yet be seen. The Native voter knows the strength of the opposition, and he knows from which Party he has most to hope for.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES.
NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL, 1922.

Gold Coast Leader

(continued from our last issue)

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: My copy of the petition is not very clear. I will be able to give the Honourable Member the number of the paragraph later on.

Now that is a very important case. The learned Chief Justice says that in his view the Commissioners who come to the Colony and took charge of districts were not necessarily experienced to deal with land cases, and in fact I go to the extent of saying they are not experienced to deal with ordinary cases. Because it takes a man of some training to be able to sit as a judge, and only men specially judicially trained should have to deal with such cases.

It has been suggested by the Honourable the Secretary for Native Affairs that most of these principles we are discussing are in the Bill of 1910. As regards how that Bill came on the Statute Book I desire again to quote the view of Sir William Brandford Griffith which he gave expression to both in Council and in his petition. In his view the people had no opportunity of criticism. He says:

Cape Coast-W. Africa

"The next point is that the Ordinance was hurriedly pushed into and through committee without giving the Legislative Council sufficient time to suggest amendments and without affording the public an opportunity for criticism and expression of opinion. The Bill was sent to the members of the Legislative Council towards the end of May (that was the first inkling I had of its nature) and it was read a first time on the 28th May. It was published in the *Gazette* of the 11th June which was not issued until the 26th or 27th June. It came on for the second reading on Saturday the 2nd July."

"The *Gazette* containing the Bill came out on the 26th or 27th June, The committee stage began on the 2nd July and the Bill was through Committee on the 4th July."

It gives us to understand that the Bill was hurriedly read and did not have that proper consideration it should have had. These are the views of a very high official.

8-11-23

Your Excellency will notice the phrase "the King's Court". The people have been praying to have access to the King's Court, and the suggestion here is that it is unfair to send them back against their will. I am not suggesting for one moment that the inherent jurisdiction of our Kings and Chiefs should be limited, but it should be concurrent. In other words, if I choose to come to any tribunal with my land case, there it ought to be adjudicated. I may say the law ought to lend its weight to all the processes necessary to carry out the judgments of the tribunals; that one should not be forced, willy nilly, to go there exclusively.

Now, Sir, if the object of exclusive jrisdiction being imported into the Bill of 1910 and this is to bring about a cleavage between the people and the Bar, I say that object has failed, because the people themselves come here to-day and say that they want to be represented by Counsel. They want the aid and protection of Counsel in their land cases, and more than one Chief has asked me this, how is it that Government, so powerful, so intelligent, has got lawyers to to protect its interests. There is the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and Crown Counsel. When they come to prosecute we have lawyers present; when there is an important land case in which Government is involved, Counsel is generally sent to represent Government; how is it that we poor ignorant people, when our lands are involved, they say lawyers must not come in? It arouses suspicion. Is it that our lands are aimed at eventually? I say that if the Ordinance was to bring about a cleavage, that has failed, and to-day the people and the lawyers say that their interests are identical. In the native community the the lawyers are supported, and even in far away Ahanti people are clamouring for lawyers to go there and protect and help them, and I hope that in all sincerity in due course there will be a way open for even the people of Ashanti to have the aid and protection of Counsel. When I had the honour of speaking before the League of Nations Union in London some time ago, I was obliged to refer to the circumstance that in some cases people charged with offences in certain parts out here have not the aid of Counsel. I also referred to the circumstance that men untrained in the law sometimes had to preside over important land cases; these facts cannot be tolerated, because it was so, and even to-day it is so.

I have sometimes observed how very awkward it is, and must be, for an officer who has not been trained in the law endeavouring to follow Counsel in his arguments, endeavouring to take down notes even from his dictation intelligently to arrive at a decision. The process is painful, and I think the time has come when the people of this country and even of Ashanti should be given the free opportunity, when they can and when they will, to retain counsel to protect them in their interests, particularly in the interests of land.

I do not know how it is, but I have always heard it said that the lawyers of this country fleece the people. We have been reminded here by Counsel that the lawyers out here are both conveyancers and counsel they are solicitors and they are advocates. The ordinary African who consults the lawyer does not know that he has first got to prepare his brief. He has to do a lot of hard office work. In England when you go to a soliciter for an interview he charges you for it. He charges for every letter he writes. Here once retained, always retained.

The amount of work we do from the time an African comes to consult us is enormous. He calls at your office every day. He proves a very persistent client. I remember a client who would come to me after a morning's hard work and when I was trying to get a little rest. He would come to my office, and when I would say "what is the matter?", he would say "I come to say good-morning". "Well, good-morning." When I return from Accra after being away for a while I meet the same man at my house. He greets me with "I come to give you welcome". I can not drive him away. He would go and say: "The lawyer won't see me". It would spoil our practice. That is what we have to put up with. I say with all seriousness that it is the lawyers of the country who have instilled loyalty into the minds of the people. They have taught them loyalty and devotion to the throne of His Majesty, and lest it might be said that I am making this statement because of what I have heard others say in this House, I am begging leave of Your Excellency to refer to what I said on this matter years and years ago in "Gold Coast Native Institutions" at pages 220-221:—

> "Strange as it may seem, they serve Great Britain best who serve her in truth and godly fear. Men like Sir David Chalmers, Chief Justice Macleod, and others of like grit, who looked not to promotion or official applause in the manly discharge of their simple duty, are the ones who dig deep the foundations

of British supremacy in West Africa. For, believe me, the Native of West Africa has profound respect for the qualities of justice and fair play. The careless observer may think that the fear of British guns and maxims has hitherto kept the Gold Coast proper free from disturbances. A greater mistake could not be made. If you want to know what has hitherto been a tower of strength to the British Government on the Gold Coast, you will find it in the confidence which has been inspired in the native mind by the Judges of the Supreme Court, who have been, taking them generally, men of singular uprightness, fairness and ability, independent of bureaucratic influence. But they have not worked alone. They have been supported by a strong and loyal Bar, a band of men in whom the clients have the most implicit confidence, and who generally succeed in throwing the oil of peace upon the troubled waters of popular passion and ferment. They help to make the administration of the country possible; but the figure-heads generally receive all the praise, and the lawyers all the opprobrium.

"You have only to suggest to a native Chief, smarting under a sense of wrong, real or imaginary, that the Court will look into his case, and he will patiently bide his time for months till the whole matter has been thrashed out. If he is defeated, he will retire with good grace from the scene of conflict, and all because he has implicit confidence in both Bench and Bar. What honest man is there, I ask with all seriousness, who will dare to shake such confidence? It will be an evil day for the Gold Coast when the native client begins to lose confidence in either Bench or Bar. It will be but the beginning of the end, with chaos and black ruin attending it, of which, happily, I see no signs at present."

These were my convictions then. Those convictions were echoed by learned Counsel yesterday, and I am still of the same opinion. I think that the Bar should be supported rather than discouraged. Even if they do make enormous fees it is not undesirable, for after all what do they do with the money? Do they not educate and train their children to become good citizens, and to provide you with Legislators capable of following your debates? Do they not build good houses and improve our cities? Do they not invest in articles of merchandise and make money circulate? In what way therefore are they undesirable? I hold no special brief for them. I have nearly come to the end of my own career, but I think it is not right that the Bar in this country should be discouraged; rather should they be encouraged, in view of the way they have aided the loyalty and devotion of the people of this country to the throne of His Majesty the King.

(*To be continued.*)

Education in Africa.

[*Continued*]

In one district in Zululand there are 48,000 Natives with only one European physician, who does not know the Native language, is not able to travel, and is willing to give advice only at his residence. In view of this unfortunate condition it is proposed to select a group of young Native teachers who have completed the tenth standard, and to offer them a five years' course of training at Dr McCord's hospital in Durban. The work is deserving of [illegible] part of Europe and America."

Here, we may add that the Lovedale Hospital for Native is labouring under similar difficulties to supply the medical wants of a huge doctorless population, whilst the Native College close by is also endeavouring to institute a medical course, but is hampered by lack of financial support. The question is a grave one among all Natives in the country.

We have selected the above as the most original features of appreciation and criticism brought out by the commission with regard to our schools. In other schools they have nothing out of the ordinary to praise, otherwise we should have had a great deal to quote from the remarks on the best known institutions such as Lovedale, Healdtown, St. Matthews, Tiger Kloof, and so forth.

There remain a few other subjects of a more or less general nature touched upon, which deserves our attention and study:—

(a) The use of leisure time by people trained in missions and mission schools is a problem that has received domestic [illegible] consideration by great [illegible] organisations except the American Mission Board. Many promising converts and students have been ruined by alcoholic and immoral habits in after life at their home villages and in town locations, especially at the big labour centres on account of their failure to use their after work hours in the evenings in a wise way.

(*To be continued*)

Native Problem Conferences.

We understand that the Government intends to summon twenty leading Natives from the whole Union to meet with its representatives at Pretoria during the latter part of next month for the purpose of ascertaining the Native view on some of the more urgent Native legislative matters. This was done last year at Bloemfontein in connection with the Urban Areas Act. While the move is an admirable one as showing the sincerity of the authorities in dealing with South Africa's greatest problem, the Native leaders as a whole, were not satisfied with the manner in which the supposed twenty representatives were selected. The men were individually invited by private communication, and answered the summons without any mandate from their people (except in the case of the Transkei Councilmen), and they had to discuss in the name of a multitude whom they had not consulted before leaving their homes.

This mode has obvious disadvantages: It puts men thus summoned in a compromising position. "An appointed man represents the men who appointed him. If the Government appoints a man, even if he would have been elected by his people he becomes a suspect and the people begin to distrust him." So says one of our respected correspondents. The men at Bloemfontein actually requested that this defect be remedied but were told that there was no machinery nor time to set up one to meet the contingency. More than a year has elapsed since, and another conference is being called without an attempt being made to meet the objection. The Native Affairs Commission could have prepared for the situation in the interim, but have not done so although they were informed how it could be done. We hope the Government will see its way to get this done without delay. For example in the the Cape Province, the existing Native voting roll could be utilized even if the Government reserved to itself the right to nominate a certain number. Last year the districts of Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, with their special problems, were left without a representative. In the case of the Northern Provinces a voting roll could be made on similar lines based upon some system of an educational and property qualification to enable such Natives to elect and vote for their representatives.

We do not as yet know what the agenda will be, but there are hints that the Pass Laws, the Native Council system and the Native Education Tax will be among the matters on the table.

This is to be immediately followed in Johannesburg by a Conference of eighty people invited by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Church to discuss the whole Native Question for the purpose of defining the attitude that all Christian Churches should adopt towards the grievances and aspirations of the Native people, and ultimately to bring influence to bear on South African legislators to adopt Christian principles when dealing with the Native question.

In our view, this should prove the most important conference held in this land for many years, and probably the most momentous on the Native problem. We are thankful that it is being fathered by the Dutch Reformed Church, for all the most significant positions in the government of this country are in its hands. "Once the Dutch members of Parliament get a right focus on this problem, we shall have the dawn of the millennium for our people. We all pray for the success of this gathering.

The forty Europeans will be widely selected from the Christian Churches, Native Welfare Societies and other bodies working among Natives as well as the [illegible] Affairs Commission. The [illegible] be those attending the Pretoria Government Conference plus twenty others. Whoever is invited, we trust that from those absent last year, the following will not be omitted: Messrs J. L. Dube, J. B. Twayi, S. Zibi, P. T. Xabanisa, Edward Ngesi, Selope Thema, C Mabaso, T. Mapikela, H R. Ngcaviya, Z. Fenyang, C. Kadalie and others wielding a powerful influence and capable of giving in moderate language a balanced view and exhaustive advocacy of particular aspects of the subject. Among the things to be discussed in this assembly will be: 1. The teachings of Christianity as the basis for a Native policy. 2. The administration and content of Native Education. 3 The application of the Urban Areas Act among Native communities. 4 Segregation as a fundamental plank in Native Policy. 5. The Land Question and the application of the Native Land Act of 1913. 6. An Examination of the legitimate political aspirations of the Native and how these can best be met.

The debate on each of these heads we hear, will be opened by one black man and one white man with a special knowledge of the subject.

All the intelligent members of the Bantu race will doubtless direct their attention towards Pretoria next month in hopeful expectation of some lasting good to come their way. Thanks to the action of the Dutch Reformed Church Federal Council.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Things we want to know.

BY A NATIVE OF ANEHO.

The Gold Coast Leader

Whether it is a fact that one of the most important Accra papers, to whom an article on the mal-administration of Togoland was sent for publication by some one at Lome did not publish the article but sent it to Monsieur Woelffel, the Commissaire of Togoland now on leave in France, that the author might be punished but being a wiser man the Commissaire did not attempt it, but showed the article with signature to the surprised gentleman? And if the proprietors of that important journal would not make an investigation as the paper is not very popular in Togoland? For further particulars please apply to Mr. Martin Abibu, Lome.

Which of the Lagos papers spelt "distoolment" for "destoolment" at the time the Editor was urging, with might and main, the destoolment of his lord and master—the Eleko? Can the "Nigerian Pioneer" tell us?

Whether the Editor is going to give us the "Scrutineer" back?

Gold Coast-West African

Whether we may take it that the half sheet supplement in the "LEADER" is becoming permanent? And if so, if it would not be advantageous? Whether it is a fact that the Biscuits and Crackers was at Elmina ended in a draw? And if the pensioners are going to receive their Iron Crosses?

Whether any one has seen the history of Fantiland in his life? And if such a question should not be addressed to the intellectuals at Cape Coast?

Whether it is a fact that Monsieur Bonnecarrère, in order to rehacilitate himself in the eyes of the people, after his inexcusable blunders, proposed to advance loans of money to property holders at Lome? And if Mr. Octaviano Olimpio advised the Government not to issue out the loans.

1-3-23

Whether it is a fact that Monsieur Bonnecarrère further proposed reduction of Railway fares? And if Mr. Olyimpio again objected to this, giving as his reasons (1) that Government would be short of money for the up-keep of the streets at Lome (2) and the proposal to construct a motor car road from Lome to Aneho?

Whether the practice of seeking the advice of sycophants, place-hunters and honour-seekers in Togoland will cease? And if the inexperienced French officials do not deserve being taught their lessons before they find out their mistakes in consulting the wrong men?

Whether Bonnecarrére, Goodcareer etc. are not unfortunate names for some owners of it, especially the acting French Commissaire of Togoland? And if the "Order of the Sack" he received from France does not support that view.

Whether the second edition of Rev. Reindorf's History of the Gold Coast is ever going to see the light? And if in these matters we are progressive?

THE FRENCH IN TOGOLAND.

The Gold Coast

BY A NATIVE OF ANEHO.

Cape Coast-West African Leader

On arrival at Nyamasile the Sergeant in charge of us perceived that the "old man" would not proceed an inch further in the march and a hammock had to be improvised from a covering (Kota-cloth) and a pole from a crooked stick in which he was carried although it was most uncomfortable. Nyamasile is little more than 25 kilometres distant from Ange and the next village to reach from Nyamasile is Agbandi, the last village in the Atakpame district, a distance of more than 30 kilometres. Our usual hour for setting out in the march was 2 or 2.30 a.m. On the journey from Nyamasile to Agbandi, the European assistant of Monsieur Goguely motored up to see that the soldiers were carrying out orders to the letter and was very much satisfied that almost everybody was either limping or doing a snail-pace walk. But his satisfaction was interrupted by something looking like a hammock with a man in it. He questioned the Sergeant and gestures were at full play—French style. The Frenchman in true French style was going to show his disapproval in the French manner and the African-French Sergeant was ready to meet the European Frenchman in the French style. The white Frenchman desisted and the "overland" in which he was travelling turned her nose Atakpame-ward. The Sergeant had scored. If the old man dies his would be the responsibility. He knows his Frenchman very well just as nobody knows who is going to be responsible for our deportation. How unfortunate is Togoland! How unwise is the League of Nations! We knew about this and fought with might and main against the French taking the mandate for Togoland. How right we were and how wrong the League of Nations was! Half an hour before Agbandi was reached a bugle sound was heard. Was it an army? No, it was the escorting soldiers from Sokodé to take us from the hands of the Atakpame soldiers. How wonderfully were the instructions to the administrators obeyed! Seven soldiers with fixed bayonets! Criminals to be escorted! No one to come near them nor speak to them and they were to be strictly guarded French style. The Sergeant from Atakpame handed us to the Sergeant from Sokodé, the number was correct now we were under a new regime, a stricter regime, for the Sergeant from Atakpame knew that we were no criminals. The road from Atakpame to Agbandi was wonderfully laid and numerous bridges built over streams, large and small. From Atakpame to Agbandi the villages that go by the name are misnomers, they were few and far between and each had not more than 15 to 20 inhabitants on the average. Poverty is, of course, written large on every village. Absence of trade is very conspicuous. Cattle and live stock, nil. From Atakpame to Agbandi not one trader was met, excepting some Kabures not even ten in number. A wonderful road, perhaps, without its kind in West Africa. The presence of lorries belonging to Government carrying cement for bridges beyond Sokodé and lorries belonging to Monsieur Carbon carrying, perhaps, salt to Sansane-Mangu, were indications that beyond the Atakpame district there was a habitation of men. But one of our men, who was a German Government employé for about twenty years, was surprised to witness the absence of trade and hives of humanity that crowded the roads with cattle and merchandise in the German days compared with the devastation that is evident on all sides. What a pity and what a loss to Togoland!

11/20/23

Blita was the first station in the Sokodé district. Here there were about a hundred huts. By huts I mean hovels that suffocate. They were roundly built hovels measuring about 6 feet in diameter. But the majority of the huts were untenanted due chiefly to the exodus of their owners to the Gold Coast, as our carriers explained to us; having eaten of the fruit of knowledge and freedom they would rather go to the place where they could be got. At Blita we met a number of people at the Zongo, about 40, mostly Kabures, who would not desecrate their bodies by covering them with woven cotton but rather emulate father Adam. But some of them desecrated their heads by shading them with umbrellas and leaving the lower portion of their anatomy in Adam style. As we were having a day's rest at Blita, Monsieur Bonnecarrere, drove past like Jehu in his motor car with Madam Bonnecarrère, a doctor and other officials, on his way to the country of the Kabures. He did not care to look at us. Bonnecarrére may be anything in France, but here in Togoland we are feeding him together with his wife and the superfluous host of Frenchmen battening on the money of the taxpayer. His Excellency Commissaire Bonnecarrére had two lorries carrying his luggage. The lorries and car were bought by the Government with the taxpayers' money and yet when we offered to hire cars ourselves, Goguely, acting on the instructions given him by Bonnecarrére, refused us that right. But let all that pass. We left Blita at 2.30 the next day and reached Diobotaure about 8 o'clock a.m. Here we rested the whole day and left again at the usual hour for Anda and then to Yara-Yara, resting here one and two days respectively. The next stopping place and station was Shalu. On our arrival there the Sergeant sent one of his men to report our presence in the suburbs of Sokodé to the Administrator-Commandant of Sokodé. About an hour later a squad of soldiers came into the village and impressed us with the might and majesty of the invincible French army. But in what uniform? Did Henrik Witboy lose some of his men? Leutwein or Trotha may apply for them through the League of Nations. A word was sent from Sokodé that we should remain at Shalu the whole day. Bonnecarrère was expected at Sokodé and might have been on his return journey to Atakpame, and he wished not to see us. We left Shalu at 4 a.m. the next day and reached Sokodè at 6 a.m. Soldiers were placed on the road to direct us where to pass. We were not to go through the streets of Sokodé but through the unbeaten track that led out for a mile or two out of the village without giving us chance to rest or to buy food. Here a number of carriers were ready to take the place of those seized for us on the way, and the few with us from Atakpame, who remained when they had also to leave us. We resumed our journey northward, tired and hungry, and crossed no village on the way save one which had nothing to sell. The ascent of the Malfakasa mountain was difficult. There was a case of fainting and the old man had to vacate his hammock for the unfortunate one and to sit down till the new occupant was put at a certain distance and his own turn came again.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

The Gold Coast Leader

2/11/23

British Empire Exhibition.

Criticisms of West African Policy.

The conclusions reached by Sir Wm. Joynson Hicks with regard to the British Empire Exhibition, and the recommendations subsequently made by the Duke of Devonshire, have not been received with surprise in West African circles. Last week, before the appearance of the Report of Investigation, the opportunity arose for discussing the whole subject of the exhibition, as well as its bearing on West Africa, with various leading people not connected with what may be called the present official management side of the exhibition. The views that they expressed were that, whilst the present manager was undoubtedly a most able man, the Imperial interests involved were so enormous and important that it would be highly dangerous for the autocratic control to be centred too much in any one individual. It may be added that strong criticisms were made to us also regarding the constitution of the West African Committees. West Africa is spending a very large sum of money on the exhibition, devoting great energy to preparing exhibits locally, and has a strong chairman of its Central Group Committee in London (Mr. Goldsmith). There are also representatives of big African trading interests on this committee. So far so good. But the view seems to be held both here and in Liverpool that the commercial element is not sufficiently represented.

Imperial Institute Alterations.

It is interesting news that the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has appointed a committee to consider the work and functions of the Imperial Institute and how far, if at all, the research work might be carried on by other institutions. It is, perhaps, well to be frank about the Imperial Institute. Its research and analytical work on behalf of the Crown Colonies has been done well and is very valuable. It also, to a considerable extent, acts as a co-ordinator of their potentialities in the way of raw materials' resources. As such it is consulted by manufacturers and others to a much greater degree than is generally known. On the other hand, its galleries of exhibits of these are out of the way and visited very little, and as a result of this and other causes (for which the inadequacy of Government business conceptions are responsible, and not the Staff) the Imperial Institute has no active tentacles in the commercial world. When it is consulted (by the minority, who know what useful advice and information it can give) it responds expertly. But we have failed to find any Government organisation behind it to make it an active creative force as well as one which is merely "re-active to stimuli." One can conceive such an institution, under a joint committee of the leading Chambers of Commerce and Department of Overseas Trade, filling a public need of the Empire. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic idea of running a purely business institution on Civil Service principles to a large extent stultifies the excellent work done by the Staff.

"Rebuild Sierra Leone."

Under these words the "Sierra Leone Guardian" has a leading article of some significance at the present juncture. We presume its reference is to the small area of the "Colony" as distinct from the "Protectorate," and that its meaning is more moral than material. It is very curious to notice the difference between the characters of the two peoples. The majority of the descendants of the freed slaves who form the people of the "Colony" (excepting the Krios) seem, of course, are, when not of the learned professions, either clerks, petty traders, hawkers, etc. If some combine, growing for sale a little garden produce and rearing a few fowls, it is as far as they go. They seem to know little of and be interested less in the land, and, generally, cannot support and maintain themselves on it or carry on the labours and little industries of their forefathers. In the Protectorate, on the other hand, we see a self-supporting peasantry, building their own houses, making their own requirements, weaving cloth for their use, etc. There seems certainly a very thorough rebuilding of the Colony needed; but, as the present Governor (Mr. Slater) sees, it must start with a revolution in its education. As regards material rebuilding, a good earthquake would (it has been frequently whispered to us) be the greatest blessing Freetown could receive.

Effects on Gold Coast.

The same paper goes on to say that a lot of money would no doubt be made by the Government of the Gold Coast if it would build a post office at any point between Danoe and Afiao. Hundreds of natives are employed daily in making roads, without pay and without food; the situation is now even worse than during the time of German occupation. The German Government then were satisfied with the revenue of the colony they received from the merchants, and would have abolished the 6s. tax imposed on everyone. The then Duke Governor promised to repeal it on his immediate return to the colony; also, as fate would have it, the great war broke out, and Togoland was occupied by the British Government, so that during the occupation in 1914 up to 1920 there was no taxation imposed on anyone. But no sooner had the English gone away than the French re-introduced this and other taxation and abuses. The large number of Gold Coast natives who were formerly in Togoland have suffered severely, including the deportations of whole families of respectable people, and these unfortunate folks are leaving as rapidly as they can, it is not surprising to learn.

Palm Trees or Cocoa?

The growth of the cocoa industry on the Gold Coast has caused a general neglect of the products of the palm tree, except for palm wine. This is unfortunate in a double sense, as, on the one hand, an important product is being neglected, and, on the other, the native method of getting palm wine on the Gold Coast is a fatal one to the palm. In all other parts of the tropics the trees are tapped to produce either sugar or a wine. But they are tapped standing, and live for a number of years, and continue to yield crops when they have recovered from the operation. On the Gold Coast the palm trees are always felled. This process has rapidly increased there of late, owing to the prohibition of spirits, and it looks as if it will end in the destruction of the possibilities of any future palm oil industry should the demand for cocoa ever become less than the supply, or the crops fail.

Palm Wine in Nigeria.

In that most useful little publication, "Journal of the Gold Coast Agricultural Society" just to hand, are recorded some valuable experiments carried out in Nigeria some years ago in producing palm wine without damaging the trees. Two processes were tried—1st by excising the base of the peduncle of the male inflorescence this is the commonest method of tapping in vogue amongst the natives, and 2nd by excising the region at the base of the growing point of the stem. As a result, it was proved that oil palms in West Africa will produce wine without being destroyed. Of thirty trees, ten were used for each experiment, ten for influence tapping, and ten were left untouched as a control. The first method [illegible] allows of 52 days. One tree yielded 1½ gallons, another 2 gallons, and another 2½ gallons. The second method yielded as a result of the tapping operation. The second [illegible] which is the base of the male inflorescence [illegible] two years, began to yield [illegible] of wine [illegible] Gallons. These trees continued to yield [illegible] although there was a decreasing yield of sap as a result of which these trees failed to produce flowers in the second year.

AFRICAN NEGRO PROMINENT AT WHITE MISSIONARY CONFERENCE

Star of Zion

J. E. K. AGGREY SWAYS AUDIENCE WITH FERVENT ELOQUENCE

Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. J. E. Kwegyri Aggrey, a native of the Gold Coast of Africa, was one of the principal speakers at the Eighteenth annual conference of the Eastern Union of Student Volunteers. The conference was held at Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. Mr. Aggrey spoke to about 275 delegates and leaders representing 23 universities, seminaries, and colleges. 3-1-23

His masterful address on Sunday morning at the First Methodist church (white) was heard by a large audience composed of the delegates students, professors, and many of Madison's citizens. He emphasized the fact that each race must make its contribution to civilization through its own peculiar way. He then pointed out the value of race co-operation to this end and said: 'Why should one race be jealous of another since each must fulfil the mission of its own existence or fail?' His unbiased discourse captivated the audience; won to him the conference and prepared the way for an enthusiastic hearing for the afternoon session.

The theme of his afternoon address was, "Give God a Chance in your Life." The fervent eloquence of the speaker held the conference enthralled throughout the lengthy discourse.

After the session his hand was vigorously shaken by many men and women who heartily congratulated and thanked him for the inspiring message, by which their missionary visions were made brighter and their hearts fired with renewed zeal to serve humanity and God. For nearly two hours after the session Mr. Aggrey was detained by inquirers. He was asked many questions concerning Africa and the missionary centers there. With amazing accuracy, as was remarked by many, he named and located missions of numerous denominations even to the extreme boundaries of the continent. During this period following the session, a more intimate understanding of his optimistic philosophy was indeed most gratifying. Some of his personal experiences in both the north and south of this country were related with an ever enlivening interest, his keen intellect occasionally producing the acme of wit.

Mr. Aggrey's addresses were said by many to be the greatest of the conference. He fully and fairly represented the cause of the race, which will be of inestimable value in years to come. For the occasion is rare that a Negro has the opportunity to speak to such a sentiment moulding group of the white race. The seed of better understanding and better relations between the races were truly sown with unstinting hand. And may the soil in which they were sown, warmed by the sunshine of God's influence, produce an abundant harvest.

The comments on Mr. Aggrey's addresses by professors, delegates and students were of the highest commendation. One professor said such a demonstration cannot be accounted for simply on the basis of heredity and environment. The special "gift" or "plus" must be regarded as worthy of note.

Mr. Aggrey has received his M. A. Degree at Columbia University, and will soon complete work leading to the degree of Ph. D. He will then return to Africa where he believes the fullest chance will be given God in his life for the redemption of humanity.

J. C. Finney.



MRS. ISOM C. CLINTON.

The above is a cut of the widow of the late Bishop I. C. Clinton, in the A. M. E. Zion Church. She has been a member of the A. M. E. Zion church for more than forty years, during which time, hundreds of ministers of the gospel of Christ have found shelter and comfort in the Clinton home. At this present time she is the leading spirit among the women in the Mt. Zion A. M. E. Zion church, Lancaster, S. C.

Kingwilliamtown, Africa

Agricultural Unions.

Inwood

1-16-23

There is much evidence that Natives are at last awaking to the value of improved methods of agriculture. The fields during last winter have been better prepared, freed from weeds and winter crops attempted, better than ever done before. A great deal of this has been directly due to the influence of much conversation and fireside discussion of better ploughing, which in turn is due to the multiplication of agricultural unions among Natives throughout the Cape Province. Whilst Government grants subsidies on the pound for pound principle to European farmers' associations some of which have hardly a dozen members present at their so called meetings nothing is granted to the Middledrift or Keiskama or Butterworth associations which are attended by anything from fifty to a hundred at an average gathering. Natives throughout the Union are asking Government for real encouragement in agriculture with a view to increasing the production of the country until the day comes when the exports of the Union shall balance up with the imports and the financial equilibrium restored. A charter has been presented to General Smuts and Sir Thomas Smartt, Minister of Native Affairs and of Agriculture respectively, giving in detail the ways in which Government can and should assist Native Agriculture. In order to demonstrate that there is earnestness behind this movement we here append a list of existing Native Agricultural Unions founded during the last four years. They will probably meet in Conference next June when Lovedale and Fort Hare will hold an agricultural show. These are the names of the secretaries of the various associations of Native Agriculturists and Farmers, (with names of Presidents) as far as ascertainable, up to October, 1922:—

1. Mr D. D. T. Jabavu, (President Chief S. Zibi), Native Farmers Association, P.O. Alice.
2. Mr K. Keswa, P.O. Umzimkulu.
3. Mr N. A. Mazwai, Kentani
4. Mr Sol. Milton Ntloko, Nqamakwe.
5. Mr S. Z. Gabada, Elliotdale.
6. Mr Elisha Mda, Box 40 Umtata.
7. Mr C. E. Ndunge, Cegcuana, Ndabakazi.
8. Mr H. H. Masebe, (President, Chief C. Veldtman), Butterworth, (District).
9. Mr Hubert Bikitsha, Local Association, Butterworth.
10. Mr Mdoba, (President Mr Mnyengeza), Mtwakazi, Hackney.
11. Rev. E. Mdolomba, Cala.
12. Rev. J. Dugmore, Herschel.
13. Mr R. J. Mohapi, Ntoyi School, Herschel.
14. Mr Knight Marambana, (President Chief B. Tele), Ayliff Sch. Peddie.
15. Headman J. Selanto, Ngxwalane, King William's Town.
16. Rev. J. S. Mlonzi, (with branches at Lusikisiki, Flagstaff, Bizana), Dumsi, Mount Frere.
17. Mr McFie Ncobo Caba c/o Mrs H. Acton, Great Kei Drift P.O. Bolo
18. Mr Kenneth K. Qusheka Malu, Tsomo.
19. Mr David Mona, c/o Lunda Store, Magadla, Matatiele.
20. Mr Sol. Zingelwa, R.M.O. Mount Fletcher.
21. Rev. J. Ntlahla, B.A., Xwili, P.O. Bityi Rail.
22. Mr J. M. Tshangela, Jozana's Hoek, P.O. Bensovale.
23. Mr S Ngcwabe, Papasi, Indwe.
24. Mr R. F. Haya, (President Chief Mgcawezulu Tshatshu), Box 141, King William'sTown.
25. Rev. E. G. Marx, Shiloh, Whittlesea.
26. Mr S. Dlengezele, (President Chief Ntsonkota), Nxaruni, Egerton, East London.
27. Mr. Zech. Sokopo, 12, Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

THE DRUM LANGUAGE OF WEST AFRICA.

FASCINATING LECTURE BY CAPTAIN R. S. RATTRAY, M.B.E.

Captain R. S. Rattray, M.B.E., of the Gold Coast Political Service, gave a fascinating lecture, before the African Society, at the Royal Society of Arts, on Wednesday evening, on "The Drum Language of West Africa." The lecture represented one of the chapters of his forthcoming book on the subject.

Sir Lawrence Wallace presided, and among those present were Lady Guggisberg, C.B.E., Lady New, Mr. Lewis A. Smart, Mr. Fitzgerald Marriott, Major Maxwell-Lyte, Mr. B. M. Slater, Mr. John Maxwell (Accra), and Mr. A. Lloyd-James, M.A. (Phonetics Dept., University College).

West Africa
3-24-23

"There is, I believe," declared Captain Rattray, at the outset, "scarcely any other West African art or custom that has aroused so much widespread wonder and cruiosity, nor any concerning which such misconception still prevails, as that connected with the West African drum language.

"I first became interested in this difficult subject many years ago. At that time it was generally known that the Ashantis, in common with certain other West African peoples, were able to convey messages over great distances, and in an incredibly short space of time, by means of drums, and it was thought that their system was based upon some such method as that with which Europeans are familiar in the Morse code.

"A brief investigation of the subject, while proving that our preconceived ideas concerning this art were erroneous, did not go either deeply or scientifically into the question." It remained to be proved after nearly a decade, said the lecturer, after quoting from an article, how "two drums set in different keys" could possibly be heard as, or made to reproduce, actual spoken words. He would make an attempt to explain this feat and to prove how, in its local language environment, with certain well-defined limitations, such a thing was not only possible, but linguistically and phonetically natural. An account would also be given of the appliances used—the drums—containing a description of how they are made, and of the religious observances inseparable from the process of making the drum. Finally a selection from one of the "set pieces" would be given in full, containing first the usual overture or prelude common to all drum pieces, and going on to relate the history in chronological order of one of the most important Ashanti divisions. This piece was in itself a very wonderful storehouse of anthropological material, which from its very nature, had remained untouched and unspoiled by civilisation. A complete series of phonographic records had been made of this particular drum history, and these would be available for future detailed examination.

In order the better to understand his subject he had prevailed upon some of the experts to give him lessons in drumming. What was recorded was, therefore, based upon an elementary practical knowledge of the subject.

Phonetics and philology held the key which alone could unlock the secrets of the Ashanti drum language. He (Captain Rattray) owed a great debt to the late Rev. J. G. Christaller, German student and missionary, who was the first, many years ago, to draw attention to "tones" in the African language.

In Ashanti every syllable, in every word, had assigned to it a more or less arbitrary tone or musical pitch. These tones do not depend on the will or caprice of the speaker, and were not employed for emotional, oratorical or grammatical purposes, but are an important element in the language for the correct and intelligible pronunciation of a particular word, and the alteration of tone in two words, otherwise spelled exactly alike, might change the actual dictionary meaning.

Other important factors had, in a greater or less degree, a direct bearing on the subject, and these were: accent, gesture, facial gesture, pauses, stops or punctuation, and duration of words or sentences, i.e., speed at which spoken. As they all knew, the African is a past master in the use of gesture. Stops or pauses corresponded to punctuation in speech. The used of speed was quite obvious.

When they came to examine Ashanti talking drums it would be noticed that a small piece of iron called *akasa* lies on the tymponum of the male drum—there is a male and female drum—to which it was sometimes attached. That bit of iron gives rise to a harsh discordant note which runs intermittently through the more musical tones with which it mingles. The drummer always says that the drums will not "speak well" without it. Its name means "the little speaker." There was obviously no difficulty in reproducing the correct number of syllables in a word. As for punctuation and stops, there was an almost infinitesimal pause between each syllable and a slightly longer one after each word. He believed there are still indications that Ashanti is or has been a holophrastic language, as perhaps all written languages tend to be. This peculiarity of the holophrase supplied, he believed, another factor which helped out the drums in their attempted approximation of human speech. The drummer was not so much concerned with the individual letters or syllables—he knew nothing of either—but hears a musical phrase, as it were, in which if he misses a note here and there, i.e., a syllable, the context which he would have grasped assists him in deciphering the whole. This recognised linguistic melody which he hears is composed of sounds and stops approximating to high and low vowel sounds, consonants, and the exact number of required syllables. The whole is punctuated and accented as accurately as can be done in print. In any particular holophrase, then, they had, as it were, a bar of music. Ashanti drummers become familiar with the common phrases and "set pieces" which form the repertoire of the drummer's stock.

He did not think it had been recognised properly either how wonderful or how worthy of our fostering the drum language really is. We began to realise that an untaught African people had grasped and adapted elements in the science of phonetics to the production of a useful means of inter-communication, one which was of practical utility in their daily life. It had helped to preserve the records of their past, thereby imparting a certain pride of race as descendants of men and women who were once great. Ashanti drumming should, therefore, inspire our respect and receive our gratitude, and we should begin to encourage an art which must otherwise soon die out, taking with it much of the past history of this people.

There was no reason why messages should not be drummed across Ashanti, 200 miles from east to west, as rapidly or more so than we could send a telegraphic communication. Technically the expert drummer had no limitations, but reading with accuracy new combinations was another matter. A drummer's stock in trade consisted of a series of holophrases dealing with important subjects, including: The calling up of any particular chief; notice of danger, an enemy, fire, etc; death of a noted individual; approach of European; summons to take up arms or declaration of war; and perhaps more important of all to us, the pieces drummed at the festivals known as *Adae*, which constitutes a complete drum history of the particular clan.

PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA.

If Admiral Leote do Rego had not previously given distinct indications in his speeches that he was principally out to stir up unpleasantness between Pretoria and Lisbon, one might possibly have ignored his varied oratorical efforts and decline to take him seriously. But the latest utterances of the gallant naval officer in the course of a lecture last week devoted to Mozambique provide further sensational evidence of the ill-natured and imaginative propaganda which is being actively fostered by a small section of our Portuguese friends. To state with apparent conviction, as Admiral do Rego is reported to have said without any frill or modification, viz., that the Union of South Africa had fomented rebellion in the Province of Mozambique by means of propaganda (whatever this may mean) displays a lamentable state of mentality. The Admiral further boldly charges General Smuts with alleged aspirations to please the general desire of South Africa to create a grander Union which would actually absorb Angola and Mozambique, and he finally protested against the continued policy of silence chiefly based on the fact of the Lisbon authorities not having disclosed all details of the present negotiations. Poor Admiral do Rego! If he would only make his inquiries in the proper quarters we feel certain that his apprehensions regarding the Utopian intentions credited to South Africa and its people and its Government are *ipso facto* non-existent, and that a mutually satisfactory settlement for a new Mozambique Convention is much further advanced than generally known.

Native Farmers.

The Native Farmers' Association of the Middledrift district met for the twenty-third occasion on the 24th Feb. last at Rabula, when despite wet weather there was an attendance of close on a hundred enthusiasts. This fact alone speaks well of the progress made in the district by the movement originated by Dr J. E. East for the upliftment of aboriginal agriculturists.

The chair was occupied by the Rev. Solomon Mdala who in a breezy opening address pointed out that the art of agriculture was the foundation of true Christianity and expressed how pleased he was to notice that clergymen of various sects were whole-heartedly supporting the society all the more because the Cross to which they constantly invited their people was after all not something physically good to eat (laughter). The society, he continued, liberated their women folk from the undesirable and degrading duty of hoe scuffling and raising them to their proper status of womanhood in the home. It behoved the old Cape Colony population to maintain its traditional leadership in culture also in the science of the proper cultivation of the soil, and not to fall behind other districts.

In the absence of the Secretary (Mr D. D. T. Jabavu) who was away at Cape Town on public errands the minutes were perused by the assistant Secretary (Mr D. P. Mkosana) and they were confirmed.

The meeting was welcomed to Rabula in appropriate words by Mr J. W. Somtunzi who prided himself in the fact that the association was originally founded at Rabula. He was seconded by a popular speaker Mr D. Time who added that the influence of the organisation had spread like a prairie conflagration because nowadays even the blanketed heathen were, thanks to it, found planting their mealies in straight rows and employing horses and cultivators.

A communication was then read out from Mr Paul Germond, Lecturer in Agriculture at the Native College, giving details of the

forthcoming Agricultural Show to be held at the Native College in June. The meeting resolved to request the Fort Hare and Lovedale authorities to hold future Shows during Summer months instead of the Winter in view of that being a more favourable season for the development of Stock. Messrs S. Sonjica and S. Tontsi were appointed as delegates to meet Mr Garmond in behalf of the association.

At this point the Government Demonstrator Mr Stanford Sonjica gave his usual lecture. Seeing an unusual number of new faces he dwelt upon the necessity of every Native agriculturist joining the society because sustenance and comfort are the very essence of respectability; no man can command respect if he is starving; even the religious minister abandons his circuit when it fails to feed him. Although many still held aloof from this society on the ground that it deprives them of scuffling women, it was gratifying to note that the Government favoured this society because it had consented to provide another Native Demonstrator for the districts. He asked Messrs Sipo Mamba and William Gale to stand, and complimented them on being Agricultural students at the College, thus being pioneers of the most essential form of Native livelihood.

Mr W. Time in thanking the Demonstrator said that the society had brought salvation to his village of Gwiligwili which was represented by no less than ten attenders that day.

Questions were then asked with reference to scuffling during continuous rains, the failure of seed to germinate in good soil, and how to combat the mealie stalk-borer; after these were satisfactorily answered the Demonstrator intimated that he had accepted an invitation from Rev. J. Marx of Shiloh, Whittlesea to go and give a lecture to the Natives on Cultivation.

The Treasurer (Mr S. F. Soniica) in a rousing speech remarked that this society stood in a high degree of respect in the eyes of the Government and Principals of Native Educational Institutions such as Prof. Kerr and Dr Henderson; that the Government was generally responsive to all the petitions emanating from this society of agriculturists and that it had the hearty support of the Parliamentary member of the district, Major Ballantine, M.L.A., that it was a representative meeting with Chiefs, Ministers, Teachers and the general Native public in its enrolment.

Mr S. Peteni gave an instructive address on the need for thrift and economy; he warned members against amassing debt on the strength of their prospective crops and enjoined investing money in banks. In supporting this, the Treasuer related the fable of the fox and the wolf stealing the Dutchman's sheep, when the fox kept tesbing himself at the narrow gate while the wolf ate until he could not pass the gate. In the same way trouble overtook the careless Native in debt with the European storekeepers. He cautioned teachers against cashing their salary vouchers at the store, lest they be tempted to exhaust their earnings.

Mr E. G. Mankazana suggested that this society should forward a resolution to the Government on the new bills affecting Natives. Announcements were then made with regard to the Bantu Union, Mr T. Kawa's Lectures on the Aba Mbo, and the request made by the Keiskama Hoek Magistrate to the Government for a special Demonstrator of Agriculture in his district.

Subscriptions amounted to £2 11/- bringing the total balance at bank to £20 8/9. Next meeting was fixed for the 26th May, 1923 at Burnshill, Middledrift.

Dr. Loram on Natives.

(Concluded)

Inuo-2-27-23

As far as we can see at present Northern Rhodesia will be primarily a ranching country. There will not be the large centres of population met with at our seaport and industrial towns, so that the industrial struggle between the white and the black artisan, which is apparently inevitable in South Africa, may never arise in Northern Rhodesia. A thorough professional education should be available for the "talented tenth" of the native population to fit them to be the clergymen, teachers, nurses, doctors and dentists of the people on the reserves. It will, of course, be many, many years before Rhodesia can provide such an institution, but meantime the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Cape Province, an institution partly financed and partly controlled by the Union Government is available for her best students. This will obviate the necessity for their going overseas for their education, a course of action which would tend to increase the difficulties of our problem in this country. Northern Rhodesians will probably be surprised to learn that there are already 457 native schools in their country with an enrolment of forty thousand pupils. This is proof of the oft repeated statement that the native means to receive education whether the Government wishes it or not, for these schools are being carried on by the missionaries without Government support or professional supervision. The absence of supervision seems to be a serious omission, for no country can afford to allow its native population to be educated without seeing that education is useful and in keeping with the general native policy of the land. Luckily, Northern Rhodesia is fortunate in her missionaries and the recent conference at Kafue, working in a magnificent spirit of co-operation, formulated a scheme which made provision for the establishment of a central training and industrial institution, probably at Kafue, and for the setting up of machines for the control, support and supervision of elementary education. A wise forward step taken now would give the right direction to the education which is to be given to the native people and would avoid the troubles of the Union where we have four provinces administering native education with at least three policies, a serious absence of articulation, and with no connection with the department directing native affairs.

May we take the opportunity of this Christmas season to ask for the goodwill of Northern Rhodesians towards the missionaries, those brave men and women who go into the dark places of the land and quite apart from the sacred functions, act as our ambassadors to the native people. In our land where too often the native gets his first and abiding estimate of us Europeans from the Kafir storekeeper or the labour tout it is something to be thankful for that there is generally the Christian missionary standing up for justice, morality and a splendid altruism. It is significant that the opposition to missionaries comes generally from the ignorant, the degraded or the selfish. All authorities on native affairs, while not failing to point out faults and weaknesses of missionaries, have praised them not only for their primary work of evangelization, but for their sound political influence and for the social and economic benefit they have brought to the native by their teachings and practice of hygiene, agriculture and industry. Luckily the relations between the officials and people of Northern Rhodesia and the missionaries appear to be entirely satisfactory, so that there would seem to be no difficulties in the way of making use of the willing, cheap and efficient missionary help in the development of the native policy of Northern Rhodesia.

Finally, may we remind our friends in the North that the race question knows no geographical boundaries, and that our problem is their problem in a very real sense. With us there is something so tremendous, so menacing, so difficult in the situation that we are often paralysed into inactivity. Let it not be so with them. They have a situation where the issues are simpler and the difficulties fewer. The problem needs courage, understanding, justice and sympathy. All these Rhodesia has in abundance. May she go forward and tackle her problem, and may it be said of her that she saved herself by her exertions and the rest of South Africa by her example!

New Pass Laws.

Inuo-2-27-23

The Prime Minister has introduced into Parliament the Native Registration and Protection Bill 1923, which under a curious guise is a law to resuscitate a Pass bill piloted in 1886 by Jacobus de Wet in the old Cape Parliament. The original bill instituting Pass Laws was quashed in 1887 by J. H. Hofmeyr with an act that released all Native voters from the operations of laws that discriminate between black and white. Since, we have never heard of anything savouring of Pass Laws in the Cape Province. Now, thirty years after that the Government is digging up the skeleton of Gordon Sprigg's dead law and infusing life into it in the form of the present bill. All Cape Natives are puzzled why their liberties are thus being taken away one by one ever since the Union was established. Their right to Parliamentary membership was taken in 1909, now the disgusting and degrading Dutch Pass Laws of Transvaal are being brought into the Cape, this being the only thanks they get from their administrators for their loyalty to the British flag.

We would have preferred to see the total abolition of all Passes everywhere rather than their spread into new areas.

We therefore give the Government timely warning that if this bill passes into law without any modification to cut out the Cape Province from its reference, they must be prepared for every mode of resistance, active and passive, from the more intelligent classes of Natives, especially the voters whose power in the elections is by no means to be neglected.

Race Problem — 1923

Africa

West Africa

10-20-23

Health Week in Accra.

Organised by the local Medical Officer of Health, a health week was held in Accra (8-15th October) during which an effort was made to enlist the intelligent co-operation of the people in problems affecting their own health, and to educate public opinion to be intolerant of high rates of sickness or mortality. The importance of clean premises and of the purity and satisfactory storage of food and water was emphasised, to say nothing of the importance of vaccination against smallpox, and the notification of infectious disease. Practical instruction in cleaning premises was obtained by organising sections of the community, and of the school-children to whom definite sections of the town were allocated, and, in addition to all rubbish, all vegetation was removed from drains and the less frequented thoroughfares.

While such a week of activity is perhaps useful in removing immediate accumulations of rubbish, it is doubtful whether it has any more lasting effect on the people than has the fine that many of them pay periodically for harbouring mosquito larvæ. This latter business has come to be regarded popularly as one of the lesser taxes from which there is no escape, and there is a great danger that a health week may be mistaken to be a cheap method invented by a cunning health officer for an inexpensive "spring cleaning" of the town. To be of real use, a health week should be preceded by an extended course of educational propaganda, and even then it is likely to remain but a spasmodic effort unless the local governing authorities take steps to facilitate the sanitary disposal of refuse. It avails little to preach sanitation to individuals when even the crudest of sanitary systems is either non-existent, or present on so small a scale as to be almost unserviceable. The principle to be adopted should be that of quartermasters in Coast barracks—first see that every convenience for cleanliness is easily available, and *then*, having taken steps to educate your people in their use, impose penalties with the requisite degree of severity on those who will not carry out their duty to the community. To preach communal hygiene to a people which is offered few or insufficient means of practising the principles proposed is to waste time and money.

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, SEPT. 4, 192[illegible]

Vacation Courses.

The recent Winter School held at Lovedale and Fort Hare will probably be reckoned in times to come as an epochal stage in the progress of Native education, if not actually a Revival of Learning such as that of Europe during the fifteenth century.

Vacation courses for Natives in this country began five years ago in Natal through the kindly agency of Dr C T. Loram, then Chief Inspector for Native Education. These were held annually with great success until they were stopped by the Teachers' Boycott in 921. According to the "Ilanga," the Natal teachers would now like to see them re started. Then when "Stewart Hall" was opened, Professor Kerr arranged a Summer School at Fort Hare—the first of its kind in the Cape Province and this proved so popular that Dr Henderson organised a similar one at Lovedale in December, 1921 when nearly twice as many teachers attended as did in the previous one at Fort Hare. Since then we have had vacation schools at Stofberg Gedeon, Lourdes, Ficksburg, Tsolo, Tiger Kloof, these all being eclipsed for numbers by the Winter School of last June when, over three hundred students attended. In all these, Dr Loram has shown his sympathy in a practical way, lecturing and helping to encourage the organisers.

9-4-23

These schools have apparently come to stay, and our people have shown such warm appreciation of them that the accommodation has been overtaxed in some cases, and the organisers are faced with a serious proposition in restricting the number of scholars.

This is a healthy sign, and there is a bright hope in this, for in these courses mutual understanding is developed as between black and white, the whites learning more about the blacks, and the latter being brought to realise the value of the presence of Europeans in this country as a factor in their development.

MESSAGE FROM HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Basutoland

I greet the members of the Basutoland Council on the occasion of the opening of its Eighteenth session.

Star

I desire to express my sympathy with the Council in the loss which they and the nation have sustained in the deaths of Chiefs Libopuoa Maama, Tlali Letsie and Councillor Ts'oloane Lipholo, and also the deaths of Councillor Monehela Potsane who died during last session, and of Councillor Bernard Matete who passed away just after the closing of the Council.

I am pleased to hear through your Acting Resident Commissioner that my message to the Council, regarding the administration of justice in the Native courts, has borne fruit and that there has been improvement in the method of the administration of native law both in the Paramount Chief's court and those of the district Chiefs. I trust that the improvement will continue and that as time goes on the Chiefs will by exercising in a proper manner the powers conferred on them, allay the sense of grievance which existed a year ago.

8-17-23

There is a most important question to be discussed by you at this session; that is the question of the eradication of Scab in Basutoland. The farmers of the neighbouring provinces have for a long time complained that their sheep and their sheep and goats continually become infected with Scab from Basutoland and have represented the matter to their Government, and the Union authorities have passed the complaint on to me. On making enquiries I was sorry to find that Scab was most prevalent in your flocks, and after consultation with your Resident Commissioner I have issued Government regulations providing for the compulsory dipping of small stock in your Territory. I regret however to learn that the Acting Resident Commissioner is meeting with some opposition to the effective carrying out of the regulations though he informs me that the Paramount Chief and all of you are most anxious to cleanse your flocks. This can only be effected by most rigorous campaign against the disease and by obeying the orders of the Government officials who are responsible for the administration of the regulations. I therefore hope that in your deliberations you will all realise and remember the seriousness of the position. I have already assured the Paramount Chief through the Acting Resident Commissioner that the only object of these regulations is to endeavour to stamp out this desease which is ruining your main industry, and that any suspicions or apprehensions as to any ulterior motive are entirely unfounded I have asked him to cause it to be read to the Council.

Another matter which has caused me concern is the reports I have received of the increasing prevalence of burr-weed in the Territory and I feel bound to warn the Chiefs that if they fail satisfactorily to enforce the Native law (Molao 23) for the eradication of burr-weed, the question of the eradication of noxious weeds will have to be dealt with by Proclamation.

I regret to hear that Typhus Fever is still prevalent in your country, and I must repeat my message of last year and again impress on you the importance of carrying out all instructions given you by the Medical Department and other officials on the subject.

I am greatly pleased to hear that you have had such good crops of mealies and kaffir corn and that there is now plenty of food for the land.

I renew to the Council my assurance that the interests of your nation have my constant care. I wish you well, and I trust that success and prosperity may attend you all.

The C. N. Teachers' Association

The Cape Native Teachers' Association which met in July last at King William's Town unanimously passed the following resolutions for transmission to the authorities of the Education Department, Cape Town :—

1. That the Education Department be requested to supply books and school requisites gratis to all Native Mission Schools.

2. That in order to carry out the new Education scheme efficiently, the Department be urged to provide facilities to teachers to acquire some knowledge of handicrafts by placing specialists who shall be available to teachers, at suitable centres.

3. That the Education Department be requested to arrange with the Government that maintenance grants, as given to European teachers continuing their studies, be made to Native teachers who, under authorities leave, return to College to continue their Education, and that in cases of those with families, some financial assistance be afforded to their families

4. To ask the Department that in the case of those who happened to be already in the teaching profession when the new certificate was established, such teachers be allowed, by exception, to take the Primary Higher Examination as private candidates.

5. That this Conference of Native teachers urges the desirability of a definite and tabulated scale of salaries for Native teachers being drawn up by the Education Department and published for general information.

The Conference, after full consideration and discussion, concluded that this was a fair and reasonable request to place before the Department of Education, because :—

(a) Under present conditions, the fixing of salaries for individual teachers seems to be enshrouded in a mystery, whose secret seems private between Managers, Inspectors and the Department. This secrecy is unfair both to the teachers and to the Managers, who are probably innocent of any sinister dealings, and it is an antiquated system that it is not found in the general Civil Service of the country. Obviously and inevitably it must engender suspicion against innocent parties, if allowed to continue.

(b) The present arrangement gives rise to remarkable anomalies which have been proved, such as, for instance, cases where an assitant teacher actually enjoys a higher salary than the Principal. This causes considerable dissatisfaction

(c) To render the resolution practicable, it will be necessary as a preliminary to adopt the principle of a uniform scale for Native teachers everywhere, both in towns and in the country districts. The popular theory that a country teacher lives a cheaper life than his town confrere was exploded on the ground that the country teacher could not rise above the squalor of his environment and attain the ideals of a civilised leader of his community without being in receipt of a salary commensurate with his needs. The present scale compels country teachers (who are the great majority of the profession in the case of natives) to live down to a level unworthy of their calling where they should strive upwards. Granting that the need for a uniform scale is proven, we suggest that a basic scale with increments be established, giving an irreducible minimum, to which may be superimposed a system of local allowances, as is done in the general Government Civil Service, to meet the varying circumstances of different localities.

A system such as is here outlined would in one stroke obviate all the anomalies under (a) and (b) as well as enable the Conference to understand clearly the actual classes of teachers who will benefit by the first instalment of the re-adjustment of the salaries of Native teachers by the Government.

S. RAKHOSI MOIKANGOA,
Sec. General.
C. N. T. Association.

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, AUG 21, 1923

Indians, Natives and Britain.

The Imperial Governments' decision on the Kenya question has not taken us very far in the hope of a final solution of the future amicable relations of the three races, Asiatics, Africans and Britishers in Africa. Nobody is satisfied. Most dissatisfied are the Indians, because they gained only one point, namely, the non-recognition of the abstract theory of segregation—a most indeterminate expression at best They lost the other four: an equal franchise on a common roll; equal representation on the Legislative Council; unrestricted ingress into Kenya; and the right to buy land on the Highland reserves. Their leader Mr Sastri blames the influence of General Smuts, against whom he fulminates in vitriolic language, because, says he, he has made Indians in Africa "unredeemed helots in a Boer Empire." The Europeans too, are disappointed, because the immigration question is left unsettled; the number of Indian representatives is made larger than they wished; and segregtion as a principle is decided. The Natives who number over two millions, are to be represented by a solitary missionary! They are inarticulate, being uneducated, hence their heritage must be consumed by the wiser brothers.

We had hoped to learn much from the long pending Britannic oracle, for reference to parallel problems within our Union. The Kenya Indians along with those in Natal, have since been told by General Smuts that white supremacy and British Imperialism come first :— 8-27-23

"We ask to be masters in our own house and to regulate South Africa according to our own ideas," said the Prime Minister last month in Maritzburg. . . "If a measure of segregation is considered essential by the white community in its own interests, I do not see why it should be resented by Indians in India or Indians here.

With regard to the franchise, we see no reason to make a distinction between Indians in this country and natives in this country. There is the colour line, which is in existence to day—right or wrong. I do not argue about that, but it is a clearly marked line you can follow, but once you cross that line, we see no reason why there should be any distiction between Indians and natives, and if Indians have to have the franchise then I see no reason why it should not be given to the natives. Well, we all know what the effect of that would be."

There is no ambiguity nor quibbling about this language. It is expressed with characteristic Dutch bluntness and candour. We can take it on its face value, and learn much from it and read much into it. It is a deliberate and fatal choice of wrong in the face of right, on the part of the best brains in South Africa, driven thereto probably by the inevitable vicissitudes of political servitude. For the politician must play to his gallery and dance to the tune of those who pay and call. The Indians to day are learning what the natives learnt in 1914 on their appeal to Britain. Instead of the old-time benign Exeter Hall in London, they have found the icy sphinx of imperialism. The cow of Great Britain has now gone dry because its calf has grown big and can expect no more milk. We are thrown to our own resources. This may be to our ultimate good. It is for us to show what we can do in uplifting ourselves. Verbal argument alone will not develop us as a nation. What will build us is achievement "British brains, energy, enterprise, governing capacity and capital have made Kenya. To that great task of creative colonisation the Indians have contributed nothing," runs the unsentimental comment of the "*Daily Telegraph*." Right or wrong, that is the attitude of the Britain of to-day.

Disappointed as we may be at the failure of our expectation, we may as well make the best use of that hard moral. To the cynic, the situation is distinctly ironical; for there appears to be no room for Christianity with its altruistic principles in the counsels of our statesmen. Christianity is good enough for Sunday lip-service and for the Natives. Our politicians certainly do not recognise it when they handle Indian and Native problems, because what counts with them is white supremacy, political office and imperialism. Time will prove whether this choice is right or wise.

ETHIOPIA BECOMES MEMBER OF LEAGUE

Geneva, September 28.—(By the Associated Press.)—Ethiopia today was formally admitted to membership in the league of nations, the Abyssinian empire having convinced the powers of the league that she was done with slavery forever. When the names of the Ethiopian delegates were called her representatives strode to the allotted places picturesquely clad in costumes of rich and colorful material. 9-29-23

The applause revealed that which greeted Ireland when the sons of Erin were received into the family of nations.

When the plaudits had subsided Prince Dejazmatch Nadeou, the chief delegate, with finely chiselled ebony features and a black Vandyke beard, mounted the rostrum and spoke in the name of his ruler, His Majesty Ouizero Zeoditu. Ethiopia had had a glorious past, he said, but being deficient in modern progress, had sought admission into the great league which stood for progress in modern civilization and for helpful cooperation between the peoples of the earth.

The empire was admitted to the league as a result of instructions from Abyssinia authorizing the delegation to subscribe to an agreement respecting the abolishment of slavery. As the delegates already had power to assume all the other obligations of the league no further impediment to Ethiopia's election existed. The election of the nation was unanimous.

Race Problem — 1923.

Africa.

SEGREGATION.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—"Festina Lente's" letter and your article in your last issue deserve, and will receive, the support of every African. You are right in saying that no thinking African objects to residential areas in which a high standard of building and the strictest rules of sanitation shall be enforced. We contend only that such areas should be open to anyone who can conform to that standard and will observe those rules. Segregation of this kind occurs everywhere, as economic development brings about distinctions between rich and poor, but even then "the two classes keep apart, but intermingle." What we object to is segregation based on racial discrimination, because it puts a stigma on the African. "However far our doctors and Governments may be from any such intention" the setting apart for the habitation of Europeans only of an area from which Africans are excluded is to adopt an attitude of arrogant superiority inevitably offensive.

If segregation could be complete, and if it did preserve the health of Europeans, it might be defended on sanitary grounds, though it would still be indefensible politically. But in the nature of things in West Africa it cannot be complete, and Europeans would suffer from malarial fever though no African came within a mile of them. The flora and fauna of a country are the outcome of an internecine strife waged among the inhabitants, from microbe to man, for untold ages, and has produced the balance of forces and the mutual adjustments which now prevail. This is as true of Europe as of Africa. Europe, as well as Africa, has its disease-producing microbes (and perhaps more of them) and European men have survived and hold their place by the same processes of struggle and adaptation as the Africans. The microbe struggles for existence with as much energy and persistence as man, and both are merely tesserae with which Nature builds up the great mosaic which we call life.

We Africans refuse to accept segregation as the final word in guarding Europeans against disease in West Africa because we have seen so many panaceas proclaimed as infallible remedies of malarial fever by the medical faculty, and regard this as merely its latest fad. A hundred years ago the infallible method of treatment was to bleed the patient, taking 20 to 30 ounces of blood from him, and to give him large doses of calomel; the third stage was generally the death of the patient, but in spite of the high mortality this treatment was considered the *only* remedy. This is seen in a book (published in 1836) by Dr. James Boyle, surgeon at Sierra Leone for several years. That Dr. Boyle was an acute observer is shown by the fact that he detected the difference between the ordinary bilious remittent fever and the endemic fever of the West Coast. He notes the frequency of fatal results following the bleeding of fever patients, but this only led him to the conclusion that while bleeding should be persisted in with cases on board ships, it ought not to be practised on patients on shore. When bleeding ceased to be the fashion among medical men in Europe it went out of fashion in West Africa, but the milder form of it, in cupping, continued. I suppose the last medical man to practise cupping in malarial fever cases was Surgeon-Major Rowe (afterwards Sir Samuel, K.C.M.G., and Governor first of Sierra Leone and later of the Gold Coast) who, when I first knew him, was Chief Medical Officer of the garrison at Cape Coast and medical attendant of the European firms. I saw him perform the operation on delirious patients several times. The effect was almost magical; the confused muttering ceased, the restless body lay still, the laboured breathing became regular, the patient sank into a calm sleep and after a few hours awoke, weak in body but clear in mind, and generally made a good recovery.

Then came the reign of quinine, and it was pushed to equally extravagant lengths. Doses of 15, 25 and 50 grains were administered, till the appearance of the even more fatal blackwater fever caused it to be looked upon with suspicion. Just at this time Sir Ronald Ross demonstrated the transference of malarial infection by the spot-winged mosquito, and the tagrag and bobtail of the medical profession ran about with the cry—"Kill the mosquito and keep away from the African!" Hence the doctrine of segregation, which is not a cure or preventive, but an attempt, foredoomed to futility, to evade infection. I share your admiration for doctors; for their self-sacrifice, devotion to duty and wide humanity, but, as you say, "they, like the rest of us, are human." They are a section of the community, and share the characteristics of the herd. At their head are a few men of outstanding ability who make great discoveries and enunciate and establish new principles; then comes a crowd of ordinary men who apply the teaching of their leaders with common sense, and finally there is a ruck of fools who catch at every novelty, and exaggerate and misapply the discoveries of the men of genius. Of such are the advocates of segregation to be applied regardless of the conditions of time and place.

But it will not do. When the European intrudes into the West African arena he must, willy-nilly, take part in the eternal and mortal struggle raging there. He brings in a new factor and disturbs the nicely adjusted balance of forces. He must fight for his place in the mosaic of West African life with the mosquito and the microbes, as well as with the light, the heat, the damp and the other climatic factors which differentiate the tropics from the temperate zone. And let him remember that if he meets disease in West Africa he brings with him diseases more deadly to the West African than malarial fever is to himself. As "Festina Lente" says: "We cannot eliminate the mosquito, we cannot eliminate malarial fever; we can only get used to them both, and they will, perhaps, help us more than we think. We have to learn the tropics." And the European must also learn tropical mankind, its history, traditions, wishes, and ways of thought. This knowledge can only be attained by close and intimate contact with Africans and other tropical races. And who knows but that this (accompanied, of course, by well-designed and properly-executed sanitary measures) may be the right road to healthy life for the European in the tropics? At all events, what you say in your article about the health of missionaries, who live among and as their African flocks, gives one furiously to think.

Yours faithfully,

November 3rd. W. F. H.

TRADE AND POLITICS IN LIBERIA.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Surprise is felt here at an attack upon Liberia in France by M. Maurice De La Fosse, published in the "Dépêche Coloniale." This attack seems to be directed against the Liberian Government on account of the activity of German traders doing business here, the writer charging the Government with securing to the Germans superior advantages. The Government contends that the contrary is the case. The failure of the attempt to secure a loan in America led the Government to put forth greater efforts to stimulate productivity by granting increased and freer opportunities for foreign commercial and industrial investment. This policy had been urged by foreign investors, especially British merchants. The Government felt that in principle this request was just, but up to 1922 had been deterred from taking such a step on account of inherent difficulties. Legislation has now been passed relaxing in a large measure the restrictions which the Liberian Government under pressure of the Allies had imposed upon foreign traders. Every avenue to the progress of British and French commercial activities was thrown open. With the active assistance of the Liberian Government, these traders acquired all the trading sites, factories and buildings formerly held by the Germans, and were now in a splendid position to keep the lead.

But the British and French traders neglected to use the opportunities. They did not seek to co-operate with the Liberians in any way, so as to induce them to produce, nor did they act so as to stimulate the trade of the country, but they sought to take advantage of their position, and did everything they could by way of keeping the Liberians back, and pressing them down by high prices, etc. The Germans, after the declaration of peace, re-entered, and with energy and initiative began actively to take steps to re-establish trade influence, and did this under great deprivations, and the necessity to which they were put to acquire new sites, buildings, etc., with the result that they have in the short space of time they have been here reduced the lead and are rapidly gaining.

The "Dépêche Coloniale" is in error when it suggests that it is German money distributed among Liberian officials and parliamentarians that has brought about the German position in trade.

It is for the principals of British and French commercial houses to inquire on the spot why those two countries are not getting the trade. Intelligent inquirers would soon find the cause.

Yours truly,

Monrovia, October, 1923. OBSERVER.

THE COSTLY FUTILITY OF SEGREGATION.

WE do not know whether the West African Inquiry Commission, if or when it materialises, will bring within its purview the question of the cost of attempting to apply residential segregation. There is not likely to be a rush of people anxious to bring the question under notice. For one thing, the commercial organisations have not in the past been unanimous on the subject. It was with surprise and dismay that, something over a year ago, we noticed that the Trade Section at Manchester, of all cities, was disposed to endorse the official policy on segregation. But now that the commercial bodies have had more time to study, in all its bearings, the attempt at segregation, we imagine we are right in saying that there is no longer any support of the principle among the organised commercial men. And indeed, it might be rather wide of the mark to say that there is any policy common to the four Governments. Sir Hugh Clifford's various addresses have made it clear that his vigorous understanding and long experience of tropical countries have led him to reject as impracticable, if not undesirable, a great part of the segregation programme. Our own view from the outset, expressed at various times, has been that complete segregation is not possible, and that if it were it would almost infallibly lead to political

and social evils which would far outweigh any advantages from the purely medical and sanitary point of view.

There can be no question as to the wisdom and necessity of applying the highest sanitary standards in residential and business areas throughout West Africa, applying them, moreover, not only strictly but even harshly, in the cases of those who attempt to evade them. But, obviously, the fight must be against insanitation and the division must be, not between Europeans and Africans, but between those who observe certain standards and those who do not. We have never come across any African who opposes the view that those who would live within the residential areas selected as safest must meticulously observe the standards prevailing in such areas. But what they object to, in our opinion naturally, is to any scheme which lays it down that no African, whatever his mode of life and degree of willingness to co-operate with his European neighbours, shall be permitted to occupy any part of these areas. If the broader principle were departed from, we are convinced that, however strenuously individual medical officers might labour, slowly but surely the system adopted would resolve itself into neglect of the weaker race. If we had to choose an order of men who should have absolute guardianship of human liberties, we should choose doctors, such is our admiration of, and confidence in, them, but they like the rest of us are human, and given the placing of one race in an inferior position before the law, the doctors would, sooner or later, follow the line of least resistance, and we should get bad scientific work.

This and other truths equally relevant are brought out, to our thinking with unsurpassed cogency, in a communication we print to-day, on this vexed question, from the pen of an Englishman who has worked long in Nigeria, and knows thoroughly the conditions with which he deals. He has subjected the policy of segregation to an examination which shows that it will not serve, and we therefore hope that whatever inquiry is made into conditions in West Africa will take due note of whatever financial burden is being laid upon any Colony under this heading, though to our thinking the money loss involved is little compared with the risk of wounding the sentiments of Africans by laying down conditions which to them must seem partial and unfair, however far doctors and Governments may be in their minds from any such intention.

Our correspondent penned his letter some considerable time ago, it having, we regret to say, been held back from publication hitherto by unavoidable pressure upon our columns. When he wrote he had not before him certain facts which appear in the valuable handbook of the Gold Coast recently published by the Government of that Colony. The plain deduction from these data is that segregation, even regarded solely from the medical standpoint, does not secure the immunity claimed for it. Our own contention is that if it did secure immunity it ought still to be rejected, for political and social reasons. But apparently it does not secure it. At all events, we find that, taking an average for the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, the death rate among officials was 12.15 and the invaliding rate 43.66, while among the merchants the death rate was 10.27 and the invaliding rate 22.68 per thousand. That is to say, the more fully protected section died and was invalided at higher rates than the less protected. Moreover, other averages taken over a greater number of years bring out facts still more surprising, showing that missionaries, the most unprotected of all Europeans in West Africa, make the best showing of all from the point of view of health. The inference appears to be that the psychological factor—in this case the devotion to his high calling which marks the *average* missionary—combined with extremely simple living—usually enforced upon the missionary by economic circumstances—counts for a great deal more than some doctors have so far realised. In any event, the figures for the three years quoted above appear to afford no support for segregation on medical grounds, apart from the consideration of *its extreme undesirablity on Imperial grounds*.

EDUCATION IN LIBERIA.

The problem of education in Liberia is in greater need of immediate solution than in any of the neighbouring states. It is the urgent need, firstly, of a republic which must train its own rulers, and, secondly, of small civilised groups threatened with absorption by the virile masses surrounding them. The difficulty is greatly increased by the fact that the majority of the civilised population do not themselves realise the vital need of co-operation with the local people, to whom they are racially, though distantly, akin. That this lack of recognition does not extend to all the members of the Government is shown by the words of the Secretary of Public Instruction, who, in calling attention to the fact that less than 900 dollars was appropriated for education in 1921, stated :—

"Your honourable body will readily see from the above related conditions how utterly impossible it is to effectively conduct this department, to maintain anything like a decent public school system, or to call in the aid of efficient and qualified teachers. I must frankly admit that the situation is at present almost intolerable. This generation of children is being shamefully robbed of advantages and being hopelessly crippled for future usefulness to the State. A remedy for such a state of affairs must be found, and the prevalent neglect of the training of the minds of the young must not be countenanced longer if we would feel secure about the future of the country."

It is to be noted, however, that several missionary societies have been working, heroically and with fair success, in many of the coastal towns, and that they are now co-operating in the formation of a Board of Education to assist the Secretary of Public Instruction as far as is in their power. The propositions for the expenditure of the loan from the United States [since refused] contain little to further education, being occupied with such fundamental developments as roads, port works, and the like, lack of which prevents the exploitation of the commercial possibilities of the republic. In the meantime, educational development must be undertaken by missionaries. The greatness of the need will be seen when it is noticed that while of 10,000 children of school age in the coastal districts over 7,000 are at school, among the estimated 2-400,000 of the hinterland practically no work is undertaken. There is, however, a slow filtration of rudimentary education owing to the number of Liberian aborigines who visit other parts of West Africa in search of employment, and who return with a slight knowledge of reading.—*Abridged from Phelps-Stokes Commission's Report.*

EAST AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT.

New Railway Loan Contemplated.—Benefit to Imperial Trade.

It is semi-officially stated that the Governments of Uganda and Kenya contemplate the floating very shortly of a joint loan of £6,000,000 for the purpose of extending the new Uasin Gishu railway line, which is at present being constructed, from Turbo to Jinga, thus opening up valuable cotton country.

This information is cabled by Reuter, which adds that it is also intended to carry out further port development at Kilindini and other railway improvements, particularly the relaying of the present main line where needed between Mombasa and Nairobi.

The loan means the placing of a considerable order in Great Britain (estimated at £2,000,000), thus assisting Imperial trade as emphasised at the Imperial Economic Conference.

The new Constitution has been postponed till December, owing to the desire of the Secretary of State to confer with the India Office concerning immigration measures as recommended by the Governors, Sir Robert Coryndon and Sir Geoffrey Archer.

The "Times" recalls that in a recent speech Sir Robert Coryndon, the Governor of Kenya, intimated that it had been decided to relay the Mombasa-Nairobi section of the Uganda railway with 80 lb. rail in order that much heavier train loads could be carried, and that the Colonial Office had expressed general approval of a scheme for erecting a maize grading and drying plant at the port of Kilindini. A great future is anticipated for the maize industry, while in Uganda a "record" cotton crop is expected next year.

The completion of the Uganda extension line to the present authorised terminus at Turbo is expected shortly, and the new proposal is to carry it on to Jinja, where the Nile issues from Victoria Nyanza.

Indian Immigrants to Kenya.

As a result of the conference between Sir Geoffrey Archer (Governor of Uganda) and Sir Robert Coryndon (Governor of Kenya) at Nairobi, the "Times" Nairobi correspondent understands that an agreement has been reached on the immigration proposals in the Kenya White Paper. The recommendations will, it is believed, take the form of the establishment of a special "Immigration and Employment Department," which will investigate how far the natives are able to supply the artisan and subordinate clerical markets, and that only the number of immigrants sufficient to cover the deficiency will be allowed to enter the country. Thereafter Indian and other ports would be advised regularly in advance of the number of immigrants acceptable, the number decreasing as the native supply develops. The recommendations will also stress the need of each immigrant depositing a sum sufficient to pay a second-class passage back to the port of origin in view of his possible rejection. Sir Robert Coryndon discussed the question of Indian immigration with Sir Geoffrey Archer, as it is desired to have a common policy for Kenya and Uganda, and all immigrants to Uganda enter that country through Kenya.

Serval Cat at a Dinner Party.

The hearing of a claim by Mr. Benjamin Jenkins, a racehourse trainer, against Mr. E. St. Barbe Baker and the Café Royal, for £35 damages for injuries received from a Serval cat, was heard at Westminster County Court on Saturday and Monday. Mr. Jenkins alleged that when he was sitting in the restaurant the cat, a native of Africa, which belonged to Mr. Baker, bit him. Mr. Baker said the cat was a mascot, and was brought to England to convey the greetings of the Men of the Trees—the Forest (Boy) Scouts of Kenya—to British Scouts. Its name was "Ching." From the time he left Africa till it was delivered to the Zoo the cat was with him day and night, sleeping on his bed. Judgment for £35 was entered against each defendant.

SLAVERY IN S.W. AFRICA.

Mr. John H. Harris, secretary of the Society for the Protection of Aborigines, communicated to the "Westminster Gazette" of the 7th inst., the following statement in reply to an interview with Sir Edgar Walton, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London since 1921, given in the issue of that journal of October 22 :—

"Sir Edgar says that I over-emphasise my case, in short, that I exaggerate in referring to the existence of 'slave-owning' and 'slave-trading' in South-West Africa and Abyssinia, and that the systems which obtain are really only serfdom.

"Sir, General Smuts sent to Sir Edgar Walton and the League of Nations a report in which his own Administrator described the existence both of 'slave-owning' and 'slave-trading' in South-West Africa. He says 'slavery prevails amongst the tribes of the Okavango River,' and that in order to get further information he issued a questionnaire to the local officials, who replied emphatically that 'slave trade' and 'slavery' exist, and they describe the means by which the traffic is carried on. They also emphasise that children 'become ipso facto slaves and remain such all their lives.'

"Everyone interested should read Blue Book U.G. 21—1923, in the office of Sir Edgar Walton, in Trafalgar Square.

"Sir Edgar Walton is no happier in his charges with regard to Abyssinia. He says: 'Mr. Harris is wrong in suggesting that there is real slavery in Abyssinia.' Mr. Ronald McNeill stated in the House of Commons on March 29 last that both 'slave-owning' and 'slave-trading' existed in Abyssinia.

"Signor Mussolini sent to Sir Edgar Walton and other delegates in Geneva on September 8 last the information that Italian officials had just captured a convoy of slave dealers from Abyssinia; that in the convoy there were 150 slaves.

"Signor Salandra, on behalf of the Italian Government, sent to Sir Edgar Walton and other delegates a copy of a manifesto issued by the Italian Government to Italian subjects in Abyssinia, warning them against slavery practices. This manifesto said, inter alia :—

"'I must speak to you who are slave-owners.'

"'In Abyssinia slavery exists. . . .'

"'For the time being I do not forbid you to keep slaves. . . .'

"Finally comes Sir Edgar Walton himself, who, in his capacity of High Commissioner for South Africa, was a consenting party to insisting that as a condition for entrance to the League of Nations, Abyssinia should sign a document pledging herself to put an end to 'slavery in all its forms.'"

Race Problem—1923.
Africa.

The Basutoland Supreme Court.

The Basutoland Supreme Court presided over by R B. Smith Esq the Acting D.R.C; was opened here on the afternoon of the 5th instant. There were three cases of culpable homicide to be tried. There were many people who have come specially to witness the proceedings every seat and open place on the floor was occupied by the people There was hardly any space unoccupied.

The first case Rex versus Mojalefa, Pefo, Thabo and Mokholoane took two days. Only Pefo had pleaded guilty.

The Court in summing up, said, it appeared that Moremi (deceased) being a Saturday and having short holiday, rode out to the lands to examine his wheat crops and when he got there he saw those boys chased away by others and the cattle they were herding damaging in his land, and like any other man would do, went to these boys to punish them. He chased the boys away, and while thus chasing them there came Mojalefa, who robed himself of his blankets and ran to Moremi, evidently with the object of hurting him. It might not have been with the purpose of killing him. As it was stated by the witnesses who saw the fight from a distance, he rushed to Moremi and then wrestled with him, and then the young boys came to his assistance and struck blows on Moremi which resulted in his death. The court could not accept the plea that Mojalefa was stopping the fight. His action of throwing away his blankets and rushing to Moremi was sufficient to show that he was not stopping fighting. It was obvious to the court that Mojalefa was the principal man responsible for the death of Moremi. He was the prime mover in that death.

The sentence of the court was that Mojalefa would be imprisoned for four years, with hard labour, and that his time started from that day.

In the case of Pefo, Thabo and Mokholoane, the court was of opinion that they were too young to be responsible for their action, and it was therefore going to take a lenient view of their action. If their parents wished to pay fine for them the court was going to give them that opportunity. The sentence of the court was that they would each pay a fine of £20, and in default of payment, they would be taken to Peka were the Government was now keeping boys of their age, in order not to mix up with the old criminals who would teach them bad things. The date of their imprisonment would date from the 29th August.

The second case in which a herd boy was killed, the accused was awarded two years of imprisonment with hardlabour. The bench dealt with him leniently because they saw that there was provocation. But nevertheless they held that the accused could not have been so enraged that he used that dangerous stick. If he had not there would have been no death. The court was impressed that he was not criminally intent, judging from his behaviour in court.

The third and last case of that session of which there was a quarrel about the wagon-road, which resulted in wrestling and falling under a wagon where one Surmon received fatal injuries from the hind wheel and died few days afterwards in the hospital. the accused Konota, Sentso and Thompa were discharged. The court had no doubt that the deceased used certain language which enraged the accused, wherefore Sents'o caught the deceased and in wresting, tumbled under a wagon It was unfortunate that that man died, but the court could not hold the accused responsible for his death. His death was accidental. The D.R.C. remarked that Konota has been very stupid, in that he tried to conceal the truth. However the court felt that naturally any man could have done what he did being horrified by the fatal tragedy but as he spoke truth that day, the court felt that their imprisonment from the 28th August was justified as a deterrent for contriving to conceal the truth

French West Africa.

French activity in the development of their West African possessions is extraordinary vivid, especially in the direction of transport communications not only between areas of production and shipping ports, but in the direction of linking up Equatorial Africa with Northern Africa. The wonderful journey of the Citroen caterpillar cars to Timbuctoo, and the attempt now in progress by similar means of communication to trace a practicable railway route from Algiers to Lake Chad are sufficient testimony to themselves to the boldness of the transport schemes in prospect. The Sahara will no longer form an impassable barrier to inter-communication, under the tireless and undaunted efforts of French military genius and engineering skill. The completion also of the railway from Kayes opens up another large area of production, for which a wide scheme of cotton cultivation is projected. In the sphere of the development of railway communications French activity is as marked a feature of their African administration as it is in the Belgian administration of the Congo.

Internationalism in Progress.

It was the Great War that brought home to the French people in the mass the value of the territories in Africa under their sway. And the rapidity with which the lesson is being applied deserves the special notice of a British publication devoted to African affairs. African development has become an international affair and it is most interesting and instructive to see how each European nation is in friendly rivalry with its neighbour in practical demonstration of the fact. This spirit of international progress in the material development of African resources should lead to a closer international agreement as to tariffs and customs on the frontiers. The Gambia, Sierra Leone, The Gold Coast, and Nigeria all have their own little domestic perplexities in this respect to unravel.

Commercial Activity.

With regard to internal matters we learn from a report in *L'Afrique Française* that imports of alcoholic liquor into French West Africa have, in consequence

THE PROBLEM OF KENYA.

[*To the Editor of the* SPECTATOR.]

SIR,—There is, of course, "another side" to a good deal of your article upon the above subject. There are, however, two features upon which I trust you will allow comment. You say, quite rightly, that

"when the Uganda railway was being built, however, large numbers of Indians were imported and those who remain are the nucleus of the Indian Colony to-day."

This raises a question of national honour omitted from your article. When coolie labour for the Dependencies was demanded by the settlers, those who had fought slavery were anxious that no taint of it should be attached to Indian coolie labour. Lord Salisbury, then at the head of the India Office,

of the enforcing of the agreement come to at St. shows how in every
Germain, fallen from 85,000 hectolitres in 1910 to sylvan and agricultur
13,742 hectolitres in 1921, and to 6,660 hectolitres seeing given to the co
only in 1922. As in British Nigeria this contribution plants.
to the humanitarian spirit of trusteeship has in French But it is to the s
West Africa had serious effect on the general revenues carried on to make,
In 1911 alcoholic imports represented 36 per cent. munication, a vast col
of the Customs receipts. In 1922 the percentage of French Africa that
was a bare eight per cent. of the revenue. Com-drawn. Their fulfilm
mercial activity is equally to the fore, and throughout fluence on British We
the vast and varied territories of French West and

Equatorial Africa are projects actively in being for shared this anxiety, and
the promotion of scientific agriculture to increase both the "indispensable cond
the quality and volume of the natural resources of with the India and Co
Africa which the French home market can absorb. ask for coolie labour,
We have already referred to the great scheme for "the Colonial laws and
cotton cultivation on the Upper Niger. Oil seeds, Indian settlers who have c
coffee and cocoa have also their expert advisers on they agreed, as the return
cultural processes. In fact a simple scanning of the Colonies, will be in all res
French papers devoted to the affairs of their Colonies inferior to those of any oth
in the Colonies."

WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIES: THE NEED FOR THE COMMISSION—I.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—The proposal to appoint an independent Commission to examine on the spot into the present system of administration in those units of the Empire which are in West Africa will meet with enthusiastic support—and also with reasoned, determined, effective, not very obvious opposition. Those in favour include the business men, European and African alike, the missionaries and the mining community, and the greater part of the official class. Those not in favour are the higher officials, protagonists of things as they are, the men in possession.

In the fight against inquiry the opposition have all the advantages of prestige, of experience, of position. They have fought this fight before, and success in the past has not lessened their determination to prevail this time. The *bloc*, ensuing a definite objective with caution, skill, persistence and under cover, is so powerful, so overwhelmingly powerful, that one almost despairs of defeating it.

A Minister of the Crown, or the representative of a great journal, or other notable person, or a Commission arrives in West Africa. The *bloc* handles him from the moment he lands in the country: probably from the time he starts on his journey thither. He is received, put up, his movements are facilitated in every way, information of every sort is provided on demand, he is courteously and friendlily entreated, entertained, amused, and flattered. Before he has completed 24 hours in the country he is under obligation to the *bloc*, and the longer he stops the higher mounts the sum of his obligations. These are all to the *bloc;* he will owe no sort of debt to anyone outside it—he'll never get the chance.

If you can tell some of us how th.. ..ndertaking can be repudiated, in honour, we should, I am sure, be exceedingly grateful.

May I express appreciation of your support for native rights; if any conditional franchise is incorporated in the Kenya Constitution it should be open to the natives. I understand that the Indian delegation is prepared to welcome this, and that the white settlers who declare that they are only acting in defence of the native are resolutely opposed to any reasonable educational and property franchise for the native.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOHN H. HARRIS.

[Lord Salisbury evidently referred to ordinary civic rights. There was no question then of an Elective Assembly, and Lord Salisbury would have been the first to object to Indians controlling the Colony.—ED. *Spectator*.]

The Johannesburg Conference.— The Agenda for the Conference on Native Affairs arranged by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches has now been published. The chairman is the Rt. Rev. D. S. Botha and the Secretaries are Rev. P. G. J. Meiring and Mr J. D. R. Jones of Cape Town and Johannesburg respectively. The proceedings will last three days, 27th to the 29th instant.

The only sensible piece of criticism we have observed is that from the "East Province Herald" our Port Elizabeth contemporary, on the score that the time mapped out for both the Government and this general conference, is too limited to produce exhaustive consideration on a subject of such magnitude. This is quite true. But the meetings may prove heralds of greater things to come. The leaders of discussion are as follows:— On the Christian basis of Native Policy: Rev. A. F. Louw and Rev. John L. Dube: on Native Education: Prof. Rev. J. du Plessis and Mr D. D. T. Jabavu; on the Urban Areas Act: Rev. H. M. Bridgman and Mr R. V. Selope Thema; on Segregation: Mr J. S. Marwick, M.L.A. and Rev. Z. R. Mahabane; on the Lands Act 1913: Prof. Edgar Brooks and Chief Shadrach Zibi; on the Franchise, Mr H. M. Taberer and Mr Meshach Pelem.

Bantu Presbyterians.

The Natives of this country have very small chance of displaying what they can do in matters of self government. The sphere of religious work is the only one where they would seem to have something like an opportunity to prove their governing capacity. But up till now none of the religious denominations brought from Europe had taken the trouble to train them for this purpose except the Presbyterian Church. From the earliest times the Scottish Missions set a high standard of educational training for their African proteges, not allowing any aboriginal missionary to carry on work unless he had been training up to and beyond the Matriculation standard. Hence, some of the best brains in the Native Ministry of this land were to be looked for and found in Presbyterian ranks, names like those of Tiyo Soga, S. P. Sihlali, J. K. Bokwe, P. J. Mzimba, and E. Makiwane. No other single church can boast a galaxy of brilliant men to equal this quintet.

It is therefore fitting that the first purely Bantu Church organised under the willing auspices of European patronage should have been that of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, the first Assembly of which met at Lovedale last July. The record of its proceedings is contained in a neat booklet published by the clerks on the Lovedale press.

The new Church covers a wide field, with its seven Presbyteries of Mankazana, Kaffraria, Transkei, Umtata, Griqualand East, Natal and Zoutpansberg. The total number of pastors is 48, elders 583, deacons 701, Sunday School scholars 6,302, day schools 385, teachers 767 and day scholars 24,389.

As the Native ministry is the best trained in the land, we have no doubt but that they will prove an example to be copied by those of other denominations. We wish the new organisation a glorious success.

Native Voters' Association.

BURHERSDORP

Ngolwesi Bini olungapaya ngo kuhlwa e A.M.E. u Mn. S. M. Bennett Ncwana, umququzeleli waba voti ebene ntlanganiso enkulu, kuko namanenekazi. U Mn Ncwana utete abanzi ngomcimbi waba voti esiti: Ngapandle kokuba umvoti ontsundu apa e Koloni amanyane siyakusoloko singa bantu abatwele izandla entloko. Asiko isizatu sokuba singabi nama lungu antsundu asimeleyo kwi Provincial Council. Yini ukuba ama waka angamashumi amatatu makoyiswe lelicam? Injongo yomanyano lwaba Voti kukuba kudaleke inkokeli zesizwe. Into ebangele ukuba singa viwa ngumbuso welilizwe, kukuba tina bavoti singavumi uku manyana. Nalike:tuba lokuba sakhe impucuko yomntu ontsundu. Eli xesha, watsho u Mn. Ncwana, libi, linentsizi nentlungu, ngako oko kufunwa amadoda okujongana nalo asindise nokukululula isizwe. U mona womntu ontsundu uyasigebenga tina bantu bangati bazama inkululeko. Make sibeke u mona pantsi, ke sisingate inyaniso, leyonyaniso yaku lula izizwe zakudala, nekulula izizwe ezicinezelwayo namhla. Abantu abateta nge nkululeko, na babhala ngenkululeko, nabo aba tandazela inkululeko yesizwe mabayihombele bayihlonipe inyaniso. Abanjalo mabaqale ngezabo iziqu, inyaniso mayibonakale kubo kuqala ukuze abantu balandele. Imvisiswano nokutembana zizo izinto eziyakupumelelisa umsebenzi wetu. Xhasani ama pepa ndaba enu bantu abamnyama! Akuko nkokeli igqita ipepa ndaba. Amapepa makaxaswe zizizwe ezintsundu, vimpucuko leyo yokwenyaniso. Emveni kwe mibuzo iutlanganiso yagqiba kwi sigqibo sokuba wamkelwe lomsebenzi waba voti, Unyulo lwaba pati luyakuba kwintlanganiso ye sibini.

OBEKONA.

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Africa

FOR EUROPEANS ONLY.

That Johannesburg differs from every other town in manners and morals is well known, but few people thought that it could not even conduct a public meeting of subscribers of its public library with decency and decorum. Yet such was the case last Friday, when armed policemen had to be posted at the doors and plain clothes officers among the audience.

The question before the meeting was whether the library should or should not be taken over by the Municipality.

In reply to an interruption that Coloured people might be admitted to the library if it were municipalised, the Chairman assured the audience that "this has always exclusively been a European library, and we are not in a position to alter it to anything else."

The Mayor also dealt with the question respecting Coloured people enjoying the same advantages and facilities as Europeans. He said that the Town Council would accept the trust which lays down that the privileges of this library would be exclusively reserved for European ratepayers and residents of Johannesburg.

AN EMPIRE LABOUR CONFERENCE.

An Empire Labour Conference, the first of its kind, is reported to meet in London some time next year. Admittedly this is a very good beginning, and all who are concerned in the Labour Movement must wish the promoters of this idea every success. To render this proposed Conference an unqualified success and dignity, we trust that the subject races of the Empire, who comprise the major portion of the producers in India, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, will be invited to send their own representatives as well. We would not hesitate to suggest that as far as South Africa is concerned the promoters of this Empire Labour Conference should do all in their power to invite a delegation from organised black labour, who must place the suffering of their people before a representative assembly of the producers within the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations. With misunderstanding of race questions which is rampant in the so-called Empire, white Labour leaders should just as well take this opportunity to discuss this thorny question with the members of the subject races with a view to explore a way out to solve it.

AFRICAN EDUCATION IN THE FREE STATE.

BLOEMFONTEIN NOTES.

By Our Own Correspondent.

As reported in the last issue of this widely read journal, the Director of Education, Mr. C. F. Smidt, fulfilled his promise to meet a representative gathering of the African ministers and teachers of this Province to discuss educational matters pertaining to the race. The meeting was held in Bantu Location on the 5th December last, and amongst those present were Rev. Messrs. Arndt, Sidiyo, Jansti, Mothupi, and Messrs. T. Mapikela, T. W. Keable 'Mote, I. B. W. Monpati and T. H. Kwaga. The Director of Education informed the gathering that the State had at last come to its senses and was now going to tackle the question more seriously instead of leaving the responsibility of education on the Churches alone, which everywhere provided the pioneers in education of the African people. The Director also mentioned that the sum of £60,000 had been offered by the Union Government to the Provinces. Of that sum the Free State was getting £10,000, which was really more than their fair share, considering the size of the Province. This amount was intended to increase the salaries of Native teachers, which would depend on qualifications and not the posts held. Mr. Smidt also announced that the Provincial Administrator had authorised the appointment of an Organising Inspector of African Education. The successful applicant will assume duty in a month's time and then push on African education in the Province.

The Director of Education went on to refer to the type of education that should be offered to the Africans. He was inclined to think that the education should tend more in the industrial direction instead of an academic side. He advised his Black hearers not to strive to become English, Dutch or Germans, but must remain themselves and create their own culture based on their own traditions and sentiments. It has been said, went on Mr. Smidt, that many of the Africans were barbarians only a generation ago, that was true, but the Europeans were also barbarians. A number of questions were put to the Director of Education which were replied to. Shortly after meeting the Director of Education, the Native teachers held a special committee meeting and passed the following resolutions, authorising their Secretary, Mr. T. W. Keable 'Mote, Principal of the Dutch Reformed Church School, to communicate same to the Education Department, and also to the press for the public good:—

(a) That in view of the Government's kindness in voting £10,000 for the sole purpose of the Education of Natives domiciled in this Province, we hold the opinion that this money should be used and expended in the Province to any denominational school that stands for the progagation of education to the Bantu of the Free State, irrespective of religion, be they Ethiopian or otherwise, provided the Government lays down the required number of children before the school is registered.

(b) That from now every circular from the Education Department affecting Native education be communicated through the Free State Native Teachers' Association which is our mouthpiece.

(c) That this Committee respectfully requests the officials of the Education Department, on behalf of Native Teachers that we have two Native Teachers as representatives on the scheduled Native Education Advisory Board, as the missionaries do not literally and traditionally know the mentality of the Natives.

The Secretary was also asked to appeal to European sympathisers and all those who wish to help the forward march of the Bantu, that the "Native Education-Grant in aid of Native teachers salaries" be used as a relief to enable the Native children to attend mission schools on a cheaper financial basis, for the present policy is very depressing. The Native children in the locations are in need of education, but the doors are closed against them. Will the Imperial Government not use its influence to see that the £28,000 be used for Native children in the locations. The position as it exists at present is parlous. We are delighted that the "State has at last come to its senses," and a fuller realisation of aiding and teaching the problem of Native education.

Mr. Gray, the secretary of the Education Department, after attending a "recent Conference" in Cape Town for the standardisation of Native teachers' salaries says it was drawn as follows:—

	Men.	Women.
Unqualified	£36	£24
P.T. 1	£42-6-60	£36-3-48
P.T. 2	£54-6-72	£42-3-60
P.T. 3 (jr.)	£66-6-96	£54-3-84
P.T. 3 (sen)	£90-6-120	£78-3-106

This the public will undestand was circulated from the local Education Department on October 22 last. This scale will be carried into effect as soon as the appointment of Organising Inspector of Native Schools is notified.

The Natives will only be too pleased when the Financial Relations Act comes into existence, because they are desirous that their children get education, not merely academic but dual education.

LEAGUE'S SOLICITUDE FOR NATIVES.

Time was when the Colonial Office of the Imperial Parliament acted as Guardians of non-Europeans in the Colonies. It protected their rights, extended their privileges, and placed a salutary check on the exploitation of blacks by white colonists. Among the historical documents in the library are to be found very strongly worded despatches from the Colonial Office to South African Governments, in some cases amounting virtually to peremptory orders which had to be carried out quite regardless of the views of the white colonists.

How the times have changed! Gradually the Colonial Office lost its power of control. With every step towards self-government the colonists obtained more and more independence in domestic affairs and the Colonial Office lost correspondingly of its powers to protect non-Europeans, and, finally surrendered what little it had left when the Act of Union was consummated.

To-day non-Europeans in all self-governing colonies, which now rank as equal members in the British Commonwealth of Nations, are entirely at the mercy of white governments. In South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, whites have full powers to make whatever laws they please for Coloureds, and the Imperial Government dare not open its mouth. Even in British Protectorates a handful of whites may rule millions of Blacks without interference from the Colonial Office, and make laws which discriminate against all non-Europeans, as in Kenya, without the Imperial Government daring to veto them.

A new supervisory Power has been created after the war in the formation of the League of Nations, and apparently the Council of the League has a genuine desire to see that the Mandatory Powers fulfil their obligations towards the Natives. In this respect indigenous Natives in mandated territories are better protected than other non-Europeans. For instance, a Coloured man or a South African Native who goes to South West Africa has only the Union Government to appeal to in case he has a grievance, while the indigenous Native can take his case to the League. This is what happened in the Bondelzwarts' slaughter. In that case the Council of the League adopted a resolution by Mr. Branting expressing the hope that it would find in future annual reports of the South African Government information in regard to continuous efforts of the Mandatory Power to ameliorate the economic and moral conditions of Natives in the Bondelzwarts' region.

Mr. Branting also thought that the Union Government should restore prosperity and revive the confidence of the Bondelzwarts. To Sir Edgar Walton's statement that the Union Government felt that this resolution contained a veiled censure which seemed unjust, Mr. Branting replied that his resolution did not recognise the Mandatory Power's efforts because, according to the opinion of the majority of the Mandates' Commission, the information available was not sufficient to justify a definite conclusion about it.

Lord Robert Cecil agreed with Mr. Branting and assured the League that all will be well in future.

How long the League of Nations will continue to exercise control over the Union Government no one can tell, but one thing is assured that the time will come when South Africa will get rid of the League's guardianship just as it has filched every vestige of power from the Colonial Office

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AFRICAN SOCIETY ENTERTAINS THREE GOVERNORS.

SIR ROBERT CORYNDON ON PATIENCE AND DRIVING FORCE.

(Specially reported for "The African World.")

The distinction fell to members of the African Society on Tuesday evening of entertaining three Colonial Governors—Sir Robert Coryndon, K.C.M.G., Governor of British East Africa; Sir George Smith, K.C.M.G., Governor of Nyasaland; and Mr. A. R. Slater, C.M.G., C.B.E., Governor of Sierra Leone—to a banquet at the Trocadero Restaurant. Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Gordon Guggisberg were also to have been present, but the former had proceeded to Cornwall on account of his health, while Sir Gordon Guggisberg was motoring on the Continent. The function proved a great success, the arrangements being carried out with the efficiency characteristic of the Society. Though the toast list involved half-a-dozen speeches, the speakers made brevity their watchword, with the result that the proceedings were in no way protracted. Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., chairman and President of the Society, presided, and also present were:—Countess Buxton, C.B.E., Lady Coryndon, Lady Smith, Mrs. Slater, Lord Kylsant, Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Lady Buxton, Lord Edward Gleichen, K.C.V.O., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Sir Henry Galway, Sir Alfred Sharpe, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., Lady Leggett, Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Lady Ross, Admiral Sir Edmond Slade, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Sir Gilbert Carter, K.C.M.G., Lady Carter, Lady Glover, Sir Otto Beit, K.C.M.G., Lady Beit, Sir James Currie, C.M.G., Sir W. N. M. Geary, Bart., Sir Jacob Barth, Lady Barth, Sir Francis C. Newton, K.C.M.G., Lady Elliot, Sir B. Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Lieut.-Col. W. N. White, R.A.S.C., Mr. Robert Williams, Mrs. Robert Williams, Major C. Christy, M.B., R.A.M.C., Major E. E. Austin, D.S.O., Mr. Leo Weinthal, C.B.E., Dr. Oliver Atkey, Dr. W. J. Viloen, Mr. J. W. Allen, Dr. F. Charlesworth, Major W. M. Crowdy, Col. F .B. Follett, D.S.O., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Col. W. R. Stratton, C.I.E., Col. F. B. Crowe, V.D., Hon. F. A. Wood, C.M.G., Major E. A. T. Dutton, Miss J. G. Annandale, Col. Philip Stock C.B., Jas. Corbett Davis, C.M.G., Mr. R. W. Allen, Mr. H. C. Allen, and Mr. C. Ponsonby.

Lord Buxton Reminiscent.

Lord Buxton, proposing the toast of the evening, said the presence of the representatives of so many different parts of the Empire showed the wide field covered by the African Society. He would like to ask the principal guests whether, when they saw the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he gave them any useful instructions and assistance. When he was Governor-General of South Africa he asked the late Sir William Harcourt if he had any instructions to give. The reply was: "I hope you will write fully, write freely, and write frequently, but for Heaven's sake get your letters typed." (Laughter.) Lord Buxton humorously commented on the renaming of some of the Colonies. He agreed with the wisdom of renaming German East Africa, but he questioned the wisdom of giving a colony a new name that was capable of two pronunciations, as, for instance, Kenya. Some people pronounced it *Keenya*, and others *Kenya*.

Lord Buxton said it was impossible to exaggerate the work done by their guests on behalf of the Empire, and in this respect he had no doubt their wives had assisted them greatly. He briefly recalled his association with the various Governors. When Under-Secretary of State thirty years ago he first met Sir Hugh Clifford, who was then resident commissioner of one of the Malayan states, then very much unfederated. He and Sir Robert Coryndon had been colleagues in South Africa. He knew Sir Robert as Administrator and as sportsman, in both of which capacities he excelled. He was in constant touch with Sir George Smith during the war, and much correspondence passed between them.

"We may congratulate him," added the chairman, "that on his retirement from Nyasaland after some ten years there—a double term—he may feel that he has left Nyasaland in a very different position from when he took it over. He was able to develop it in many ways, especially in railway development." The railway was throwing out its tentacles in many directions, and before long it would form a link between the Cape to Cairo section.

As regards Sierra Leone, Lord Buxton said he had never been there, but his wife had, and she had returned from her visit with two distinct impressions. She was told it was a somewhat wet place which had 9 inches of rain, but whether they were per day or per hour she was not sure. (Laughter.) Secondly, she gathered it was unnecessary to have any sanitary inspectors, as vultures ably performed all the work of this sort. (Laughter.)

Native Aspirations.

In the four African colonies they had many interests, many opportunities, and many duties, and the basis of them all was the native inhabitants. The African Society, of course, had no politics. It was neither pro-white nor pro-native. It was firmly convinced that between these interests there ought to be nothing that was antagonistic. The members were deeply interested in the languages, in the history, and in the treatment of the native tribes in Africa. They held strongly that the natives could be and ought to be governed with knowledge and sympathy, and that their interests should not be subordinated or sacrificed to any other interest, whether it be white, whether it be Indian, or whatever it might be. After all, when they talked of painting the map red it was not the paint or colour that mattered, but what was underneath. (Applause.) They knew that the main desire of the Secretary of State, like that of their guests who carried out the administration, was that the expansion and development of the Empire should be above all in the interests of the natives. (Applause.)

Sir Robert Coryndon.

Sir Robert Coryndon, replying, said with regard to the immediate problem that Lord Buxton had referred to his lips were sealed for the moment, because the question was receiving both close and anxious consideration at headquarters. The colony he represented was full of problems, and for the reason that it belonged to a group it required the broadest possible outlook. He wondered how many difficult and intricate problems were represented by those at the dinner. There was a combination of conundrums which needed patience as well as driving force to defeat. That was why he was glad of the opportunity which the occasion offered of emphasising to everyone interested in Eastern Africa that while, of course, they required sympathy they required in far greater measure the stimulus and driving force, which was more than the sympathy itself. Patience was a valuable virtue, but they needed also twopennyworth of driving force.

In any combination of problems, inside or outside England in these enormous territories which were our national heritage, there were not only deep valleys full of difficulty and despondency, but also high peaks of ambition and success, and, provided they possessed the necessary stimulus and energy, no combination of circumstances could prevent them rising to those peaks (applause). He cordially echoed what Lord Buxton said about the African native and his aspirations.

Sir George Smith, who described Nyasaland as a little Cinderella of a protectorate, said progress in Nyasaland had been marred by the war, and rather more so by the aftermath. Nyasaland was in it from the very commencement, and practically the last shot of the war was fired there, because news of the Armistice did not reach Von Lettow till three days after it had been signed. He thought, on the whole, Nyasaland could claim to have kept its end up, and their output of the products the Empire was in need of did not depreciate materially.

The soil grew the best crops of tobacco in the Empire, and its cotton could be developed a hundredfold. There was plenty of scope for the white man with capital. There was more prospect of a good return for an investment in Nyasaland than in certain foreign ventures. In conclusion, Sir George said they must safeguard before everything the interests of the natives.

Sierra Leone's Position.

Mr. Slater reminded his hearers that in the not very distant past the West African territories were administered from Sierra Leone. In Sierra Leone, he added, they were only just getting their head above water after a very unpleasant and close view of Davy Jones's locker.

It was in the position of the gentleman with an income of one pound and an expenditure of 19s. 11½d. (Laughter.) The result was they had not much money for development. All they could do in this respect was to preach, preach and preach to the native to produce, produce and produce more. The West African native liked to remember that they came under British rule by voluntary treaty, and it was a cardinal principle of our rule that the land belonged to the native. When any schemes for the development of the State were considered he would ask those responsible these questions: Were they in the interests of the natives, for their happiness and contentment; would their execution impose any hardship on the natives in whose interests they were said to be projected?

Lord Kylsant's Tribute.

Lord Kylsant, who proposed the toast of the chairman, said: "I returned from a visit to South Africa in February last, and though it is considerably over ten years since our chairman retired from the important post of Governor-General of South Africa, I can assure you that wherever anyone goes in South Africa to-day he will hear nothing but high praise of both our chairman and Lady Buxton. The work they did for the Empire in South Africa will live many years after we are gone, and it is a satisfaction to everyone who is interested in the development of Africa as a whole to know that the good work that Lord Buxton did following his good work at the Colonial Office years gone by is not forgotten. Since his retirement from the position of Governor-General he has done much for this African Society and done much to interest everyone in the country in the possibilities of opening up trade and of improving the conditions of the races living in both East Africa and West Africa, and it is therefore with great pleasure that I ask you to drink the toast of our President, Lord Buxton."

The toast was drunk with much enthusiasm and a most agreeable informal conversazione followed, completing a most enjoyable evening, for the excellent arrangements of which great credit is due to Miss D'Egville, the indefatigable secretary of the African Society.

OFFERS TO FARMERS.

It is officially announced that the white labour experiment on the Apex-Benoni line has been so successful economically that the Government decided to employ whites only on the construction of the Heilbron-Petrus-Steyn route. Here equally good results were obtained.

The engineer-in-charge reports that the higher mental development of the white man as compared with the native enabled him to be employed in the mass with cumulative efficiency.

The Government is now making a special appeal to the farmers to employ these poor whites. "Those whom the Government begs

farmers to employ are proved men. Each has passed a probation in hard constructive toil, whether of irrigation, railway building or forestry."

Now one would have thought that the possession of such fine credentials would ensure for any poor white employment on a farm. But evidently farmers are not quite as humane employers as the Railway Department. They still prefer black workers whom they can drive from sunrise to sunset.

As a further inducement to employ poor whites on farms the Government offers "a loan at low interest towards the provision of housing for white labourers taken from its relief works, and a further subsidy as follows: suppose a farmer prepared to allot land to a relief worker and to advance him seed and tools, then such farmer receives an assistance of 35/- per month in respect of the man, another 30/- for the man's wife, and yet another 7/6 per each child the maximum being £4 10/-.

"Payment runs on this scale for 6 months, after which it is gradually reduced and ceases at the end of a year. Naturally the Government has to be satisfied that the employee and his family get a reasonable wage and subsistence.

"On the top of all the above-mentioned inducements, the Land Bank is willing to consider the granting of a loan for specific development to farmers who will undertake to carry out the work of white labour drawn from the relief schemes."

At the same time it should be remembered that under the Natives Land Act of 1913, farmers are prohibited from permitting Natives to squat on their land and farm on the share system. This prohibition was specially enacted because it was alleged at the time that Natives were becoming too prosperous and accumulating too much stock and other wealth.

A desperate attempt is now being made to substitute subsidised white labour for Black labour. If poor whites are really superior to Natives as farm workers then we fail to see why they are not taken up by white farmers without extra financial inducements.

Whether these desperate measures will save the poor whites remain to be seen.

MISGOVERNMENT.

BY S. M. STANLEY SILWANA.

As we study history chronologically and otherwise, we find that those kings who ruled and governed their subjects with tyranny and despotism were either ignominiously dethroned or atrociously murdered. King Edward the 2nd who reigned in England for nineteen and a half years (*i.e.* from 1307-1327) was assassinated for his "incapacity, misrule and extravagance." When Mithridates, the king of Pontus, realised that he was at the verge of being defeated by the Romans, he "appealed to the patriotism of his people," but as he had ruled and governed them tyrannically and mercilessly, his appeal proved an utter failure. Consequently he was conquered by his foes. In this world of God there is nothing unjust which can continue. There is no government that could ever become permanent which did not govern and treat its people fairly, justly and impartially. During the Great War of 1914-18, when the King was in troubles and in jeopardy; we (the Bantu) stood by him faithfully, as loyal and obedient subjects. For all the sacrifices we offered, we have, up to now, got nothing save promises and postponements. Where does the justice and fairplay which is said boastfully and arrogantly to be the corner-stone of the British Empire come in? I will leave this question to those who are more competent in this subject. Whether this country will not experience, in future, riot and tumult by day and by night; it is a grave question. There is not a single nation that can live permanently under an unjust government without resistance. This is natural. The misery and discontent among my people is undoubtedly constituted by the inward feeling of injustice inflicted on them by the government of General Smuts. Slowly but surely he is becoming less popular among my people. He knows it too. No doubt he is acknowledged by his colleagues and favourites to be a far-seeing and a broadminded statesman. Mr. Robert Lansing, the author of *The Peace Negotiations,* etc., goes so far as to term him a constructive political thinker. But with all these commendations General Smuts does not administer justice to the subject race. Surely there will remain in the history of the Bantu as well as in their memory two General Smuts. General Smuts *the arch foe of the welfare of the Bantu nation, and General Smuts the nominal Minister of Native Affairs.* His misgovernment will positively be recorded by historians as that of the Kings Henry the 3rd and Richard the 2nd. When Dr. Aggrey was interviewed by *The Argus* representative, say two years ago, on the Native Question, he said: "What South Africa needs, in my opinion, is a co-operative movement, a bringing together of the best of the white people who are concerned about the progress of the Native people, and the best of the black people who are anxious to lift their race to a higher level." I harbour the same opinion. The Government Conference that sat in Pretoria with Bantu representatives, to discuss Native Questions, and the Johannesburg Confernce of the Europeans and Natives, convened by the Dutch Reformed Church, are *small* beginnings of a big end. Let us hope they are symptoms of a better future for the Bantu race, and not a diplomatic trickery of bamboozling and hypnotising the Bantu statesmen and politicians. The present partiality of the Government does not in any degree benefit the country. It suffers rather than gains, because while the European population monopolize the rights and privileges, the Bantu people who constitute a greater part of the inhabitants of the Colony, are politically and industrially ostracised Just as there is no organism that can work properly when one of its limbs is amputated, in like manner there is no country that can prosper and progress when one part of its inhabitants is held down in economical slavery, industrial helotism and in political ostracism. That this is a self-evident truth no sane and far-seeing statesman can contradict. The Bantu are an integral part of the great South African community, and even with the best intentions and best will, it is not possible today, for the Europeans to cold-shoulder them out of it. To do so would impede the progress of our mother country.

(*To be continued*).

AFRICAN WORKERS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

By John Mancoe, Secretary, I.C.U., Bloemfontein Branch.

Now that the Annual Conference of the African Workers is launched forth, I maintain that it behoves us all to endeavour to locate it as near as possible to the minds of our working classes throughout the Union of South Africa, particularly to our Bantu skilled working men. European organisations throughout the different countries have obtained the recognition of Governments and also the support of prominent and wealthy people, who are all aware of the national value of labour. Why not so with our labour organisation? First of all let me summarily give the definition of our present labour organisation with a view to convey to the minds of the entire wage-earners the success to be fully attained from the labour movement.

It is a group of black men and women of non-sectarian principles who meet at regular intervals for mutual help and friendly intercourse based on the intelligent, diligent and deliberative study of how to learn the value of co-operative effort and mutual solidarity. The consideration of national labour questions as affecting the poorly paid and salaried male and female members of the African communities. They deliberate on the commensurate importance upon their scanty means of living. What then? If such a big consistent labour organisation is to be launched forth, are we not as unrecognised black labourers going to herald its next session at East London as a unique, operative and dignity of labour doctrine, with its fundamental basis of scriptural propaganda, viz: "In the sweat of thy face shall thou eat bread," as opposed to the plutocrats' propaganda, in spite of the cultivated and snobbish God-like Christian age, viz: "In the sweat of thy black face shall thou eat stones." I wish to make this noble appeal to the members of my own race, male and female, who are toiling from sun rise to sunset as slaves and not as beneficiaries in the common wealth accumulated through your unchallenged physical strength, the unrivalled modern domestic services rendered unequivocally to the every day shopping missus by your womenfolk. It is my desire to appeal to you through this widely read paper to give recognition and a general direct human support to the well being of our next Labour Congress, so that through its activities you will ulti-

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MLLE. LIPPENS' ORDEAL.

The "Lady Baker" to the Rescue.

African World 5/4/23

The arrivals at Luxor from the Sudan on Monday (says a "Times" message) included M. Maurice Lippens, the retiring Governor-General of the Belgian Congo. He brought with him his 19-year-old daughter, who was recently the victim of a terrible motor accident in the Congo.

The accident occurred on January 13. That morning, while close to Faraje, about fifty miles on the Congo side of the Sudan frontier and 1,400 miles from the capital, the car in which M. Lippens and his daughter were travelling suddenly overturned. M. Lippens came off scot-free, but Mlle. Lippens had her head caught in the hood of the car. With the greatest difficulty she was extricated, but with serious injuries — her skull being fractured and very severe contusions to the jaw and one ear. A more isolated spot in the Congo than Faraje cannot well be imagined. There were no medical conveniences, no nurses, and very little proper food, and M. Lippens had to do the best he could.

As soon as the Sudan authorities heard of the accident they offered help. Sir Lee Stack (the Sirdar) sent a special car, capable of taking a bed, from the Nile port of Rejaf. Mlle. Lippens was then motored over the intervening three hundred miles to Rejaf, where the Lady Baker hospital ship was waiting for them with doctors and all appliances. On the 1,500 miles journey down the White Nile, and from Khartum onward, everything possible was done for her, and at Assuan Mme. Lippens met and took charge of her daughter. Notwithstanding all she had gone through, her injuries, and the 2,500 miles journey by road, river, and rail, Mlle. Lippens is doing well. M. Lippens was emphatic in saying that but for the ready assistance of the Sudan authorities he could never have brought has daughter away alive.

M. Lippens mentioned that the "Lady Baker" had also been the means of saving another life, that of an Englishman engaged in big-game shooting in the neighbourhood of Lake No, who was taken suddenly ill, and would have died if the "Lady Baker" had not passed at the time. M. Lippens added that as they descended the Nile the natives, on the appearance of the hospital ship, rushed to the river bank to obtain medical attendance. An enterprise like this, by the assistance it gives the natives, immeasurably raises European prestige. Mme. Lippens had recently raised a subscription in Belgium with the object of placing a similar hospital ship on the Congo, and it was a singular coincidence, said M. Lippens, that he should be the first Belgian to demonstrate to his compatriots what valuable humanitarian work such a ship could do. In conclusion, M. Lippens paid a glowing tribute to the administration of the Sudan and his desire further to cement the bonds of comradeship and friendship already existing between the British and Belgians, whose task it is to administer adjacent territories in Central Africa.

Progress at Coquilhatville.

Things are moving ahead at this centre of the provincial Government of the Equatorial Province, and improvements are the order of the day. The swamps which surrounded the town are now dried up, and roads are in good repair generally. The one motor car of last year has now more than a dozen companions, mud constructions used by foreign traders have disappeared, and are replaced by fine native quarters. The European Hospital is now organised, that of the natives equipped thoroughly to meet all requirements, and excellent results are recorded. The Bakusu quarter is chiefly occupied by the Public Forces, and the military camp is in thorough order. Coquilhatville is now, in few words, a neat and clean city with a satisfied European and well-disciplined coloured population.

LAND TENURE IN WEST AFRICA

Jan. 29 1923 Feb. 3, 1923

BRITISH GOVERNMENT POLICY RESTATED THE LAND THE FROPPETY OF THE AFRICAN RACES AN IMPORTANT LETTER

Lagos Nigeria

The "Anti-Slavery Reporter," the organ of the Anti Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society contain in its current issue an important letter, dated November 28th. 1922 from the Colonial Office to the Society on land nure in Africa of which the following relating to British West Africa, form part:—

With regard to West Africa the position in Nigeria is that the first proposal in your letter for the establishment of a land authority is inappolicable in the Northern Provinces where practically all lands are Native land under the control of the Governor for the use and common benefit of the Natives In the Southern Provinces there is Commissioner of lands with several assistants and the Colouil Government itself can be relied upon to see that any undue alienation of their lands by the Native Communities is prevented.

Throughout Nigeria the administration of the land subject to the Governor's control is almost entirely in the hands of the Native authorities and there is no shortage of Land for tribal purposes nor any question of depriving Native of the of collection of sylvan produce

In regard to West African Colonies other than Nigeria the acknowledged general principle is that all the land in the Colony belongs to the Native Community some 29 years ago when the question of the alienation by the Native Communities of their land became an important question in the Gold Coast an attempt was made to limit such alienation in the interests of the Native themselves by declaring unoccupied land to be the property of the Crown This proposal was however so strongly contested by the Native that it had to be abandoned and the power of alienation was retained by the communities subjet however to be concession Ordinance which limits the amount of land to be alienated and the period for which it may be granted and subjects all such bargains to the supervision of the Supreme Court This Ordinance which has been revised and strengthened from time to time spears to work satisfactorily and excessive alienation of lands does not appear now to be a serious danger in Gold Coast it has never been a danger to any of the other Colonies at present under consideration

As regards the question of associating suitable Native with the control and administration of their land this point does not seem to arise in this West African Colonies because alienation can only take place with the consent as a rule judicially ascertained of the Native authority and there is oviously no place for bringing in Native of other tribes to advise the community in question as to disposal of it own land it is true that in certain cases the Governor has power without the intervention of the Supreme Court, to authorise the leasing of Native lands for agricultural purposes, but here again, the initiative of grating the leas must come from the Native Community and it is not clear how Native belonging to the Community in question could usefully advise

As regards the third principle mentioned above it has already been stated that in Gold Coast the Native themselves claim that their ownership of the lands involves the right of alienation and that they strongly resented the endeavour of the Imperia Government to protect them from themslves by taking over the lands As has already been stated however the control of the Supreme Court which they resent less than Executive authority appears to have secured the aim of preventing undue alienation.

With regard to sylvan produce the gran of concessions whereby Native are excluded from the gathering of natural produce is forbided by law and if any modification of this were allowed it would only be to enable Europeans to establish plantation oflimited size compensation being given for the necessary loss of the rightsof gathering wild fruits within such areas

As regards the scientific development of the land in all the West Africrn Colonies this is the task of the Forestry and agricultura Departments whoes woka lies practically entirely among Native owner and cultivators of the land.

I am, etc

H. J READ

'DRUM TALK' SPREADS AGITATION IN AFRICA

Unrest Communicated by Old Form of "Wireless"; Marcus Garvey Active.

[*By The Associated Press.*]

London, England, April 6.—"Broad casting," a system of long-distance communication without wires which preceded radio transmission by many years on the dark continent, is held largely responsible for the ever increasing agitation among the negroes in Africa. Broadcasting is accomplished by means of drums, the messages being relayed over tremendous spaces with great rapidity.

"Drum Talk" Announces Visits.

By "drum talk," as it is sometimes called, news of the approaching visit of American notables to Marshal Lyautey in Morocco was learned on the Upper Volta about three hours after it was published in Paris.

News of the death of big chiefs and warnings of approaching danger are sent in this way; also the native propaganda, which is said to be promoting unrest in eastern, western and southern Africa.

Promoted by American Negro.

Agitation in a form resembling bolshevism has appeared in east Africa and sentiment favorable to the nationalist movement, started by Marcus Garvey, promoter in the United States of the "Africa-for-the-Africans" movement, is rampant in Liberia, while the troubles in French west Africa recently required military suppression.

Much of this agitation is said to be due to inflammatory reports spread among the tribes by "drum talk."

INDIANS IN KENYA.

WHY CANNOT INDIANS HAVE FULL FRANCHISE?

Exclusive to "The African World."

For the simple reason that there is no such thing! The governance of Kenya is to-day an absolute autocracy (vested in the Secretary of State) camouflaged by the existence of a local Legislative Council composed of (1) an official majority who are by regulation compelled to vote in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of State, (2) one nominated representative of the Arab community and (3) four nominated representatives of the Indian community, and (4) eleven elected representatives of the British European community.

Such functions of criticism, suggestion, and modification of policy as have been thus delegated to the local communities, as distinct from the extraneous governing machine, have been allotted on the racial or "communal" principle and not on the alternative, and, in the case of Kenya, obviously impracticable, the principle of "common" individual citizenship.

The whole structure of the colony, beginning from its land system and consequently ramifying into all its administrative activities, is framed on the "communal" principle, as in India and every other land where an exotic control is imposed on dependent indigenous folk. The principle of the "common" electoral roll, or "full franchise," cannot properly arise until the last stage in evolution towards "responsible government" is reached. Even then (as witness the Union of South Africa) the "communal" principle will still persist where the population is racially heterogeneous.

The trouble in Kenya has been begotten of foolish attempts to apply a principle which from the very nature of the problem is inapplicable.

The present Indian claim is based on the resonant but meaningless formula preferred by the European Government of India: "There is no justification . . . . for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects." Yet the same European Government of India in the same document (Cmd. 1311 of 1921) writes: "It may be admitted at once that the Indian community is not ripe for adult suffrage" (which is the franchise system of the European community), and is now urging that 30,000 Indians should have the right to elect via a "common" roll half the number of members to be elected via the same roll by 10,000 Europeans! The solution preferred by the Indian Government itself is thus obviously "communal" in principle, while pretending the principle of "common" citizenship.

Reductio ad absurdum is inevitable, whatever is made to fit the "common" citizenship claim to Kenya facts.

Solution of the Kenya problem lies only in continued evolution along "communal" lines: Europeans, Arabs, natives, and Indians having their respective representatives, nominated or elected according to their communal social capacities, but always so that the responsible tutelary race, the British, maintains political control throughout the stages which lead from Colonial Office autocracy.

Masai Warriors do not read the papers, and if they did it would require more than a pious resolution or flatulent formula to induce them to accept the female of a bazaar "sweeper" as qualified to rank with a British admiral as co-rulers of the Masai people; and it must be remembered that the essential function of Kenya governance is not merely the definition of minor municipal matters, such as where and how various immigrant peoples shall live with reasonable safety to one another, but it is the positive ruling of a complex of virile tribes and races vastly differing one from the other and only alike in their contemptuous dislike of Indian traders and lawyers.

The Indian community in Kenya labours under no disabilities as against any of the other communities, and its representation in the Legislative Council is out of all proportion greater than its importance in the said complex of communities warrants. The Arabs, for example, did for centuries rule Africa, whereas Indians of the Kenya type have never yet ruled India.

March 27, 1923. E. S. G.

South African Native College.

EXAMINATIONS RESULTS

December 1922.

EXAMINATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Second Year B.A

Matthews, Zachariah (Kimberley): English II, Education I, Ethics and Psychology.

First Year B.A.

Kabane, Milner (Umtata): English I, Latin, Mathematics, Ethics

Gumede, Innes (Amanzimtoti): do English, Latin, Mathematics,

Ntlabati, Gertrude (Hackney): English I Education I, Psychology and Ethics,

College Diploma in Education.

Ntlabati, Gertrude (Hackney): First Class

Bokwe, Rosebery (Lovedale) Second Class Second Year Diploma in Arts.

Ncwana, Edwin (Port Elizabeth) English II, Education, Ethics and Economics.

EXAMINATIONS OF THE JOINT MATRICULATION BOAD.

Mtimkulu, Lionel (Cape Town): Interim Regulations (Second Class)

Mahonga, Stuart (Queenstown) Interim Regulations (Third Class)

Lekhoathi, Ben. (Basutoland) Interim Regulations (Third Class)

Morolong, Bernice (Basutoland) New Regulations (Distiction in Sesuto)

Oppelt, Japie (Malmesbury) New Regulations

Oppelt, Samuel (Malmesbury) do do

The following have been credited with in the subjects named:

Curry, Michae (Cape Town) English, Latin, History, Mathematics and Dutch.

Joshua, Joseph (Kimberley) English History and Mathematics.

COLLEGE MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS.

The following have been credited with passes in the subjects named:

Nkungu, George (Nt. Fletcher) English, Xosa, Agriculture, Psychology & Hygiene

Ngxwana, Columbus (Burnshill): English Xosa, Agriculture, Psychology

Sikutshwa, David (Tsolo): English, Xosa, Agriculture, Physiology.

Miza, Gasa (Tsolo) English, Xosa Agriculture physiology and Physical Science.

Letsoalo, William (Zoutpansberg) Economics and Sepedi.

Scheepers, Frank (Pretoria) Agriculture, Biology, Physiology & Hygiene.

Magooa, David (Bethlehem) Logic

Mzizi, Pinnie (Grahamstown) do

Ndzamela, Edmund (Mt. Frere) do

Mossi, Solomon (Kroonstad) do

COMMERCIAL EXAMINATIONS.

National Technical Day-School Certificate (Commerce) and College Diploma in Business.

Mabandla, Andrew (Tsolo)

The following student has been credited with passes in the subjects named:

Boti, Milner (Tabankulu): English, Commercial History & Geography, Commercial Arithmetic, Xosa, and Business Methods'

Preliminary Commercial Certificate.

July, Julius (Kokstad) Mpantsha, James (Bizane)

The following have been credited with passes in the subjects named:

Masisi, George (Thaba Nchu) English and Civics,

Ntloko, Cecil (Cofimvaba) do do

Fobo, Simeon (Maseru) Theory of Shorthand.

Ndamase, John (Mt. Frere) Theory of Shorthand.

Mr. Roland Hayes.

In "Imperium" appears an enthusiastic account of two concerts given in Paris by Mr. Roland Hayes. "At the first concert," says the report, "Mr. Hayes took the audience by storm, so much so that the French critics unanimously declared he was the best singer in the world." The writer of the report adds that Mr. Hayes, in order to complete his foreign travel, intends soon to visit West Africa. When Mr. Lloyd George, one of Mr. Hayes' warmest admirers, was Prime Minister he promised to help him in that direction, and offered him every facility in his power. In Paris, it appears, the most popular songs sung by Mr. Hayes were the negro chants and spirituels.

Dr. Adler Returns to Sierra Leone.

Dr. S. Adler, of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, who has spent 12 months in Sierra Leone at the Sir Alfred Jones Laboratory, left on Wednesday in the "Adda" on further 12 months' research work at the laboratory. Professor Blacklock, who has been in charge of the laboratory since its establishment, is expected to return in May, when Dr. Adler will take temporary charge, and will be assisted by Dr. Maplestone, who is going to Sierra Leone from the Liverpool School next month. Dr. Adler tells me that Professor Blacklock has been carrying out valuable research work in connection with the tsetse fly, malaria, blackwater fever, and on parasitology generally. The laboratory is training Africans as laboratory assistants, and hopes in due course to extend the work. Dr. Clarke, who went out as a member of the staff, has been obliged for health reasons to resign his position, and has returned to England.

Race Problem—1923

Africa.

AN OLD REPUBLICAN LAW.

For going on strike, thirty-five Natives employed on the Silverton Tannery were brought before Magistrate Van Breda, Pretoria, and found guilty.

"I am satisfied," summed up the Magistrate "that the accused had refused to work. They wished to dictate to their employers as to how they should run their business. This was perfectly clear. They had to obey orders given them, and if they had any grievances these must be addressed through the proper channels."

"It is a fortunate thing for you," he concluded, "that the maximum penalty which the law permits me to inflict is £2 or a month."

It will be noted that whites may go on strike with or without notice, and no action is taken, either criminal or civil, against them. They may not only dictate to their employers what the rate of wages is to be and the hours of labour, but they may go on strike, form themselves into commandoes and drill in the public streets and no one dare say a word to them; but immediately Natives refuse to work, they are hauled before the Court and charged with having committed a criminal offence.

We take the very strongest exception to the Magistrate's remarks that he regretted not being permitted to inflict a severer punishment than the maximum penalty prescribed by law.

His duty is solely to administer the law as it stands on the Statute books; and comments such as he made at the trial should be reserved until he becomes a legislator.

He is paid to administer the law. His comments he should reserve for his private family circle, where he may indulge in them to his heart's content.

Mr. Herman p

It sounds very Christianlike, but let this other able supporter of Mr. Lavita remind himself that the A.P.O. is essentially a paper whose great moving spirit is one of intolerance—intolerance of injustice, prejudice, sham and hollowness—and which lashes out more strongly when these qualities are found among its own people.

He asks for tolerance of human frailty. The discriminating laws of the Free State, the abominable blot on the Statute book are also the outcome of the frailty of Europeans. We suppose Mr. Herman is prepared to feel tolerant and broadminded and accept them resignedly.

If we have a right to criticise and censure unfairness and injustice meted out by the Europeans in the interests of their own, we are doubly justified in denouncing and decrying such when it comes from our own people. Such people ought to be held up to shame, to be posted up as a warning to the rising generations and branded as outcasts. Christ preached forgiveness, a turning of the other cheek, but He lashed out at the hypocrites in the temples, He hated sham, superficiality, and duplicity. There are world famous artists today who have become great through the direction and assistance of outsiders, but they have returned with joy and pride to reflect glory on their own people.

Empires may rise and fall, politicians live and expire, but since time immemorial the history of a country has received its greatness from its artists.

They are the milestones of progress, the high-water mark of their civilization. They give immortality to their race, and when *our* artists sell their birthright for a mess of potage what hope have we for glory as a race.—

JOHANNESBURG SHOCKED.

Johannesburg was astounded and shocked on Friday, 11th December, when it learned that the Town Hall was being used that night for the purpose of a bioscope show for non-Europeans. Any poor white or uncouth white miner has, of course, the full run of the Hall at any time when it is available, but non-Europeans are strictly barred from entering the sacred precincts of the building.

Last Friday's incident is an act of sacrilege which roused the anger of the Europeans, and which will probably never be allowed to occur again.

"It is a public scandal," declared one irate citizen, "that we should allow our Town Hall to be transformed into a Coloured bioscope. The utmost danger exists in allowing Natives and Coloured people to congregate in the Town Hall, which perhaps may be used on the following night by Europeans."

One indignant gentleman demanded whether "we are going to the length of dragging infection from the slums to assail us in the very heart of our civil life."

Of course, there is no danger of the Natives carrying infection into madame's bedroom when he takes in her early morning coffee when madame is still half asleep! Oh, none at all.

HOW TO

At the November meeting of the Cape Town City Council a somewhat heated discussion arose over the application of an Indian for a General Dealer's Licence. The applicant has been in Cape Town for the past thirty years, and has nine children, all born within half a mile from the City Hall.

Councillor Hare, an inveterate opponent of the Indians, declared that if the Council granted the licence they would never succeed in making this a white man's country.

Dr. A. Abdurahman, in a vigorous reply, reminded the Council that it was already too late to think of making this anything but a black man's country. Indeed Cape Town was getting browner and browner every day, and that Councillor Hare had as little hope of making this a white man's country as he had of jumping over the moon from the seat he occupied in the Council Chamber.

The Council granted the application.

About seven years ago this same Councillor Hare was a candidate for Woodstock constituency of the House of Assembly. He then tried everything possible to obtain the Indian vote, but failed; and that may account for his attitude on the Indian question during the past six years.

BE TRUE TO YOUR RACE.

Proud of the Skin God gave you.

At a meeting of the Kimberley branch of the A.P.O. strong exception was taken to the criticism passed by the writer of the Women's Column on the deflection of Miss Gladys Daniels. We should point out that Miss Daniels was born and brought up at Kimberley, where she sang at concerts of her own people. In Durban, Natal, whither her people moved shortly before the war, she was accepted as a European. During her short stay in Cape Town on her return from England, she posed as a European, and gave her most intimate Coloured friends a wide berth. Not even her own relatives were permitted to escort her to the City Hall, where she was billed to appear as a lily-white star of South Africa.

We publish below the extract of the Kimberley report of the branch meeting, and also the reply to it by the Editress of the Women's Column.

Campaign for Cameroun

BECAUSE Rev. W. H. Hudnut, chairman of Ohio Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions was sent in 1921 as one of a commission to visit the Cameroun Country, West Africa, the Synod of Ohio voted to conduct from Nov. 12th to Dec. 18th a campaign in the interest of the West Africa Mission of the Presbyterian Board. A letter sent to all Presbyterian pastors in Ohio, reads in part as follows:

"After visiting all of the stations, traveling over fifteen hundred miles, carefully examining the present equipment, and considering the imperative needs for enlargement and extension, the Commission, in council with the Mission representatives, recommended to the Board an additional minimum expenditure of fifty thousand dollars for property. The Board has included these items in its approved property list to be presented to the Church this year. It is our confident hope and expectation that when the marvelous story of accomplishment and opportunity for Africa has been told in our churches, this amount of money will gladly be given by the Presbyterians of Ohio."

AFRICA

Marvels of Progress

THE Cameroun region in West Africa, where American Presbyterian missionaries are at work, has proved one of the most responsive mission fields in the world. Within twenty years the Church in Cameroun has grown from small beginnings to over 700 congregations, with more than 100,000 adherents, 30,811 church members, and thousands in training for membership. In 595 Christian schools, where the Bible is a chief textbook, nearly 25,000 pupils are getting a practical education. Before the missionaries came, there was no written language, and in the spoken language there were "no words for home, heaven, hope or thanks," for the people had no such ideas. Missionaries supplied both the ideas and the words. Last year the Cameroun Church contributed for Christian work in its own country and in other lands $18,899 out of incomes averaging not over three dollars per month. It supported its own churches and paid the salaries of hundreds of African men and women employed as pastors, teachers, colporteurs and evangelists. Not one cent of American money was used for the support of the churches.

Notes at Rando

Immediately after the closing this year's session of the Natic Council, the Paramount Chief of B toland among others called peopl his ward to a pitso at his R quarters which he addressed per ally. He remarked that the law Lerotholi were strictly to be follc in pursuance of the Council's deci and pledge to His Royal Highr

the High Commissioner for Basutoland He ordered every chief and headman to go by those laws in their administration of justice. Free copies of those laws were distributed among the members of his three courts.

For a fresh start at his (a) court he nominated Chief Teko Lerotholi as the President, and Crs Philip Molise and Josias Mopeli as vice-presidents. This court is looked upon as the supreme court of appeal at the Paramountcy. He instructed them to see that justice was done at that court and to decide every case that came before them according to the laws of the country.

At the conclusion of his speech the Paramount Chief was evidently overcome by the temptation that nearly brought him at daggers-point with the Basuto nation or to be exact, with the members of the Progressive Association early this year. He gave repugnant orders to these nominees of his which were simply to retard their progress and tamper with the justice that they would mete out to the litigants without partiallity. His orders were that they, the nominees, should listen and take into consideration the advices of his old courtiers, in the adjustment of any disputes that came before them. He thus handicapped them from executing freely and in the best way they could the duties with which they were entrusted.

Who are his old courtiers it may be asked? Did he mean that those *parvenus* like Cr Leloko and Ephraim Lebakeng were old courtiers, upon whom old politicians and statesmen like Crs Philip Molise and Josias Mopeli could rely for an advice? Are not these two men of good record and long experience in the affairs of Basutoland? Have they not during the passed years held those same positions with honour and credit to themselves and the Basuto nation under different regimes? What advice could they expect to get from those upstarts, with already a bad start to their record? Oh no, his courtiers are nothing but wiseacres and notorious bletherskites.

COMMERCE IN EAST AFRICA.

(African World)

The Possibilities of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

2-3-23

Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., who spent many years in an administrative capacity in East Africa, lectured in Liverpool on Tuesday, under the auspices of the local branch of the Royal Colonial Institute, on "The Commercial Possibilities of British East Africa." (London Wall, London)

Sir Humphrey, who was accompanied by Lady Leggett, and who was introduced by Mr. J. Sandeman Allen, said it had always been an historic tradition of Liverpool to take an active interest in tropical developments, and he hoped to be able to give them up-to-date information with regard to the present position of British East Africa in the economic sense, more particularly having in mind that never in the history of the British Empire had there been a moment more critical, more potential for the future, if seized, of careful and far-seeing developments to enable them to meet the bad times which were not only upon them, but which must continue to operate for some time to come. The return of the Chancellor of the Exchequer from America, with the result that he had given them, had undoubtedly settled once and for all the question of the debt in anything but a strict business sense, and they, as a business nation, recognised the sanctity of contract and their determination to fulfil to the utmost. (Hear, hear.)

The Rewards of Cultivation.

What, therefore, was their problem? It was undoubtedly to see what resources they had by the foresight of men who had gone before them, the resources of West Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and seize upon their possibilities and turn them to account. The possibilities of these colonies had been seized upon and brought up to date by such men as Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, and translated into positive action by such as Alfred Jones. (Hear, hear.) The countries he desired to speak about were the Kenya Colony, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the group of islands which made up what was known as British East Africa. Therefore, as business men, they wanted to know what were the rewards of cultivation in those countries. It had been proved beyond any doubt that Kenya Colony was suitable for the cultivation of coffee, the quality ranking with that of Costa Rica and the best Mysore, and bringing to-day a price of from 120s. to 130s. per cwt. Coming from within the British Empire, it obtained the benefit of the Imperial preference of a reduction of one-sixth in the import duties.

There was another great industry in British East Africa, and that was fibre, which was growing to a very great degree of excellence far in advance of Mexican, and coming more and more in demand because it was, after all, the chief material for binder-twine, now so much used throughout the world. In the highlands ranching and dairying and the growing of miscellaneous crops such as flax beans, maize, and potatoes, were carried out, and butter was beginning to come out and reach the markets of the world. He knew there were Liverpool interests which were connected with the butter and cheese output, and the first shipment of five tons of butter last November came from Mombasa to the port of Liverpool.

There was a very important Imperial matter which had been mentioned by their Chairman, and that was the growing of cotton. The success had certainly been very great, in spite of difficulties. The native population of Uganda had taken to it very well. In 1905 200 bales was the output of the country, and that was the result mostly of missionary efforts, and a company, of which a distinguished Liverpool gentleman was a director—Mr. Robert Gladstone—took an active part, and, from 200 bales in 1905, by 1912 the output of Uganda was 50,000 bales. He thought the value of this was about £1,500,000. Then came the war, and the output was maintained remarkably well, but when the slump came after the war, last year he was sorry to say the crop was under 25,000 bales. However, the reduction of taxation promised in the middle of last year stimulated the native, and this year's crop was estimated at 100,000 bales. That was a big figure, and it was a remarkable accretion to the wealth of the Empire. Hear, hear.

He would like to put it to them that every penny that could be spent by the British Empire on improving the communications of the interior of that group of countries to get the producing areas in quick, reliable touch with the coast with tide water, so as to bring those products to the markets of the world, meant an enormous return to the British Empire. (Applause.) The Colonial Office had well recognised that, but, of course, public opinion was absolutely all powerful in these matters, and it required an effort, concentrated and sustained, to keep up this determination. (Applause.)

Sir Humphrey was accorded a hearty vote of thanks at the close.

S. AFRICA'S POOR WHITES.

(African World)

Drought Killing the Cape Province.

(Special Correspondent)

Prickly Pear Diet.

2-3-23

About 100,000 white people are living below the subsistence line, and are definite paupers. This has been their existence for quite a period.

Another 100,000 are living on the border-line of existence.

Professor E. H. L. Schwarz, of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, on a visit to Cape Town, in mail week, made this startling statement, in the course of an interview, to an "Argus" representative.

Professor Schwarz is Professor of Geology and Geography at the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and the author of several important publications. He is perhaps best known in the world of scientific literature by his book, "The Kalahari, or Thirstland Redemption," in which he expounded a scheme for the restoration of the Inland lakes of Africa.

"I have just come," said the Professor to his interviewer, "two days and two nights through the Karroo, through a dead country where people have not had rain for fifteen or eighteen months. Roughly, out of 300,000 square miles of which the Cape Province consists, something like 250,000 square miles are in a deplorable state.

"People in the Cape Province are wondering why there is this movement afoot for the removal of the Parliamentary capital to Pretoria. It is not because of an intrigue among Civil Servants. It is the stern working of economic laws.

"In 1919," he said, "the drought meant a loss of £16,000,000. Nearly the whole of it affected the Cape Province. This year the drought is quite as severe, and it is again the Cape Province that is the chief sufferer.

"On the other hand, the Transvaal still has a little rain, and all the big developments are taking place in the Eastern Transvaal. The whole centre of gravity in the Union is going up northwards, following the rain.

"Actually we have one and a half million whites in the Union, and half of these are children under twenty-one years of age. Some 70 per cent. are growing up without any prospects of earning a livelihood. The country is going away from us. It is drying up.

"I am not saying this with any desire of crabbing the country. I have an infinite belief in the country, but we must do something to go to the root of the evil and cure these droughts."

Pressed regarding the position of the poor whites, Professor Schwarz made the disconcerting statement that there are children in parts of the Cape Province who never had a stitch of clothing on their bodies, and who are subsisting on prickly pears and any cast-away mutton they might pick up, people bearing historical Cape names, not only among the Dutch but among the English.

"I have found children growing up hopelessly and living almost like animals. The parents of these children are being crushed out of existence by drought after drought."

"Is the Government not doing anything to help them?"

"Yes," replied Professor Schwarz, "the Government is spending £450,000 this year in order to feed these people. They have settlements for these people at Hartebeest Poort, and kopjes and huts are being built at Knysna.

"The scheme will help these people, but it will not cure the evil. It is not going to the root of the evil.

"Droughts are manufacturing more poor whites than the Government can deal with. Remember, out of our small population 10 per cent. are poor whites.

"About 100,000 whites are living below the subsistence line, and are definite paupers, while 100,000 are on the border-line of existence. Potchefstroom is about the worst district in this respect in the Transvaal.

"As many children as possible are absorbed into the industrial schools, young, bright children, amenable to the discipline of the schools; but when they are discharged from these institutions as saddlers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and tailors they drift into the towns and soon become a charge on the community. They are not suited to industrial life. They are farmers, bred from farmer stock."

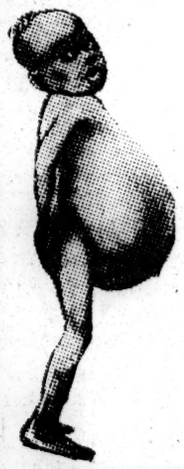
Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

White Man Is Safe in the Congoland Unless Mistaken for a Portuguese

Natives Unable to Forget How Black Monarch, Wishing to Thank King of Portugal for a Gift Chair, Was Deceived Into Signing Over All His Kingdom.

BY W. D. BOYCE

I REMEMBER how I was impressed by the story of the Portuguese securing the Lower Congo country on the Atlantic coast of Africa in return for a chair. The King of Portugal sent the chair to the negro king of the Congo as a present. The black monarch wished to express his thanks and some Portuguese who were with him kindly offered to write a suitable letter. The king put his mark on the dotted line. Later he learned that in the letter he had given all his territory on both sides of the Congo River to Portugal.



Negro child with abdominal dropsy, common in French Congoland, usually caused by eating too many bananas and having no milk to drink.

That was in the fifteenth century — the mouth of the Congo having been discovered by the Portuguese admiral, Diego Cam, ten years before Columbus found America — but the Congo natives have never got over it.

"A white man can go safely in almost any part of the Congo today, unless he is mistaken for a Portuguese officer; but if the natives think you a Portuguese you are liable to get a bullet or a poisoned arrow in the back," so an old-timer told us shortly after our arrival. What we saw and heard confirmed his statement. Americans and Britons can go unmolested in regions of the Portuguese Congo where government officers dare not venture without a strong guard. A Portuguese captain went into an interior district not long ago and neglected to take enough soldiers along. The captain was red-headed. Recently a native chief was seen near the boundary line between Portuguese Congo and Belgian Congo, and he was wearing a red wig. Troops had chased him from the village where the captain was murdered, but had not come anywhere near catching him.

Four hundred years ago the Portuguese were the greatest European power in Africa and called their possessions there "the Lands of the Setting Sun." Their sun of empire set long since, but they have held their own on the west coast south of the equator and in East Africa. How they have managed to do this is a mystery.



Bateke girl a mother at 14. She is the most recent wife of an old chief.

In Congoland.

Formerly Portugal had both sides of the mouth of the great Congo River. Belgium now has a narrow strip of land on the north bank, as a port of entry to Belgian Congo. Portugal has the south bank for a distance of eighty miles, this being the northern boundary of Angola, the largest province of Portuguese Congo. We shall write about Angola and the other Portuguese territories in Africa under the proper headings, and proceed now to the Congoland of France and Belgium.

For three thousand miles the Congo flows thru Equatorial Africa, first due north nearly a thousand miles, then circles westward above the equator and turns southwest to empty its flood in the Atlantic. The area of its basin, one million five hundred thousand square miles, is greater than that of any other river in the world except the Amazon in South America. Had the Congo been open to navigation, Central Africa would have been known before the discovery of America. Ninety miles from the Atlantic the Congo is blocked by a series of thirty-two cataracts, which Stanley explored forty-five years ago and named Livingstone Falls. The country beyond the cataracts has only become known to white men in the last half century.

Most of the Congo basin is held by Belgium, the total area of her territory being nearly one million square miles. In a previous article we told of French Gaboon on the Atlantic coast and how a young Italian exploring for the French government reached the north bank of the Congo, 350 miles from the sea, ahead of Stanley, an American citizen born in Wales, who was opening up the Congo for the King of Belgium. By planting the French flag there the young Italian secured for his adopted country a large part of the western basin of the Congo.

French Equatorial Africa, as it is now officially known, has an area of 700,000 square miles, consisting of four provinces, Gaboon on the Atlantic, the Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari-Chad and the Lake Chad military territory.

The Lower Congo.

From Livingstone Falls to the sea, the Congo River and valley are known as the Lower Congo. At the mouth of the river, on the north, is the small Portuguese province of Kabinda and a strip of Belgian territory between the river and French Gaboon. From Livingstone Falls the French hold the north bank for four hundred miles. Their capital is on Stanley Pool, above the Falls, and is named Brazzaville in honor of Stanley's rival, the Italian explorer De Brazza. Opposite Brazzaville on Stanley Pool is the capital of Belgian Congo.

With the mixed-blood tribes of the coast in the west, desert tribes in the north and Bantu negroes of the Congo in the south, French Equatorial Africa has a wide variety of population totaling approximately ten millions. The Bantus have been referred to before in these articles. The original Bantu negroes when first heard of in history were in the northeastern part of what is now the Belgian Congo. From there they spread east, west and south, driving before them the aboriginal pigmies and Bushmen, who took refuge in the depths of the jungle and in the desert country of South Africa. The Bantus mixed with other tribes in the east and south. In the forests of the Congo they warred with each other and ate each other. So they were doing when the first white men came fifty years ago and so they do today whenever they have the opportunity.

In the French province of Ubangi-Shari-Chad, north of Belgian Congo, east of the Cameroons and west of Anglo-Egyptian Soudan, are negroes of Bantu origin and half-breed tribes of Arab and Berber strain. The province gets its hyphenated name from the Ubangi River, the principal northern tributary of the Congo, and from the Shari River and Lake Chad. The Ubangi is the boundary of French territory north of the point where it empties into the Congo, above Stanley Pool. The Shari flows into Lake Chad, which is south of the Sahara desert, midway across Africa. The French province of Lake Chad is military territory. Until a few years ago the Wadai desert region in this territory was a great slave center, supplying girls and men for the Mohammedan harems of North Africa, Turkey and Arabia.

The Fashoda Incident.

In the desert country the French have built military roads and improved the caravan routes connecting with their territories that extend thru West Africa. However, there are large areas of French Equatorial Africa of which little is known. France has many colonies and has devoted more energy and money to the development of northern Africa than to her Equatorial possessions. Sleeping sickness prevails in the tropical provinces. One of the medical officers told us that 40 per cent of the natives of the Middle Congo province are afflicted with the disease, carried by the tsetse fly. Experts employed by the French government are experimenting with remedies, but the wild bush

France and Great Britain reached an agreement on the Lake Chad country twenty-four years ago, after what is called "the Fashoda incident." France had been enlarging her territories in North Africa and her troops reached Fashoda on the Nile, near the border of Abyssinia. The British were running the Egyptian government and considered the Nile Valley as their territory. They ordered the French out. The trouble was finally patched up by France agreeing to stay away from the Nile and it return Great Britain recognized the Lake Chad country as French territory. This is north of British Nigeria, which we described in the articles on West Africa.

[illegible] Troops Police Country.

[illegible] troops from French Senegal, [illegible] Africa, are chiefly used in the country. In each of the [illegible] provinces a lieutenant governor is appointed by the governor general at Brazzaville. The provinces are divided into districts under French administrators, [illegible] native judicial powers. Education is in the hands of missionaries.

[illegible] are governed thru their tribal chiefs, their chiefs being under the supervision of the administrators. Land not occupied by natives is leased to concessionaire companies, on condition that they

be dependent on Belgian transportation much longer, as a railroad is being built from Brazzaville west to Pointe Noire on the Atlantic Coast, near the old town of Loango in Gaboon. This line will be about 250 miles and will give a more direct route to the sea than the Belgian railroad and Lower Congo boats. However, it will take much time and money to make a good harbor at Pointe Noire.

Discovery of the Gorilla.

De Brazza was the first to go thru Gaboon from the coast to the Congo River, but he was not the first explorer in Gaboon. My old friend "Uncle Paul" De Chaillu was there some years before De Brazza and in the Gaboon jungle he discovered the gorilla, which he described to the world. Scientists for many years disputed his statements.

Brazzaville has the largest white population and it is less than five hundred, government officials, traders, missionaries and their families. The French complain that they cannot induce their people to come to Equatorial Africa. There is nothing Parisian about the life here and it does not appeal to young men, outside of army officers, who are willing to put in a few years directing negro troops in order to earn promotion. Brazzaville has some handsome government buildings and residences, and good motor roads for short distances into the country; the town has been artistically laid out and beautified with palms and flowers, but it is quiet and sleepy compared to its neighbor across Stanley Pool, the Belgian town of Kinshasa, metropolis of the Congo. In the native village, at Brazzaville, we saw many cases of sleeping sickness.

"Stern-kicker" Steamboats.

Belgium has one bank of the Congo and France the other, from the Pool to the mouth of the Ubangi River. Most of the trading posts are on the Belgian side. On the Ubangi River are many native villages and French traders.

It takes a week, sometimes longer, for the small "stern-kicker" steamboats to go from the mouth of the Ubangi to Bangui, the capital of the French province of Ubangi-Shari-Chad. Bangui is a surprisingly modern town, considering that it is such an out-of-the-way place. The French have put their buildings on a hill overlooking the river and have built boulevards thru the town. One thing that impresses visitors in French territory is the road-building. Wherever the French establish themselves they have good roads and motor cars. Bangui is becoming an important market for tropical produce, especially palm kernels and oil.

The French keep the negro in his place and he has respect for them. They insist upon the native doing business their way. We cannot say as much for the Portuguese and Belgians. As far as the native customs are concerned, the French have checked cannibalism until it is now only practiced on the quiet, but have not interfered with tribal life, secret societies and fetishism. Of course, Mohammedanism is growing rapidly, because the French do not oppose it. In the northern regions practically all the negroes have become Mohammedans. Near the Congo River are numerous Catholic missions, which for years have been endeavoring to win the negroes away from the witch doctors and fetish priests.

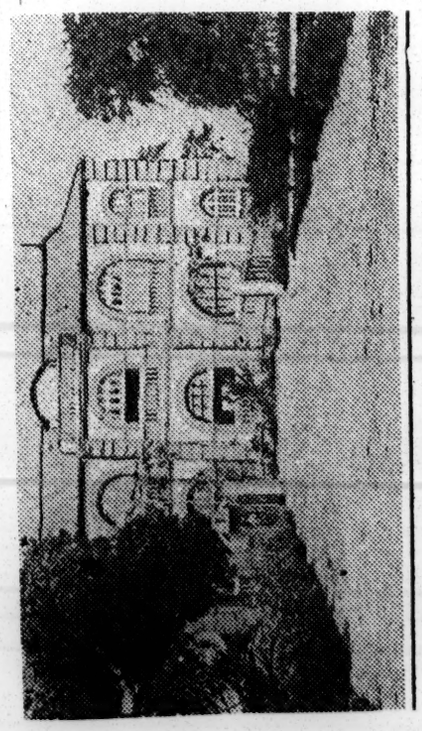
Taxes Hard to Collect.

The usual poll tax is collected when the officials can catch the negro or he has the price. Times have been bad the last few years, there has been little trade and the tax collector has had a hard job. Usually the negro works it out on the roads.

After seeing a Congro negro fire a load of scrap iron from an old-fashioned musket at an antelope thirty yards away, and miss the antelope, we concluded they were not dangerous unless they threw away the musket and took up the spear. In the French province north of the Belgian Congo, are the Zandes, a combination of negro and Arab blood, who are renowned hunters. They make a business of shooting game for the less clever negroes of nearby French and Belgian territory. Formerly the Zandes were slave raiders for the Arabs.

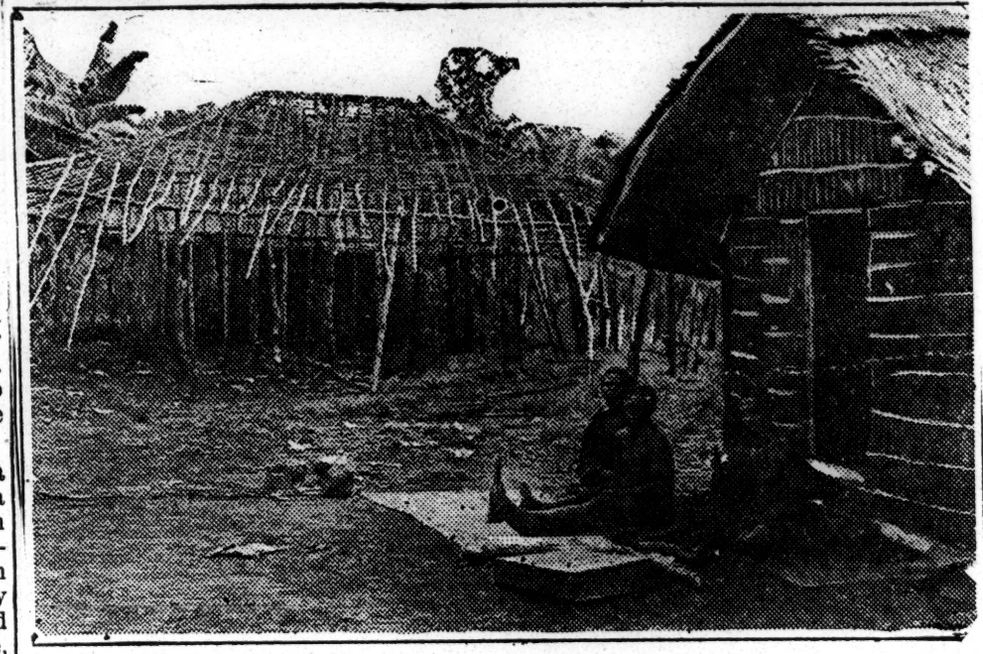
In next week's Blade we begin our story on the Belgian Congo.

Next week—THE BELGIAN CONGO.

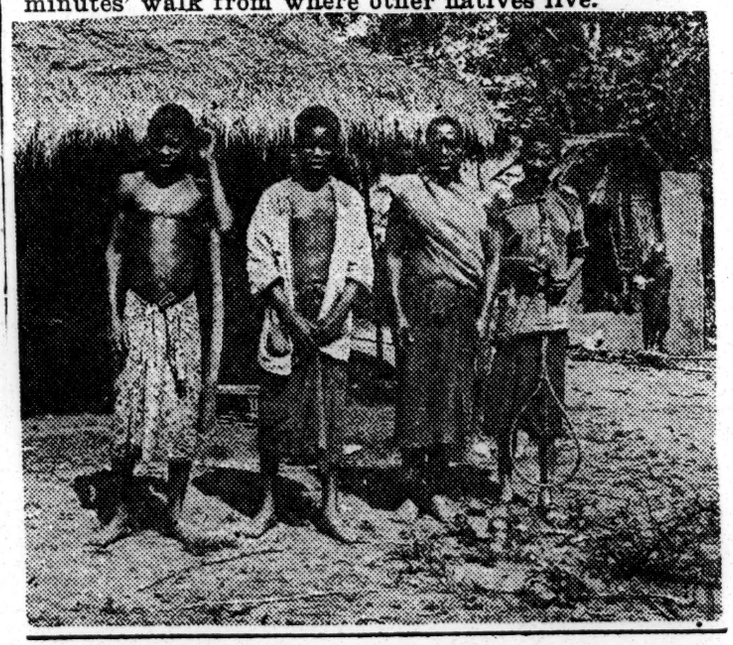


Official headquarters of the French government in Equatorial Africa, at Brazzaville on the Congo River. The governor's palace is two miles away.

DOOMED TO DIE FROM FLY BITE



Brazzaville natives slowly dying from the bite of the tsetse fly, which gave them sleeping sickness. Their separate village is only three minutes' walk from where other natives live.



Four Bateke "boys," descendants of one of the worst cannibal tribes of the French Congo. They now work as stevedores on the river steamboats.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

Education And Police Establish ment.

Dear Mr. Editor,

In your editorial article of the 21st September 1923, under the above heading you have endeavoured to shew the unreasonableness of Mr Matlosa's inference of comparing "Police Establishment" with that of "Education," drawing, as you mention, to the fact of his (Matlosas) ignorance as regards the groups that fall under the heading of each of the above mentioned institutions

I wish first of all to draw your attention to the fact that, if you have read carefully Mr Matlosa's article, he has said nothing about grouping the heads that come under "Police" and those that come under "Education" and that your inquisitiveness in this connection is irrelevant. Besides it is only common sense that should have guarded you before you made your remarks that there are far more schools in Basutoland than groups of heads that fall under "Police." Last year there were 228 schools that send candidates for examination belonging to the P.E.M.S. with an approximate total of more than 2000 candidates to say nothing of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Schools. These figures if compared with the number of Camps throughout Basutoland and allowing each Camp, with say 100 officers and men which of course is untrue, would reveal to you the reasonableness of the comparison. However that is not the subject at issue.

You have now proceeded to proof your statement by references to last month's report in the National Council and you mention Councillor Phamotse and his supporters—Oh! Mr. Editor are you not aware that you have wandered away from the subject?! Surely this was never alluted to by your contributor.

Mr Matlosa from the wording of his article never said or shewed any impression that Native police were either sufficiently or unsufficiently paid—no; that was not his impression in fact there was no impressioh at all.

I do not think that such a case—his which was reported by you to have taken place would have passed unnoticed by the patriots of this country, as, to my mind, and to the minds of serious thinking people this is a very serious offence of negligence of duty, provided, of course, that your information was correct, but you refer to this all-important question as merely a matter of expediency!!! Ah! Mr Editor, is it thus lightly you tread serious questions of your country!

Half of your article is in the inadequacy of Police pay—what has that to do with the performance of their duties, and what perplexes me is when Mr Editor now refers to illiteracy of the present lot of the Police and further say, "With the present lot it does not matter how sufficiently they may be paid they will not give satisfaction." If even when the present lot is sufficiently paid, they give no satisfaction what is the use then Mr Editor of advocating for more pay? Illeteracy cannot under any circumstances be the cause of dissatisfaction As you know yourself, without going out of the bounds of this our dear land a case such as this was never heard of. Well—in fact to my knowledge I have never heard one of this nature and it is astounding to find out that a man of many years experience like the serjeant of your district could still be found to be curbing under the evils of illiteracy No Mr Editor, I emphatically say NO. This statement is perhaps a misconception on your part. The Interpreters in the employ of the Government are there to translate the promulgations of the law you mention into vernacular and it is wonderful then that after such interpretation as is necessary for the Police to know, that they should remain uncertain whether a culprit should be arrested or not until opinion of the Officer in-charge is obtained—I doubt the truism of your statement It was never so—it is not so—it will never be so.

Even if it were so—What about his case where native citizens came to the native serjeant and I presume in his own native language reported to him the murder of the deceased, when the reply to them was: "Go and tell the headman to find the murderers." Do you allude to this as a matter of the inadequacy of the Serjeant's pay was it due to illiteracy on his part? What is it Mr Editor? Thunder!! I say it is neither; but I maintain duty was grossly neglected.

I believe Mr Editor that you now can see that illiteracy or inadequacy of pay in this subject are not the causes of what I call negligence on the part of the non-com. in question and that your defence holds no water

What Mr Matlosa wanted was: "If the Police do not care a two pence about cases in their district and within their radius, what are they paid for?" It is immaterial whether they draw large or small wages. All that we know is, as police they are paid to keep law and order and must arrest anyone committing crime, failing these duties, they are worthless as law protectors. The questions of inadequacy of pay, illiteracy or even defiency are outside this topic.

Apologising for having taken such a big space of your valuable paper.

I am etc.

Robert A. Sello.

Education And Police Establish ment.

In our issue of the 31st August we gave a full report of the circumstances that ended in the death of Mr Moremi, and all that happened after then. That report has since never been challenged by anybody. It remains there as true as ever There is no need on our part or anybody else to be reiterating t[he]
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did we say he said anything about "Groupin." What we showed was that the comparison as was given by Mr Matlosa was not sufficient to lead anybody right in his judgment. In fact, in the whole leader in question, nothing was directly said against Mr. Matlosa To say Mr Matlosa "had no impression at all" when he drew the comparison is merely tantamount to saying, he wrote unconsciously

Mr Sello bits the hand that had fed him. We have given a full report of the case, and he has now turned on us, charging us with the defence of the serjeant. That is not true. We did what was our duty to do in our issue of the 31st August, and that finishes the matter as far as we are concerned. The matter of defence, as that of retribution, we have left to others to do In fact we don't wish anybody ill

in connection with this sad affair. We wish that there would be no further occurrences of this ind.

In finishing off, with the virtue ration of Mr Sells, we must plainly tell him and those of his calibre, that in the article in question we were no longer concerned with the serjeant. That we had done with. We were therefore dealing with the establishment as a whole.

Without any motives to confuse or disconcert Mr Sello, we wish to mention that, after the publication of our issue of the 21st. September, our attention was drawn to the fact that, apart to the question of the inadequacy of the pay, the police were paid better than native teachers. The highly paid teachers received three-fifth of the Private police wages, and half of the minimum pay of the serjeant of the police. These details and much more that we do not know, would lead one right than the bul sums would do. We therefore hold that, without these details the public is not led yet into the light of the revenue affairs.

The Native Question

The Conference that met at Johannesburg on Thursday, 27th September last, to discuss the main phases of political questions affecting the Bantu, was a landmark in the history of this country in many espects. Its outstanding value lay in the fact that it had been summoned by the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church, a body which had previously been branded by Natives, including ourselves, as a church unfriendly to Native interests. This in itself was sufficient to dispel the spirit of the country had turned a corner away from the road leading to permanent enmity, to a new path of promise and peace among races. The Federal Council of the D. R. Churches brought together about forty Natives, whose representative status could not be challenged, and we are not surprised at this, because they had at their disposal the friendly suggestions of a great friend of the Natives, Dr C. T. Loram, who personally knows all the Natives that count, South of the Zambesi. These Natives included the twenty-five who had attended the Government Conference at Pretoria, with about fifteen others representing different churches and welfare societies. The Europeans also, were drawn from the cream of all sections of the population having most to do with the aborigines, namely, the Churches, Welfare Societies Universities and the Commercial World.

At ten o'clock in the morning the roll was duly called in the presence of a large number of interested Native listeners, many of whom had journeyed long distances to witness the proceedings.

The assembly was directed by an ideal chairman, the Rt. Rev. D. S. Botha, D.R.C. Synod Moderator, a capable fatherly gentleman whose suavity, decisiveness, humour and impartiality was a revelation of the abilities of the superior class of Dutch people in this country. His conduct of this epoch making meeting was admirable and flawless.

He set a high tone in his introductory speech when he said that the *raison d'etre* of the assembly was that "God our Heavenly Father in His wisdom has called us here to do work for humanity with no reference to differences except those of religious denomination and colour. The Dutch Churches have decided that this Conference be called to deal with problems that must be met and solved, in regard to the education of the Bantu people, their legitimate claims to political righs, to land ownership, questions of segregation and so forth. The source of the presence of these problems was ignorance on the part of both the white and black races, which bred misunderstanding, which in turn engendered suspicion, which produced anti-pathy ultimately resulting in enmity. Our object therefore, is to find information to dispel prevalent ignorance onimportant duty, that of influencing the difficulties surrounding the problem, because when two individuals get to know each other, they then tend to understand one another, this removing all suspicion and producing respect; and once mutual respect is established, then antipathy and enmity are removed and replaced by cooperation and goodwill." This piece of original syllogism evoked ringing cheers for the aimable chairman when he sat down and called upon the Rev. A. F. LOUW to read his paper on "The PRINCIPLES of CHRISTIANITY as a BASIS for a NATIVE POLICY." A kind-looking earnest Christian, Mr. Louw imported a distinctly religious atmosphere into the meeting through his paper which occupied twenty five minutes [11.10—11.35 a.m.] His main argument was that Christian principles could best be inculcated in the growing race of children, white children being taught to love and respect people of a different colour to themselves, especially Native servants, much on the lines of old "April" who served his father and identified himself with his master's home, being ultimately buried within the precincts of the farm amidst the lamentations of the white womenfolk in the estate. The cultivation of Christian homes was the first essential, said the speaker. "We all know little of each other; the whites know little of the Native; the Natives in South Africa know little, for instance, of what is being done by the D.R.C. and its great missions in Central-East Africa. Now, a sound and sane Native policy must be based on Christianity. I ask you leaders of the Native people, whither do ye lead your people? Are we to live in peace or to quarrel? We have hitherto stood back to back, to-day we stand face to face. Let us resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder, face our problems, avoiding quarreling over accidentals, but agreeing on essentials. Our object should not be what we can get from Africa, but what we can give; for the man who is intent on getting is in danger of losing his soul."

Here followed the Rev. S. Majozi of Natal who acted substitute for Rev. J. L. Dube, who was unavoidably prevented from attending. Mr. Majozi too laid stress on the education of children, and made a plea for educational facilities in behalf of Native children in farms. Herod killed the infants because he knew that Christianity depended upon them. Native mothers had to go into service and perforce leave their young at home with disastrous results. He deprecated the desecration of the Sabbath by Europeans, saying that was inconsistent with the love of God and the love of one's neighbour by inference. Discussion was opened at 11.50, and Rev. Abner Mtimkulu spoke and complained against the policy of discrimination against a man on account of his colour. At 11.58 Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu rose to say politics and Christianity tend to be regarded as things that cannot be associated, despite the fact that politicians are mostly professing Christians. Why should the two not go together and the churches broaden out their work by reaching those who held the political destiny of their land? The churches had confined themselves to work inside their four walls and fallen short of an to deal with the native question on lines of Christian principles. At 12.5 Rev. B. S. Dlepu urged the missionaries to teach the members of their church their duty as Christians towards Native servants. Then Mr. Z. Fenyang of Tsaba Nchu confessed that Natives had always suspected the D.R.C. to be unfriendly, for it did no mission work in South Africa. Natives have confidence in this conference inasmuch as it has been convened by the D.R.C; because they know from experience that when a Dutchman is a good man, he excels all other men in virtue, and when he is a bad man he is equally the reverse (Loud laughter).

The next speaker was the Bishop of Pretoria, whose remarks we hope to report in our next instalment of this account.

The Ciskei Convention.

On Saturday the first of September instant King William's Town was the scene of a large representative gathering of progressive Natives from the section of people between Fort Beaufort and East London on one side and Stutterheim and Peddie on the other. Over a hundred men, including many chiefs and headmen, attended; while another hundred and more of the local townspeople were also present during some time or other of the proceedings.

These people had assembled in response to the invitation of Messrs R. F. Haya and D. D. T. Jabavu for the purpose of considering the subjects of the General Native question which are to be discussed at Pretoria and Johannesburg in the last week of this month as arranged by the Government under Act 23 of 1920 and by the Dutch Reformed Church Council. 9-11-23

The convention, which was the most important held in the Ciskei for over ten years, was presided over by Chief Ben Tele of Peddie, supported by Rev. C. Mji, the local Wesleyan parson, Mr R. F. Haya who took secretarial notes, Rev. H. K. Ndobe of Peelton and Mr Jabavu of Alice. The discussions throughout were characterised by a spirit of unity, earnestness. enlightened information and gravity of behaviour in all the matters considered.

In the first place the convention decided that their desires should be entrusted to one of the delegates due at Pretoria as soon as the names become known. These were as follows:—

(1) That the Government be requested for the future to arrange that the Native people be given a share in the selection of their representatives to Government Conferences under Act 23 of 1920 whether through the medium of the franchise or otherwise.

(2) Concerning the draft bill on Native Marriages, a long and interesting discussion ensued lasting until the lunch adjournment hour. The decision on this was that the word "informal" before the word "marriage" be excised throughout the bill; and that in clause 2 the phrase "or his heir" be inserted after "the man" in the fifth line. Otherwise the guiding principle should be that all the property of a man married under Native custom should be legally dealt with strictly under the code of Native customs as indicated by the general trend of discussion.

(3) On Pass Laws the Convention unanimously decided that the Government be asked not to introduce any new Pass Law into the Cape Province other than the [illegible] in operation at the present.

(4) On the working of the Urban Areas Act the meeting resolved that the Government be asked to amend the Act so as to allow Natives to purchase the site on which their houses stand.

(5) On the question of Native taxation the meeting was unable to make any recommendation as the Government had submitted no details as yet on the matter. It was agreed that the delegates should ask the authorities to refer the matter to the Natives before acting. This ended the consideration of the Government agenda.

Mr Jabavu then explained the nature of the invitation he had received to attend the Conference organised by the Dutch Reformed Church Federal Council and the six items of agenda published. These were also dealt with one by one.

On the subject of political representation the meeting instructed the delegate to work for the removal of the colour bar from the Constitution of the Union before all other considerations. Upon Segregation and the Land Question under the Lands Act of 1913 a great deal of discussion took place but no resolution was made because the delegate would be guided by the various points that arose in the debate.

On the matter of representation at the Government Conference the covention suggested a list of eleven names to the Government out of which the authorities might select men who would be regarded as enjoying the confidence of the convention. These were Messrs D. D. T. Jabavu of Alice, Chief S. Zibi of Middledrift, M. Pelem of Queenstown, Dr. W. B. Rubusana of East London, Edward Ngesi of Port Elizabeth. H. Fanana of Herschel, Sol. Plaatje of Kimberley, Chief B. Tele of Peddie, Chief Songo Kama of Middledrift, R. F. Haya of King Williamstown and R. S. Skenjana of Stutterheim.

After expression of thanks to various parties the proceedings then terminated in an amicable spirit.

Race Problem – 1923

Africa.

THE TRIAL OF MARCUS GARVEY.

Gold Coast Leader

THE American and other papers are full of the trial and conviction of Marcus Garvey, and we should be wanting in sincerity if we pretended that the matter did not interest us. At the same time there is no need to go into hysterics one way or the other. It is possible calmly to study the facts, and to deduce the lessons that may help the race. Marcus Garvey was the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of which he is the President General. He promoted at the same time the Black Star Line, a shipping concern, which was intended to have supplied Africans at home and abroad with an object-lesson in the way of industrial development and progress. Apart from certain vague and visionary aspects of his doctrines, he has preached in the main racial unity and co-operation, the reliance of the African upon himself in taking his proper place in world order, and the doctrine that whatever other men and other races can do that the African can do for himself. It is true there is nothing new in all this; but it is also true that he has driven these lessons home upon the African mind and sentiment with a vision and a force of character, which his very enemies must, and do, admit.

Cape Coast, W. Afric

From this standpoint he appears to have made many enemies both within and without the race; and it is quite probable that without the former there would have been no trial and conviction of this singular character. He appears to have antagonised the Duboises, the Weldon Johnsons, the Chandler Owenses, the Pickenses and others of Afro-American public life between whom and him there has been a bitter feud for some considerable time. Marcus Garvey has represented to the world, rightly or wrongly, that most of these men are not true representatives of African interests in that they are put up by white philanthropists to thrust upon the African a line of progress that would make him perpetually the subservient tool of the white exploiter. He points out that the funds by which their organisations are supported come mostly from white pockets, and that that becomes a danger and a snare to an independent attitude on the part of the group he denounces. He suggests that if the masses of our race accepted this view, there would be an end to the job of these would—be leaders. Hence the bitter antagonism between the leadership of Marcus Garvey on the one hand and of Dubois on the other.

8-18-23

It appears that Dubois considers that the ideas of Marcus Garvey are revolutionary, and that rather than help the race they may retard progress and alienate the sympathies of the ruling classes. Beyond this we are not aware that there is any intrinsic difference as to the promotion of African welfare between the two leaderships, except that Dubois is seeking to solve the problems of the Afro-American merely, while Marcus Garvey widens and takes in universally the whole race and the larger vision, we are persuaded, must command greater attention and interest.

He is blind, he is deaf, who can not see or hear that one universal spirit moves all Africans everywhere to-day, and that is for the African to take his right and true place in the economy of life. That place, as has been pointed out, is not to remain the serf and the burden—bearer of the world, to be tossed about by the whims of Governments and economic exploiters, but to stand up as a man demanding and receiving manhood rights. This being the issue which transcends all others, the significance of this trial consists in a consideration whether of set purpose the alleged delinquency of Marcus Garvey is made a mere blind to defeat the great racial onward and upward movement. We are afraid that the majority of thinking folk, both within and without the race would be inclined to regard it as such. And that is the trouble. When a whole race makes up its mind to move onward and upward, not all the powers of hell, we conceive, can stop it. As for the revolutionary intentions charged, they seem more sentimental than real, more theoretical than practical. For it has yet to be shown that the African cannot come into his own without the shedding of blood.

Garvey appears to have been indicted under the Postal Laws of the United States for conspiracy to use the mails to defraud for which he has been convicted. There were twelve counts, but only one was proved, and, according to some of the reports, his honesty was unassailed, "his good judgment alone impugned." But whatever view be accepted, it is unfortunate that he was refused bail upon his appealing from the Judgment of the Court which, according to his Counsel, within his experience of twenty years of the American bar, was never known to be refused even in cases of murder of the second degree. This may lend weight to the view of some that he has been persecuted rather than prosecuted: and it may be hoped that the petition to the President of the United States will have such a result as to free the Federal Government from being considered to be down on a man who, rightly or wrongly, feels himself called upon to lead a great movement. Perhaps Garvey had been wise, if he had left the Black Star Line venture for private enterprise, and in that consists the great lesson of the situation.

SMUTS SHOWS HIS HAND.

David Lloyd George, Great Britain's war premier, and Premier Smuts of South Africa, seem to entertain widely and divergent opinions as to the political and economic status of British citizenship. Both statesmen made public speeches on the subject—one in New York and the other in London—which were published simultaneously in the daily press.

New York Age

In addressing members of the Lotus Club, Lloyd George declared that the future civilization depends on the lying side by side of the American and English flags in comradship, as they represent the cause of unity, justice, right and the cause of humanity. "These two Commonwealths of many races—you have many—we are building into one fabric," he said. "You are welding them into a block which nothing can rend asunder. We are putting them together in one great temple." 11-10-23

Said Premier Smuts at the Imperial Conference on political and economic status of British Indians: "There is no equality of British citizenship throughout the Empire. * * * Each separate part of the Empire will settle for itself the nature and incidents of its citizenship. It will not only regulate immigration from other parts of the empire as well as from the outside world, but it will settle the status of its citizens as a matter of domestic concern."

Premier Smuts' regime as director of South Africa has been notable for the cruelties and injustices to which natives have been subjected. No overseer of a Southern plantation during slavery was more brutal and inconsiderate of the Negro. Robbing the native of his lawful possessions and then treating him inhumanely has been Smuts' policy. Today in South Africa there are places where the black man and woman are compelled to go to a certain window for their mail. Some months a Negro born on the West Coast, but who has resided in this country for a number of years, spent one

night in one of the good-sized towns of South Africa and had to walk the streets. He was a black man and it was against the law for white hotels and places of public accommodations to cater to Negroes.

South Africa has a serious race problem on its hands. The situation is one of increasing aggravation owing to Smuts' policy of making Africa for the Africans a land of oppression and suppression, where the mailed fist and spurred boot are ever in action and might is right.

No small wonder Premier Smuts does not want all living under the British flag to be equal politically and economically! And when he argues in favor of each part of the Empire settling for itself the nature and incidents of its citizenship, he is seeking to create a sentiment that will permit him to continue his despotic rule over the natives in South Africa without interference from either Downing Street, London, or the outside world.

If the natives were permitted to vote they would overwhelmingly declare against living under the present form of government and favor the appointment of a British Governor. The South African Dutch have failed dismally as wards of a weaker people.

POLITICAL REFORMS IN BASUTOLAND.

BY T. W. KEABLE MOTE.

Now that Basuto chieftainship has been somewhat evolved from the political chaos which laid heavily on it before the opening of the last National Council's session, the current point facing our aristocratic section is reformation. The great fact in Basutoland, as in other countries in Africa since the dawn of Western civilization and modern education, is the elemental spirit of democracy. Everywhere the communal trend is towards popular government and its almost inevitable concomitant, a regulation of economic socialism.

In order to cope with the democratic demands of the time, and to attain an ideal consummation of reformation our chiefs should adopt a better system of legislation, and establish *modus vivendi* with the common people. I sound this clarion call to the chiefs for fear recent developments of democracy may reach an unsuperseded superiority, which means that chiefs would shut the stable-door when the steed is stolen; whereas there is no necessity for such an event in this lovely land of ours. Now, in reforming political affairs in this country, it is incumbent on our chiefs that the constitution of the National Council be viewed with a thorough investigation. I also wish to draw the attention of the chiefs to the fact of race-consciousness and resuscitation of democracy in this country. In 1903, when a unanimous agreement was passed by the chiefs upon the subject of a National Council to deal with the tribal affairs in consultation with the Government, there was a mistake instituted by not styling this House an elective Council, and naturally, consciously the most heart-rending error was made. The constitution allowed about one hundred members, and that they should partly be selected by the chiefs and partly nominated by the Government. I shall not here discuss their respective functions; why did the Government allow the system of selection? Was it because the chieftainship was generally composed of men of far-sightedness? From my viewpoint it appears unjust for the Government to tolerate an unfair system of selection notwithstanding that these men were to ventilate opinions and grievances, to deliberate upon tribal disputes, and confer with the Administration upon internal affairs. As about the question of far-sightedness of our chiefs is a debatable point which I will leave aside now, for it might broaden my writing unnecessarily, anyway, my opinion may nevertheless be not correct. However, suffice to say I must voice it.

In the National Council personnel there are chiefs who more or less go there for the sole purpose of getting the £15 grant. It baffles one why Englishmen should allow the policy of selection and nomination in Basutoland, whereas this is an infringement of the Statute and common law of the British *constitutional legislation,* and moreover, it is repression as against the conventional liberties and privileges of Basutos since Moshesh, the founder of the nation.

If I were to suggest, I would urge my people strongly to agitate for electoral division to be made in this country. The reason we fail as a nation, I think, is on account of lack of co-operation and re-organisation. These should stand out as landmarks of our political progress. To explain clearly what I mean by electoral division, I mean proportional representation in the National Council. For instance, if Leribe districts have more population than Berea, it must be so in the National Council's representation. The Paramount Chief is zealously trying by *all means* to quell the high spirit of maladministration of justice in Basutoland. To silence the spirit of injustice, he has instituted a better court, composed of his own men and members of the Basutoland Progressive Association. We learn from the Press that the resultants are favourable. This step taken by the Paramount Chief of late is a most valuable improvement, and surely it operates as a powerful stimulus to fidelity and impartiality in the general view of the people. It is high time lesser chiefs took a leaf out of the Paramount Chief's book. Lastly, the Paramount Chief should grant us our privileges and freedom in the National Council. I shall in another issue deal with the political conventionality of the Basuto code of laws.

ATTITUDE OF SO-CALLED NATIVE PRESS.

I found it my bounden duty the so-called "Umteteli wa Bantu" journal does not prove as its name connote. It has not published my two articles, and up to now no logicality has been advanced. As far as I can judge, it has the so-called writers in this country who are, after all, very partial in their views. At present the mine worker (from this territory) is in an unfavourable plight. The National Council last year passed an actment that mine boys should be taxed, notwithstanding that they hardly have sufficient money, as petty chiefs constantly visit the Rand, especially when they are aware of the labourers earning days are drawing to an end. There are many educated young men and women from this territory in the Union who cannot be employed either by the Government or by the traders. The situation is critical. The European will, ere long, demand better privileges as they have actually done in Kenya. The ideal now, as elsewhere in the Union, is Europeanisation of this fair land of our fathers. It is a great pity that there is no industrial movement in this corner of the globe. It is suitable for me to perorate with Wordsworth's poem:—

The land we from our fathers had entrusted,
And to our children will transmit or die,
And God and nature say it is just.

GLORIOUS TIME HAD BY ALL AT LIBERIA HANGING

White House Romance Murder Leads to Rope.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]
[Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.]

MONROVIA, Libera, Nov. 23.—Few forensic opportunities are overlooked in Liberia whether it be a presidential election or a hanging. Two years ago one of the president's cooks served notice on her darky lover that she had heard about his gallivanting around with a tattooed woman from the bush. She allowed that he was a "shiftless, no good nigger," and that he need not expect any more meals to be handed out to him from the presidential kitchen.

The cook's lover shot her on the Liberia White House back porch. His hanging which followed in due course remains a red letter day in the annals of the capital.

Politics at Gallows.

The condemned man was made to march behind his coffin through the streets, and he was followed by the entire town in solemn and orderly procession. Arriving at the cemetery where a wood scaffold had been erected conveniently over an open grave, various town and state dignitaries made speeches from the gallows. They reviewed their political records, "pointed with pride," "viewed with alarm" and renewed their "pledges to the people."

There were several long sermons and finally the condemned man made a few parting remarks which extended over a quarter of an hour, during which time he allowed that the hanging was going to be a powerful lesson. Then all present marched across the scaffold stand and shook hands with him, after which he was hung three times—the last time with fatal results.

Twenty Inch Oratory.

Lawsuits are a popular form of indoor sport in Liberia, giving further opportunity for oratorical fireworks. One Negro calls another a "nigger," and then there follows a suit for slander with a demand for $10 damages. The array of opposing counsels would shame a rail rate hearing before the United States interstate commerce commission. If the defendant is not able to pay if he loses, he must pawn some member of his family until he can.

White residents are said to be one popular income producer in this connection. Certain Monrovians bait a white man to curse or strike them, and then they bring suit for damages, which frequently are collected.

"Forced Labor" Joke.

Fines from those guilty of misdemeanors provide a small source of income for the bankrupt administration and those unable to pay or to give pawns are put in chain gangs, which form the only forced labor in the country. These prisoners, who wear iron bands riveted around their necks, may be seen around the streets of Monrovia, but the results of their work are not noticeable.

The only appreciable difference between the prisoners and their guards, who loaf under nearby trees with their rifles beside them, is that the guards sit in the shade and the prisoners in the sun. Only in exceptional cases is any one flogged.

Race Problem — 1923.

Africa.

The Fort Hare College.

The Governing Council of the South African Native College met at Fort Hare on the 29th August. There were present: Dr C. T. Loram, vice Chairman (in the chair; Mr Walter Carmichael, C.C. & R. M., Engcobo; the Rev A. J. Lennard; Rev. A. Graham; the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Grahamstown; Messrs D. A Hunter, James Chalmers, M. Pelem, J Mlokoti and the Principal.

The main business of the meeting was to approve of a draft scheme of government to enable the College to benefit from the provisions framed thereunder. When the Minister for Education makes a declaration that the South African Native College is an institution for higher education and approves of its scheme of government, the College will be incorporated under act of Parliament and will be treated by the Government on the same basis as all the other colleges in the Union. The grants made to it by Government, for example, will depend upon its fee and other income. For every pound that is collected in tuition fees, up to the sum of £2000, £3 will be granted by Government, and for every pound over £2000 and under £15,000, £2 will be granted by Government, and thereafter the grant will be at the rate of £1 for £1. Similarly for every £1 of income derived from other sources the Government will grant £2 on the first £2000, and thereafter £1 for £1. It follows, therefore, that the greater the support which the College receives from Native Councils and from the Native people generally, the more it will get from Government. It has often been pointed out at the Council meetings that the College has not hitherto had adequate support from native sources other than the Transkeian General Council and the Basutoland Administration.

The Council again considered the question of providinga Dining Hall and staff houses, and it was agreed to make further application to the Government for loans to allow of the erection of these in the immediate future.

It was reported that the College had drafted a scheme of Bantu Studies for the B.A. Degree and that this had been accepted by the Senate of the University of South Africa, so that advanced studies in Bantu Languages, History and Social Custom will now be possible for our Native students.

The loss on the Winter School was reported to be £42, and on the Agricultural Show £60 of which £30 falls to be met by the Native Affairs Department.

An important discussion took place with regard to the provision of facilities for the medical training of natives. An offer was made by the American Board Mission of South Africa to hand over their hospital and staff in Durban to the Council of the South African Native College to help towards providing a full course of training within the Union of South Africa. It was pointed out that the necessity for such a course was very great, that Native and Coloured students were debarred from entering the medical schools of the Union, and that the cost of proceeding overseas for all except a few, was prohibitive. So urgent was the need for such a course that the American Board Mission had already begun to train some Zulu young men in Natal, and the Council of the South African Native College had made approaches to the Government and to the Rockefeller Medical Foundation for help to enable them to undertake this course. The proposal of the American Board was that forces should be joined and that while the bulk of the teaching work should be done at Fort Hare and some clinical work at the Victoria Hospital, clinical surgery and some other classes should be taken at Durban. The Council received the proposal of the American Board very favourably, and appointed a committee to go more fully into the matter and to investigate the possibilities of co-operation.

Thus closed the last meeting of the Council which was established under the constitution adopted in January, 1915. Under the direction of this Council great progress has been made in establishing the College upon a firm foundation in appointing a qualified staff and in erecting substantial buildings. The College now enters upon a new stage of its history in which a more adequate share in its direction and financing will be taken by the Union Government and in which there opens up for it a wide prospect of service to the native people.

BRITAIN TO LET NEGROES SHARE IN MAKING LAWS

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

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FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, Oct. 30. The Hon. E. H. Cummings, O. B. E., J. P., is the present mayor of Freetown, his office being in his dry goods shop in East street, Freetown.

From his alphabetical appendages one learns that he is also a justice of the peace and an officer in the order of the British empire, an honorary distinction awarded by the king. Mayor Cummings was born in Freetown sixty years ago and is a graduate of Queens college, England.

Powers of Mayor.

"What are the powers of the mayor and city council?" I asked him.

"We have charge," replied his honor, "of the fire department, waterworks, and we collect fees on burial permits and city taxes."

"And the police department?"

"O, no. We pay for that, but that is managed by a white commissioner appointed by the governor. O, no sir we have nothing to do with the enforcement of the laws."

"But you and the city council make the laws for the city?"

"No," replied the mayor. "The laws are made by the governor."

"Then you have nothing to do with the laws?"

"Yes," Mayor Cummings replied, "We obey them."

"What happens when the laws are not obeyed?" I asked.

A Concrete Case.

He handed me an annual report for later reading. Humble reference is made to the riots of 1919, when the price of rice rose from 4 to 12 cents a cup as a result of being cornered by Syrian merchants. The blacks revolted, during which the Syrian stores were looted and several killed. For this affair the governor ordered the town to pay $2,500 yearly for ten years to prevent a repetition of the affair.

In spite of the punishment the townspeople are still bitter against the thrifty Syrians, who, although white, have a lower standard of living than the blacks. But none of these feelings are shown against American or European whites.

The governor, who is appointed by the king, is addressed as "his excellency the governor, commander in chief and vice admiral," and his name is Alexander Slater, G. M. C., C. B. E.

"Our policy," the governor told me "is to fit the inhabitants of the colony to govern themselves in a fullness of time. In the last century the colony has made great strides forward and a measure of elective representation on the legislative council will come into force next year, but the time has not yet come for the introduction of a franchise. This is a decision based upon advice given to the king and must loyally be abided by until and unless his majesty's government thinks fit in response to constitutional representations to vary it."

NEGRO LEADERS OF SIERRA LEONE SCORN FREEDOM

Want No Marcus Garvey Nor Change in Rule.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

[Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.]

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone, Africa, Oct. 28.—[Tribune Radio.]—There are people in the world who do not want to be free. There are more than a million of them here, and the country they live in is almost as large as Ireland.

They have nothing to say about the making of laws nor the enforcement of them. They have taxation without representation, and they live next door to a republic—Liberia.

They are Negroes, and they have been ruled for more than 200 years by white kings. The country they live in is on the west coast of Africa, just north of the equator and twenty days by steamer from New York.

Some Are Educated.

Among them are educated Negroes, college graduates, both men and women, who are lawyers, doctors, judges, engineers, preachers, and editors of five weekly newspapers. Among them also are Christians, Mussulmans, hundreds of thousands of plain pagans, and devil worshipers, with a sprinkling of cannibals.

Some of the men look equally well in a dinner jacket or tennis flannels, emblazoned with their college shields. Some of them carve their faces and bodies with savage tribal marks and depend for a costume on a necklace of leopard's claws.

Some of the women wear evening gowns and sit on the right of the king's governor at dinner and fill their dance programs with the names of blonde young Englishmen. Others use breechcloth for adornment and wear nothing above the waist but a pickaninny strapped to the back. They also dance at night when tomtoms beat in firelit circles of the jungles.

"Cannot Govern Ourselves."

"We do not want to be independent," the black editor of one of Freetown's newspaper told me. "We know enough to know we cannot govern ourselves now, and we are thankful for the progress we have made and the benefits we have received under white rule.

"We are happy, yes, but not entirely satisfied. There are many things we want, but independence is not among them."

One week in Freetown and a slight study of its history, coupled with a number of conversations with various classes in the population, has convinced me that the Negroes of Sierra Leone have more confidence in the white man than they have in themselves. I believe, with reason, that, were it not for the presence of whites, the tribal wars and savagery of the jungles would return.

Scorn Garvey Scheme.

These black British subjects in Sierra Leone are not in sympathy with the political independence program of Marcus Garvey and American promoters of the Universal Negro Improvement association. The educated blacks in this British colony are not backward in stating their apparently genuine and sincere belief that the vast majority of Negroes in Africa are no-

where nearly ready for self-government, and, further, that any withdrawal or overthrow of the white administration of affairs would plunge the continent back into its original darkness.

Among the large majority of uneducated natives the name of Marcus Garvey is unknown, but the unschooled Negroes of Freetown, numbering about 10,000, have a sympathetic interest in his plans for a black steamship line. Many among them, however, are anxious to know what to do about the slips of white paper they received in return for their money collected three years ago by Garvey's agents for the promotion of a "Black Star" line.

Ships That Pass.

No small part of this money was taken from the government class of the Freetown blacks, with the understanding that each subscriber was to obtain a position on a big steamship owned and operated entirely by Negroes. The money sailed back to America three years ago, but the long awaited ships never sailed into Freetown harbor.

About 700 Negroes, or not quite 2 per cent of the population in Freetown, have the right to vote. This right is based upon their owning property and paying taxes.

SMUTS DEFIES PREMIERS ON RACE EQUALITY

Denies Equal Rights to East Indians.

BY JOHN STEELE.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

[Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.]

LONDON, Nov. 1.—[Tribune Radio.]—The full text of the imperial conference debate on the status of Indians in the British empire on Oct. 29, and 31 was issued today by the colonial office. It indicates that a deadlock has been reached with regard to the granting of political rights to Indian settlers in South Africa. As a matter of fact, there is most trouble in other parts of the empire where Indian settlements are small and where in most cases the Indians enjoy full political rights.

Opening the debate, Lord Peel, secretary of state for India, pointed out that there were only 2,000 Indians in Australia, 6,000 in New Zealand, 1,200 in Canada, but 160,000 in South Africa, where they are denied political rights.

Claims Equality for Indians.

The whole debate therefore became an appeal to Gen. Jan Smuts, premier of South Africa, to yield to the Indians' demand for political equality, which he bluntly refused. As the conference has no legislative power, but can only recommend policies to the dominions, the matter appears to be deadlocked except for the reaction of Indian opinion.

Sir T. E. J. Bahdur Sprw, speaking for India, asserted that the Indians are loyal subjects of the king and claimed equality with other subjects.

"I fight as a subject of King George, but I fight for a place in the household and I will not be content with a place in the stables," he said.

He also referred to a statement by Gen. Smuts that the one binding tie between the various parts of the empire was a common allegiance to a common sovereign, but he asserted that from that allegiance political rights do not flow. He declined to start a political duel on this legal point, but he warned Gen. Smuts that it was dangerous to push the matter too far because all subjects had the right to claim protection from the king everywhere against oppression.

Existence at Stake.

Gen. Smuts in reply asserted that it was not the color line which was drawn in South Africa against the Indians, but a different principle. South Africans, he said, did not take the position that Indians were inferior, but it was a case of a small white civilization existing in a great black continent, with a danger of the whites being swamped by a much older and different civilization and by the economic competition of people with a different standard of living and viewpoint on life.

"But our difficulty is still greater," he said. "We have a majority of blacks in the Union of South Africa, and if there is to be equal manhood suffrage all over the union with whites would be swamped by the blacks. You cannot make a distinction between Indians and Africans and you would be impelled by an inevitable force of logic to go the whole hog and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped by the Indians, but all over Africa by the blacks, and the whole position for which we have striven for 200 years or more now would be gone so far as South Africa is concerned. Therefore, the question is impossible.

A Question of Dignity.

"Sir Badhur and his colleagues say quite rightly for India that this is a question of dignity. For white Africa it is not a question of dignity, but a question of existence, and no government could for a moment ever tamper with that position or do anything to meet the Indian point of view."

The other premiers announced that the Indians would be given complete equality in their dominions and the colonial office submitted a memorandum showing how the last disabilities in the crown colonies and mandated territories are being removed.

NATIVE WORKERS REPLACING COLOURED WORKERS.

To the Editor, *Workers' Herald.*

Sir,—

I am reluctantly compelled to (as the Secretary of the Cape Unemployment Committee and as a member of the South African Communist Party) reply to the unsigned contribution by a "Black Worker" on the above very important question.

I trust this individuals views are not the views of the I.C.U., as a matter of fact, personally I find a decided improvement in the material published in this paper with every issue.

The "Black Worker" says: "We do not deny the fact that there is the influx of the Natives into Cape Town, but we emphatically object to the politicians making capital out of the influx into Cape Town." He goes on.

Yes, the politician is quite aware of the fact that you are about to be drilled into *one army with your black brothers,* knowing yourself henceforth to belong to an African family.

Your coming together with your black brother is looked upon by the white politician as a menace to himself, and thus he is doing all in his power to keep you divided whilst he enjoys the spoils.

I should like to ask "Black Worker" whether there is any more reason for the union of coloured and black worker, than there is for the white and coloured or the black, white and coloured?

Also when "Black Worker" refers to white politician is he so colour-blind that he cannot see any "Black" politicians or even Coloured? I beg to state that there is equally as much treachery to be found amongst the members of the black races as amongst the white. This fact is fairly well emphasised by your contribution in this issue, by Prof. Thaele in his references to Prof. Jabavu.

Spies and traitors are found in every army. Take care "Black Worker" you have none in yours!

When "Black Worker" refers to white politicians he should try to differentiate between the worker politician and the capitalist politician. For instance, whenever the I.C.U. make advances to the Government they become *ipso facto,* politicians. The capitalist politician, or otherwise, is out to exploit, colour or shade notwithstanding, and, according to "Mark" he pays a price for Colour which is based upon the cost of reproducing the energy dispelled in working, plus the cost of reproducing other labourers to take his place when no longer able to work. Listen to your General Secretary. Mr. C. Kadalie, referring to the difficulty of the mine owners in getting natives to work on the mines.

"The question is that the natives as workers, want more wages, more leisure, more chances of self-improvement as men, as citizens, ... The struggle may assume a new form, but the issue is an immemorable one—an effort of the producers to obtain an increasing measure of the wealth that flows from their production."

This backs the point up to the hilt. As the wants of the worker increase, his wages must needs increase, otherwise a struggle takes place. On the other hand, if the capitalist class could devise a means of providing all the present comforts to the worker at half the cost, his, the worker's, wages would be reduced by half. (This fact I should be able to explain, Mr. Editor, in a later issue).

It is very important that "Black Worker" be more sure of his case when next contributing to your columns, the stuff he sends this time is, to say the least, very misleading.

Faithfully,

W. GREEN.

Hon Sec. Unemployment Committee, Cape Town

EDUCATING THE WHITE PEOPLE.

Too true the Free State has been painted outside that Province with every horror committed upon the blacks by their rulers. I first visited Bloemfontein in 1920, and it is just as well that I frankly confess that relation between white and black in those days was not as healthy as it is at present. We were denied, as black men, to walk on the pavement, but in the open streets, at the mercy of all vehicles. This extraordinary folly of the Free State has now vanished, white men are beginning to realise that selfishness is a curse to a nation. I was fortunate during my six days stay in Bloemfontein to read an article in the *Friend* on the "Poor White and Native Questions," written by Mr. A. P. van der Post, B.A., B.Sc. This young Free Stater discussed the big question, on a whole, very well, he had condemned the suggested "territorial segregation" policy to be a wholly impracticable remedy of the questions mentioned. After having proved the futility of "territorial segregation," Mr. Van der Post summed up his case by urging the white community to give the Native "technical education . . ." preparing him to become a self-contained, industrial, ambitious, independent economic entity in the country, so that he can become a greater asset, both to his own race, and to the European race. His education should, therefore, not be upon imitation of a mal-adjusted European education, but should be given with the object of making him a powerful economic asset to the country." I do not agree with everything said by Mr. Van der Post, but I am quoting that frank declaration to show the great change which has actually taken place in the Free State.

Race Problem—1923

Africa

TOWN TO TAKE CARE OF ITSELF.

The Gold Coast Leader
2/12/23.

The political aspect of the town of British Commenda is at present surcharged with gloom. Turn it over which way you like, the situation deepens and excites uneasiness from every section of the community, and the echo reaches us to the effect that financially the town is ruined. There is no doubt about the matter that to repair the breach made in the town funds is a task that would require a man with a powerful mind.

No doubt the town is facing the most excruciating experience in regard to its financial position, there has been an administration recently by irresponsible parties who call themselves "the Twelve Wise Men," but who in reality are other than what they claim to be. These are the people who refused to accept the sum of £900. offered to them by the Fanti fishing community to permit them to fish in their waters during the fishing season which is now on.

But above all we ask, where did these wise men hail from? They have never been heard of in the annals of the history of the town. We infer, therefore, from their attitude that they have some underlying motives in working themselves into the confidence of the artless old men who, we understand, are supposed to be the backstay of the young ones who, assisted by one of the "scholars," give private information to the enemy.

The error perpetrated by the fishing community of this town was in inspiring others not to consent to the destoolment of the ex-Ohin, whereas in truth and in fact they were all present at the meeting when Commen was finally destooled to the entire satisfaction and great relief of all concerned.

To show the magnitude of the crass ignorance and want of forethought, these wise men, who came into prominence soon after the destoolment of Commen, have passed a bye-law prohibiting the Fanti fishing men from coming to fish in Commenda waters.

The outcome of this meaningless interdict is the irrecoverable loss of the sum of £900. odo to the town chest. We do not think any sane set of men would have acted in the manner these wise men did. At the same time this drastic measure has affected the School a great deal. While these twelve wise men were refusing the £900, the schoolmaster's salary had fallen in arrears and now shows a balance of £27. yet to be paid. Due to this amount the school has not been reopened by the schoolmaster until the amount has been paid; and he has threatened to resign his appointment. The fishermen of Dutch Commenda, as sensible men, closed in with the offer. No sooner the Commendas objected to these fishermen remaining in the town an appeal was made to the Dutch Commenda fishermen who responded to it at once and made provision for their reception into their midst, and they have collected the above sum (£900) and it is probable that before the season closes they will have collected £1000 or more. What wise men on earth would refuse such a handsome sum while at the same time they could hardly pay an amount of £27 due to the schoolmaster as salary?

We regret to report the agitation going on in the town in connection with the appointment of a Regent to the Stool. The town's enemies are those of its own household. The whole trouble originated from some of the educated men who turned out to "be Judases in the camp."

These educated men are the secret agents who are upsetting all plans or schemes formed for managing the school. The money with which to pay the schoolmaster has already been collected, but the mouthpiece of the fishing community, who is an illiterate man, would not advise them to pay.

TARKWA

The Gold Coast Leader.

It is indeed the fact that the black man's enemy is the black man. "WHY NOT LET US ALSO KNOW OURSELVES?" is the cold topic of the day. It is indeed high time for us blacks also to know ourselves. 2/12/23

We recently read in the columns of this journal that our Sanitary Inspector, Mr. C. D. Williams, is improving the sanitary condition of this town. We call the serious attention of Mr. Sanitary Inspector Williams, whenever he goes on his daily rounds, to the very insanitary condition of a hole some feet deep at the back of the main street past the Post Office. This hole is full of water and is the filthiest and worst spot in town breeding the worst kind of mosquitoes.

A Temperance Sunday festival was held here by the American Branch of the Temperance Lodge in the Wesleyan Church and from all we hear the members were much displeased with the addresses given them by both the literate and the illiterate speakers.

A grand farewell entertainment was given in honour of Mr. Robert Cameron (a European) on the night of November 24th by the Wesleyan Sunday School children in their Chapel room. Admission being free, the room was overcrowded. A presentation of a gold ring together with a well written address was made to the honoured guest who responded by expressing his gratitude to the Superintendent, the Secretary and the school children. We congratulate the performers and especially the promoters. God-speed to Mr. Cameron.

WHAT WE THINK.

African Mail 3/10/23.

AFRICAN ACTIVITIES.

Probably at no period in the last twenty-five years has there been such a manifold activity in the development of Africa's resources as at present. In the Southern Sub-Continent the Union of South Africa is constructing many new railway lines and electrifying several important existing routes. Projects for new harbours from Cape Town to Walvis Bay and Sordwana are under serious consideration, whilst our Portuguese friends, both at Delagoa Bay and Beira and in Angola, are spending many millions in port and railway equipment, and discussing further projects of equal magnitude in their various colonies, in conjunction with British, Belgian, and American capital. In the Belgian Congo, which must be honestly admitted to be the most progressive colony in Africa to-day, the central spine of the Cape to Cairo route is still broken by the great existing breach from the Congo to the Nile, but no less than five railway routes are being surveyed here for early construction, whilst a magnificent system of equatorial roads is materialising to synchronise with the growing motor traffic, connecting thereby the numerous profitable mines and tropical plantations with the river steamers and existing main railroads. Mining operations on the largest scale are being carried out from Katanga to Kilo, and other Eastern Congo areas, whilst cotton is being raised in thousands of tons this year from the central equatorial districts of Belgium's great and prosperous African colony. It is in the Nile Valley—from the Delta to Lake Victoria Nyanza, where to the east flourish its rich Red Sea Coast oil wells and huge phosphate deposits, whilst to the west, especially in the Southern Sudan, North-West Uganda, and the extreme North-Eastern Congo, right on the famous Congo-Nile Divide, is where Africa's richest Pandora's box—from a mineral aspect—only awaits its opening to surprise the world once again. Going south, we find in Kenya, outside of its manifold difficult political controversies, great industrial activities both by the Government and its settler community. In Tanganyika Territory we have the most fertile plantation area, with immense mineral potentialities awaiting development, for which many projects are on the tapis. Northern Rhodesia is shortly not only to be one of the leading farming and cattle-raising centres of the Dark Continent, but its mineral possibilities, especially in valuable base metals, are likely to give surprising results in the near future. The adjoining Portuguese colonies—Nyasaland and Zambesia, the latter area now giving exceptionally promising indications of vast coal and metalliferous wealth—confirming all the records of 400 years ago. As all these schemes have equally to benefit the adjoining territories of Eastern Rhodesia, British Nyasaland, and Belgian Katanga, for which Port Beira is the natural key and outlet, who shall, even after this very rough survey of Africa's developments in a few sections only, dare to say that British industry at home will have to fear dull days or risk unemployment, provided our people will work properly, give real value for good pay in quality of work and sufficient hours thereof.

WEST AFRICA IN PARLIAMENT.

West Africa 3/10/23

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, Mr. Mardy Jones asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he was aware that his Majesty's subjects in British West Africa are denied, in many cases, the right of trial by jury where criminal charges are involved, and that prisoners are tried by assessors; whether the Criminal Appeal Act, 1908, applies to British West Africa; and whether he proposes to take immediate steps to place the inhabitants of this Colony on the same footing with respect to the criminal law as subjects in other parts of the British Empire?

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: The procedure for criminal trials varies in the different West African Colonies and Protectorates; in some cases there is a judge and jury, in others a judge assisted by assessors, in others a judge or judicial commissioner acting alone. The Criminal Appeal Act, 1907, to which the hon. member presumably refers, does not apply to any British West African Colony or Protectorate, but only to England and Wales. As regards the last part of the question, it is not clear which West African Colony is referred to, but it is not possible to introduce any greater uniformity than exists at present, as the conditions are so varied. May I remind the hon. member that British West Africa includes primitive savage communities, Native tribes, organised Native States, Mahommedan emirates, and Natives who have adopted European standards and modes of life, and that trial by jury would in most cases be quite inapplicable, and in others an unsatisfactory procedure.

KENYA AND THE INDIANS.

African World 3/10/23

The news that Sir Robert Coryndon is proceeding to England with three colonist delegates—Lord Delamere, Mr. Kenneth Archer, and Mr. T. Wood—naturally suspends any serious discussion of this quetion in the responsible Press, for all who have the interests of Africa at heart must appreciate the tolerant attitude which the Colonial Office has adopted towards this question, and fully realise its desire to effect a reasonable solution of this thorny Imperial problem. The road to an unbiased discussion and an equitable decision has not, however, been made any easier by the recent defiant resolution of the colonists. If the delegates desire to be treated as true delegates they must be given authority by the colonists to conclude an agreement on behalf of their clients, otherwise it is difficult to understand the use of their visit. If they are empowered to come to an agreement which will, even for a fixed period, be acceptable to both parties, well and good; in this case, it is to the advantage of all that the discussion should take place in England, far removed from the inflamed local atmosphere. Now that the commercial outlook is brightening, all who have interests in Kenya must pray for an early and reasonable solution of this question, for, although of great importance, discussion of it of late has, on both sides, been marked by a good dea of unnecessary hysteria. Pending the coming conferenc on the question, it behoves all parties to take no actio of any kind which will tend to vitiate the supreme effort o government to negotiate a settlement of permanent satis faction to all concerned.

CATTLE FOR THE CONGO.

South African Pioneer Cuts Roads in Readiness.

African World 3/10/23

Information of great interest to South African cattle farmers is transmitted by a Bulawayo correspondent.

The Belgian Congo has long been desirous of receiving cattle from the south, but the road has been barred by the restrictive regulations of the Northern Rhodesian Administration, who, in deference to their settlers' frequently expressed fears of cattle disease, have practically prohibited the transit of cattle through Northern Rhodesia, while the supplies and prices of cattle from that territory have proved unsatisfactory to the Congo.

The problem appears to have been solved by that hardy old Ngamiland pioneer, Mr. M. T. Kays, who has spent eight months in trekking from Ngamiland through Portuguese Angola to a point on the Congo Railway called Tshilongo, 180 miles north of Elisabethville. He has cut roads where necessary, and made all arrangements with the Portuguese and Belgian authorities whereby cattle from Ngamiland and other southern territories can be taken north without touching Northern Rhodesia.

It is understood that the Congo can take 10,000 head annually by this route, in addition to 5,000 head of breeding stock required for the Sabinda Plateau, where the Belgians wish to establish their own ranches. The cost per head of transit by this route is £1 2s. 6d., including all fees, compared with present rail charges from Northern Rhodesia of £4 5s. Tshilongo is the centre of the Katanga mining area, where cattle are most required.

Mr. Kays found no trace of tetse fly on the route, but many lions on the Lomba River, which is the great game country of Angola and one of the best hunting areas left in Africa. There are water and grass all the way, and cattle arrive in good condition. The Portuguese are anxious to open up trade routes, and have good motor roads from the present head of the Benguela railway into the Congo, where the Belgians are reported anxious also to get meat supplies for their big railway building enterprises.

The Late M. Paul Cerckel.

The death of this highly esteemed gentleman, whose career in the Congo was as distinguished as his personality was charming, will be regretted deeply in all circles of the Congo, where he was for the last fourteen years known. Since 1896 he was associated with the Congo Railway Company, first as chief engineer, then as general secretary and manager of works. Death overtook him as he was setting out to superintend the important constructions on the Matadi-Leopoldville line. The deceased was Knight of the Order of Leopold, member of the Legion of Honour, and officer of the Royal Order of the Lion.

Arrivals of Ivory.

The "Elisabethville" has just discharged the following lots of ivory:—14,274 kilos for the Société Bunge, 5,891 kilos for the Société Coloniale Anversoise, 358 kilos for the Cie. due Congo Belge, 7,555 kilos for the Intertropical Confina, 1,492 kilos for the Société Générale d'Exportation—in all, 29,570 kilos. Stock at writing, 68 tons.

The Zambesia Mines.

The "Mining Journal" states that the Mining and Geological Company of Zambesia has acquired the rights of working the coal deposits in the Zambesia Valley. This Belgian company has a contract since 1920 with the Zambesian Mining and Development Company, authorising it to follow up its activities in their territory, all coal, iron, and petroleum in the region being the property of the Belgian company for the present. The Zambesia mines will have to compete with those of Natal and the Transvaal, which are in a less advantageous position as regards communications.

Correspondence.

To Inspectors having Native Schools

Inspr 2-20-23

NATIVE HANDWORK: DISPOSAL OF COMPLETED WORK.

As a step towards solving the problem of selling finished articles of Native handwork, arrangements have been made with the S. A. Women's Industrial Union, 45 Parliament Street, Cape Town, for the sale of suitable work on a percentage basis. The Union will receive and sell work at a charge of 15 per cent. on the price, the cost of carriage being borne by the senders. Every article submitted for sale should be priced and have a ticket securely fastened showing the name of the school, the date when sent and the price. The committee reserves itself the right of either reducing or increasing the price. All articles not sold within 12 months may be reduced in price by 10 per cent. or be returned to the worker at the discretion of the Committee. It would be well to notify the manager of the Depot of all consignments sent.

The President of the Union, who is much interested in the matter, suggests that the articles sent should consist of baskets of all kinds including *ngobozi* and baskets of *ngonoti*; mats of *amakasi*, for the floor and for dining and toilet tables; mats of *imizi* and other rushes for the floor, table and the wall; a few well-made brooms; toilet tidies and bouquet holders (made like *intluzo*, but smaller and of a better shape); a few untrimmed hats of palm leaf (but not of *amakasi*, grass or rush). Good pieces of pottery and carving might also be sent. Only really well-made, saleable articles should be sent; the market for curios is usually small, and we should aim at producing for the public such articles as towns people would buy for use.

I have just learnt that the Union is to have a stall at the approachin Rosebank Show, which lasts fro the 27th February to the 2nd Marc The President would like to have as good a display of handwork for this as can be got together in time. The articles should reach the Cape Town depot not later than the 26th February. This is an excellent opportunity for letting the public see what is being done in the schools, and helping to create a market. Inspectors who can arrange with missionaries and teachers for articles to be sent for the show are asked to do so as soon as possible. As quality is desired it would be well, where this is possible, for the Inspector to see the work before it is sent.

Besides the display at Rosebank, the President of the Union would like to advertise a special day or days for the sale of Native handwork at the depot, sometime in March, when Parliament is sitting, and when numbers of people are thinking of going to England and might be glad to purchase Native work to take with them.

Work that cannot be sent in time for either of the occasions may be sent at any time.

W. G. BENNIE.
Chief Inspector for Native Education

Native Registration Bill.

Inspr 2-27-23

From the "Cape Argus" of the 20th inst. we call the following paragraph from the leading article anent the above Bill with which (together with the rest of the article) we wholly associate ourselves.—

"Serious exception, however, has been taken to the Bill by the Cape native leaders. It is objected, however good the Bill may be in its general intention, it introduces restrictions in the Cape Province which are now non-existent, and therefore makes the position of the natives in this Province worse instead of better."

Fine for the White: Gaol for the Black.

A little while ago, a farmer named Moolman was charged at Aroab, S. W. Africa, with cruelty to a horse. On the evidence of his native servant, the case was dismissed. At the end of the case, however, the native was arrested for perjury. On last Monday (according to Reuter)

"Moolman was charged with subornation of perjury and the native with perjury. The Keetmanshoop magistrate tried, and the Aroab magistrate gave evidence. It transpired that Moolman promised to pay the fine for the native if the latter were punished for telling lies. Both were found guilty. Moolman was sentenced to pay a fine of £25, with an alternative of three months' imprisonment, while the native was sentenced to three months' imprisonment without the option of a fine."

Assuming that the case has been reported faithfully, we can only describe the comparison of the punishments as a reproach to our white civilisation. The ignorant Kaffir gets three months in jail for false swearing; but the civilised white man, his lord and "baas," who induced (and perhaps bullied) him to commit the crime, gets off with a fine. What an example for the Natives of the district and elsewhere, of the justice of the White Man!—*The Cape.*

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Facts Not Found in Books on Africa Revealed by White Woman

Miss Simonton, Who Spent Ten Years on "Dark Continent," Says Revolting Disease Was Introduced by White Men

The New York Amsterdam News 7/11/23

Facts about conditions in Africa not found in books were told by Miss Ida Vera Simonton at her studio, 23 East 40th Street, last Friday night, to a select party of friends. Miss Simonton spent ten years in Africa, and is considered an authority on African women and children. Some of her African scenes are to be found in the American Museum of Natural History as window transparencies in the Negro section.

"I was twenty-two years of age when I made my first trip to Africa," she said. "On leaving Havre for West Africa I found that my travelling companion was a colored man, and as an American woman I protested, and went second class, instead. Later I found that that Negro was the Attorney-General of Sierra Leone, an Oxford graduate, and a perfect gentleman. There were other men on the boat—white men—and this Negro I found out was the only one who bathed every day. The Frenchmen and others instead of bathing used perfume and kept on adding more. Later I apologized to the colored man. He smiled and said, 'I don't blame you for not wanting to stand the company of such an ugly man as I am.'"

White men have taken venereal disease into Africa, said the speaker, and it is causing havoc there.

"One morning early at a missionary post," she said, "I saw a native woman coming in with a baby. The woman was nude as is the custom in that part, and I could see a great wound in her side, exposing a rib. I though she had been attacked by a wild beast and hurriedly called the nurse. When the nurse, an English woman came she said indignantly to me, 'Why, don't you know syphilis?' The baby was also eaten with it."

When asked, how syphilis came to be in Africa, Miss Simonton said that it had been introduced there by white men, the same as in the New World.

"The white woman is quite safe in Africa," she continued. "The greater part of the time I was alone in the bush with Negro men, and not one of them made the least advance to me. It is only when white men are around that there is likely to be any trouble. White men have many children by native women.

"White men in Africa are very jealous of one another. The missionary is against the trader, and the government officials is against them both. It is only the natives who stand together. Before the war the native couldn't get a gun, all men going into the bush had to have licenses for their firearms and could dispose of a gun only to white men under a severe penalty. Now, guns are plentiful among the natives. Taking Africans to Europe to fight white men has been a big blow to white prestige in Africa."

The speaker declared that from what she saw in Africa she intended to fight the League of Nations with all her influence. She declared that it would only serve to make the life of the natives even more unbearable. "The Belgians massacred the natives of the Congo, while France used the economic weapon to starve them out. Natives who owned the land for centuries would suddenly wake up some morning to find that their homes and crops had been given by some white man to another white man, and that they dared not pick their breadfruits or go hunting without a severe penalty. It is this sort of thing America will be called to abet if she enters the League."

Miss Simonton declared that the facts as presented in Maran's "Bataula" were true.

GREAT MARKET FOR SOUTH AFRICAN PRODUCTS.

THE UNTAPPED WEST COAST OF AFRICA.

(By a Special Correspondent of the "Cape Times.")

When speaking of West Africa as a market for certain South African produce I refer to the country between Sierra Leone and the Congo, and it will be sufficient for this article to refer to one place alone: Nigeria. After visiting the Rosebank Show, seeing the exhibits and listening to the words of wisdom that fell from the lips of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture, what have we learned from what we have seen and heard? We are told that South Africa can produce agriculturally the finest in the world, and that we can carry off the premier prizes at the shows in England and in the Continent. Such being the case, it must be true that South Africa produces the finest and markets the worst, for one never sees on our local markets anything approaching the quality seen in the show ring and on the show bench. It is to be hoped that what we see at Rosebank we may reap the benefit from in the near future.

It is said that we produce more than we can consume, and that markets must be found for our surplus. We all know that this is true, but how many know where these markets lie? It may interest some of our surplus merchants to turn their attention to West Africa, and Nigeria in particular. I spent many years on the West Coast, and can speak from a practical knowledge of the prospects.

Nigerian Imports.

Nigeria imports total to more than £25,000,000 a year. I note from the trade statistical abstracts that South Africa exports nothing that is included in that huge amount.

It is true that there is no steamship communication between the Cape and Nigeria, but from inquiries I have made I am satisfied that the necessary arrangements are available when the tonnage is offered.

Amongst the imports that should interest us here I find the following:

Unmanufactured tobacco and cigarettes, of which there is a steadily-increasing demand, which is not affected by the recent rise in cost. I find Nigeria imports for the last yearly return received to have been:

Tobacco, 9,427,338 lb.: value, £875,514; duty, £516,421.

Cigarettes, 261,343,000: value, £301,000; duty, £163,000.

If the imports into Lagos and the Oil River stations are added to the above, I find that over 20,000,000 lb. of unmanufactured tobacco is imported and over 500,000,000 cigarettes. The tobacco is imported in tierces (cases) and the cigarettes in tins of 50.

The Native and His Tobacco.

The tobacco imported is a dark American leaf. I have the greatest faith in many brands of Transvaal and Rhodesian tobaccos successfully competing with this American leaf.

It will interest many to know how the native uses his leaf tobacco. He usually carries his tobacco wrapped in his loin cloth, and when he wishes to smoke he tears a leaf apart, puts it in his pipe and smokes it with a cinder or small piece of burning wood stuck in his pipe to keep the leaf (which is usually flavoured with the perspiration from his body) alight.

Can such a smoker be a connoisseur?

Other Lines.

A big trade is also done in all districts with drugs and patent medicines, and the yearly imports amount to over £100,000.

There is a large demand for furniture, owing to the increased wealth among the people and the improved style of living. Teak furniture (broke down) should find a good market. Yearly imports over £200,000.

English Provisions.—Tinned meats, fish of all kinds, soups, jams, butter, lard, cheese, flour, sugar, milk, fruits, bacon and hams, have a large sale, and the yearly imports are over £1,000,000. Among the English provisions is included an enormous quantity of jams and dried fruits, and South African products should find a good demand.

Rice.—Over 6,000 tons of rice are imported into Nigeria and Lagos, and the writer is of the opinion that the by-products of maize from this country would seriously compete with the imports of rice.

Salt.—Trade salt in bags of 40, 45 and 90 lb., and in volume 105,000 tons, is imported into Nigeria and Lagos annually. Salt from the salt pans in this country would suit, but information is that the railway rates prohibit the export.

Cabin biscuits for native consumption, sweetened and unsweetened, have an enormous sale, the yearly imports exceeding £300,000.

Salt beef in barrels, stockfish in bales, oats, and fruits have an enormous market, which has never been fully supplied.

Flour in tins and barrels, boots and shoes, cement, candles, brooms, brushes, perfumery and perfumed spirits, gin and Geneva liqueurs of all kinds have a big demand and should be catered for by the producers of the Union.

Ways and Means.

It will be asked, how are we to get into the West African markets? There are over 70 firms in London, Liverpool, and Manchester, controlling hundreds of trading stations in West Africa, and the buying is done principally in England from indents sent from the coast.

Beside these, there are as many native merchants established on the coast. It would be advisable to those intending to tap the market to collectively share the expenses of a representative to tour the country with exhibits, and he would be able to form an opinion of the impression created and make the necessary arrangements for the establishment of agencies or booking of orders through the home or coastal stations.

The Bank of British West Africa is established at all the principal trading stations on the coast, and clearance could be made through their agency.

The Available Lines.

It would be a bright future for the Union to get established in the West African market, and to be in a position to reciprocate by taking some of their exports, which include the following: Palm kernels and palm oil, cocoa, beeswax, benniseed, capsicums, castor seed, copra, cotton seed, ground nuts, ivory, gum arabic, gumcopal, gutta percha, piassara, rubber, shea butter, shea nuts, etc., when industries could be established in the Union for the manufacture of articles which are manufactured in England and exported to the Union.

Reconditioning "West Africa."

According to the "Marine News" (New York), the Federal Shipbuilding Company has been awarded a contract for reconditioning the steamship "West Africa," allocated to the Bull Lines, for use as a feeder ship between African terminal ports. The contract calls for an expenditure of 35,000 dollars, but it is understood that supplemental work will bring the amount to be expended up to approximately 45,000 dollars.

AKIM GOLD AND DIAMONDS.

Encouraging and Promising Prospects.

(*Reproduced from the "Financier."*)

I do not think that up to the present mining ventures in West Africa have had a fair show. I am not referring to the recognised and profitable mining propositions which are listed, but to the many small prospects which were floated some twenty years ago, and which failed, some of them because they did not have sufficient working capital to overcome the initial difficulties. They were mostly floated on surface shows, the idea being that the gold won would pay for subsequent development. That possibility might conceivably have proved correct had it not been for climatic troubles, plus transport difficulties. A lot, however, has been learned during the last half-dozen years about tropical diseases, while good roads are not uncommon in certain districts. It would be unwise, therefore, to ignore the chance that, provided areas are taken up by those able to see operations through to a finish, there may be some rich prizes forthcoming.

Alluvial Mining on the Coast.

Roughly speaking, there are two kinds of mining on the Coast. The most common is connected with alluvial. Many thousands ounces of gold must have been collected by the natives, who for hundreds of years have been well acquainted with the metal both for ornamentation and as a medium of barter. It was the comparative redundancy of the metal that created the title of "Gold Coast." Possibly a certain amount of the gold was got from crumbled reef outcrops, but the greater part was undoubtedly obtained from washings, which, with the primitive appliances available, meant that the surface only was scratched. The reef propositions have been generally patchy, although, perhaps, that is an unfair generalisation, considering how very little work has really been accomplished. The country must, therefore, be looked upon in many respects as somewhat of a virgin proposition, tempered by the knowledge that gold undoubtedly exists.

Russo-Asiatic Engineer's Report.

What has to be proved is whether certain areas will pay for European supervision under modern conditions of operation. I do not see how any definite statement can be given as to the payability of any concern until a certain amount of development has been carried out. These remarks will generally answer an inquiry which I received a few days ago as to what my opinion was with regard to the future of Akims. I do not think that anyone can venture a definite

opinion until at least the report of the engineer sent up by the Russo-Asiatic Company is known. We do know, however, that that company has already invested a substantial sum of money in the venture on the strength of the Akim's engineers' reports, which implies, of course, that those reports and the reputations of the engineers were good enough to impress the hard-headed people who control the fortunes of the Russo-Asiatic.

No Work Yet on the Reefs.

So far the company itself has not done any mining work on the reefs which have been located, and the option given to the Russo-Asiatic Company means, apparently, that if the survey is satisfactory the development of this side of the company's assets will be taken over by the Russo-Asiatic, leaving to the company the task of proceeding with the alluvial, both gold and diamonds. I repeat, it is understood that the prospects of working the gold reefs profitably are regarded as good enough to warrant the assumption that the option will be exercised within the next few weeks.

The Diamond Deposits.

With regard to diamonds, the ground in which they are found is generally 3 to 4 ft. in depth. The stones are, as usual in West Africa, of medium size, the average value being about 25s. per carat. This means that a market can always be found for such medium output. The only question is the difference between value and cost of production. Frankly, alluvial diamond-getting is always very speculative; it all depends upon the yield per load, the margin between loss and gain being rarely sufficient to allow of any extensive test work. The manager must just take the ground as it comes. It is always possible, of course, that a payable pipe may be discovered, but otherwise diamond-getting of this kind is a gamble.

With regard to the prospects of alluvial gold production, I am not inclined to follow entirely the differentiation of the company between dredging and hydraulicing. The main advantages of a dredger are that it requires comparatively little water, and can pile its tailings; but, on the other hand, it represents a big capital outlay and the working is expensive. Hydraulicing is the cheapest method of moving ground if there is plenty of water available and the ground has a slope, which, I understand, is the case with the Akim.

Good Payable Values Indicated.

A considerable section of the alluvial ground has been pitted, although the pits were not always carried down to the lowest deposit, which, as is generally the case, has been proved to be richer than the upper layer of ground. Mention is made in the report of a clay layer, but I am assured that what is described as a clay is really friable matter, which disintegrates readily in water, and that, in any event, it could be easily removed.

The values got, and which have been published, indicate good payable stuff, which ought to leave substantial profits, unless something quite unforeseen in working should crop up. To sum up the position, the prospects are without doubt both encouraging and promising.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

LOURENCO MARQUES, March 5.

Port Improvements.

Although there was no coal exported during the week ending February 26, and only 2,678 tons bunkered, yet that does not show that there is a decline in the coal trade. It happened owing to delay in the arrival of steamers, only four reaching port during that period. There are orders on hand for 40,000 tons of coal for export and 20,000 tons for bunkers. The week under review has been a bad one—indeed, it is the worst experienced for a whole year, with consequent loss to the port and railway. The personnel cost just as much as if work had been in full swing.

The total amount of coal handled at the port for the year 1922 was 550,670 tons, of which 38,872 was exported, 182,344 bunkered, and 550 taken by small craft. This tonnage falls far short of previous years. Still, there is a hopeful outlook, as, month by month, trade that was lost owing to the war is gradually coming back. This, added to the improvement expected through the Union Government's representative now in the East, brightens future prospects. As for such business passing through this port, mechanical appliances are now fully provided for dealing with over 2,000,000 tons per annum. And, not only that, but the experience gained in quick handling is such that no time need be lost in the loading and dispatch of ships.

New £60,000 Tug.

A powerful and most up-to-date new tug is expected here this week. She put in at Cape Town, was docked and examined by Lloyds surveyors, and passed as A1. She will be of great service here, not so much on account of strong winds preventing ships from being hauled from wharf to channel —this is a well-protected port—as of being an addition of harbour equipment to be used in connection with ships in distress on the high seas. She cost £60,000, the first and second instalments of which have already been paid, and the final instalment will be paid as soon as she is taken over by the Port Authorities. The new dredger is expected to leave Hamburg shortly, and will be put to work on her arrival deepening the Polana channel. As previously stated, the work will be performed in sections, and in such a way as not to interfere with the navigation of the channel. An old gunboat has been refitted with all the necessary appliances, such as cranes, etc., and when calm weather ensues it will be taken to the part of the channel where the sunken dredger lies, and the staff of Flotations, Ltd., London, with their experienced divers, will immediately set to work removing the wreck. As already stated, the work of deepening the channel will be of a piecemeal character, and it is computed that three years will elapse before the definite depth of 40 feet is arrived at. However, as the work is to be performed in three sections, each year's work will give graduated depth, increasing year by year until the arranged depth is reached.

Regarding the second section in the Transvaal-Mozambique Convention—that dealing with a percentage of traffic passing through this port and railway to the competitive zone —as far as local opinion goes it is of no importance, as such imports must diminish as the ratio of industrial development increases. Taking the imports in 1909—when the convention came into force—and those of to-day, they are more than 50 per cent. less now than they were then. And, as the industrial development in the Union is increasing more quickly now than during that period, the amount of imports must necessarily become so small as to be infinitesimal in benefiting any port of entry. If, then, that part of the convention were eliminated, it would cause little or no difference to the tonnage of cargo landed for transit to the Union. It is with exports that the convention must deal, and the proper equipment of the port and railway for handling such exports.

Here, so far as this port is concerned, there seems to be nothing to fear, and its present and future equipment are such as to deal with any amount of tonnage that may be sent overseas through this port. One cannot help hearing from day to day the oft-repeated question, "What is the matter with this port, and what complaint has the Union Government against its management?" Concrete cases are asked for as to delay or mismanagement during the past year. It is stated that "if records of the ports of Durban and Lourenço Marques were compared the port of Lourenço Marques would stand out favourably in such comparison."

The feeling is freely expressed that were the Union railways run on "business lines," as provided for in the Act of Union, more goods would be imported through the port of Lourenço Marques than through any other port. The distance is shorter, and working expenses are lower.

The Crops.

This has been the most trying season to agriculturists' experience for many years. The heavy rains in the Transvaal have flooded our rivers, overflowed the banks, and done considerable damage to growing crops. Besides, since the beginning of the year rain has fallen almost daily. The result is that in many parts the mealie crop has been destroyed. Having just returned from a visit to the district of Magude, I have seen something of the havoc caused by floods and rain. The train for Xinavane, a distance of 143 kilometers from Lourenço Marques, can only now proceed to Magude, a distance of 127 kilometers from town—in other words, 16 kilometers from Xinavane.

The result is that the Incomati Sugar Estates is cut off from communication, as far as the conveyance of goods is concerned. Fortunately, this is not the crushing season, and all sugar from the previous crushing has been delivered. But the material for the new sugar mill is lying at the port waiting to be delivered, the consequence being that the new mill will not be ready for the beginning of the next crushing. Besides, the floods have damaged about 50 acres of cane just planted. In other parts of the estate the cane looks well, and there is every reason to hope for an increased tonnage for crushing.

From Xinavane communication with Chai-Chai, Magude, and the surrounding country is impossible. During the past year Xinavane had become the junction for goods and passengers for the surrounding country, and motor-cars and trolleys took passengers and merchandise to or from these parts. Now that is suspended, and only by means of boats can communication be sustained, and that to a very limited extent. The estate of Plantation, Limited, has also suffered by the floods. All cotton planted has been destroyed. Fortunately, cattle are doing well, there being plenty of food for them. Last year the long-continued drought destroyed the crops, and this year the flood bids fair to do the same.

X.X.X.

SLAVERY IN ABYSSINIA.

Mr. John H. Harris, portrays a terrible picture in his new pamphlet on Slavery and the obligations of the League of Nations. The evidence upon the traffic in human beings is drawn from several sources, and makes a formidable indictment.

Both the French and British Governments appear to be showing considerable activity in the matter pending the promised action by the League of Nations next September. Thousands of slaves are apparently being marketed in Abyssinia. The French Government has discovered that monthly shipments of slaves are passing through the port of Tadjourah in Somaliland from which traffic the local Sultan derives a fee of a dollar per head on each slave shipped to Arabia. Further south on the East Coast of Africa, the French local authorities have been trying to stop convoys of slaves between Madagascar and the mainland of Africa, and it is stated that more than 300 slaves have been carried across during the last four months, whilst British naval units are endeavouring to deal with the situation in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf with some good results. It will be remembered that on Wednesday last Colonel Amery informed the House of Commons that naval units had been shelling the villages of the Yalsade on the coast of Oman in connection with slave-running operations, and the First Lord informed Mr. Charles Roberts, the member for Derby, and president of the British Anti-Slavery Society, that the convoy of slaves from French Somaliland was believed to have come from Abyssinia, and that in the case of the slave traffic on the Oman Coast the Admiralty believed that these slaves had been obtained from Persia and from Baluchistan.

It is clear, therefore, that the decision to discuss this subject next September in the League of Nations Assembly was a timely one.

The pamphlet upon the subject can be obtained upon application to the secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

ABYSSINIAN REFORMS.

SOME time ago articles appeared in the "Westminster Gazette" calling attention to serious charges of slave-dealing and slave-raiding in Abyssinia. In commenting upon these articles we ventured to express the view that sooner or later Britain and other European Powers with interests in Africa would be obliged to put a stop to these practices, if only because they would find it out of the question for great African States lately brought within their influence, and themselves formerly practising slavery, to refrain from re-introducing it if they had continuously before them the spectacle of another Native State freely and without hindrance practising slavery. We made the suggestion that a British-African statesman commanding general confidence should be asked by the British Government to represent these facts in a friendly way to the Government of Abyssinia.

We find in the "Morning Post" of April 3rd an important article dealing with the same subject. According to this, vigorous efforts are being made by "the very enlightened Prince Regent of Abyssinia," Ras Tafari Makonnen, to do away with the practices complained of. The writer of the article explains that before the difficulties of the Abyssinian Government can be understood it must be realised that Abyssinia is bigger than Britain, France and Belgium together; without communication except for one line of railway running some 450 miles into the country from French Somaliland; and until lately split up into a number of quasi-independent States populated by different races. Difficulties are increased by the fact that travelling during the rainy season is extremely difficult. These circumstances lead to law-breakers flying to the borderland districts, most remote from the control of Government. It is gangs of these men who have raided neighbouring British territory and seized slaves and cattle. The Regent, according to the article, now proposes to select, from the tribes living on the borders where the troubles generally occur, young men, slaves, under 20 years old, and to bring them to the capital, Adis Ababa, to be trained in police duties in an institution established by Government. These young men will receive their freedom, and be given certificates and warrants establishing their position. After one, two, or three years' training in police duties, those proving satisfactory will be returned to their own districts, to act as border police and hunt down the gangs already referred to. It is claimed for this plan, first, that men now slaves will become free and will be educated in good habits and made able to feed, clothe and keep themselves as salaried servants of the State; secondly, that it will no longer be necessary to dispatch Abyssinian troops, Natives of the high, healthy country, to the low, fever country where the gangs mainly are; thirdly, that the men trained at the capital will spread amongst their own people ideas of civilisation and order. The article goes on to state that Ras Tafari fully recognises that the peoples of the Sudan have grown prosperous and are receiving education thanks to British rule, and he hopes by his plan to improve similarly the conditions of the tribes on his borders.

The article adds that domestic slavery is quite another matter, the status and treatment of the domestic slave in Abyssinia, as elsewhere in Africa, being very different from what is generally supposed in Europe. Those who know West Africa will have no difficulty in accepting this statement. So far as the incomparably more important questions of slave-raiding and slave-dealing are concerned, the plan evolved by the Regent appears to us practicable and progressive, and having called attention to the original complaints made against Abyssinia we think it no more than right to give the outline of this proposal, made by an African statesman and having the great advantage of being African in its nature and personnel. We can assure Ras Tafari and all other well-wishers of Abyssinian progress and independence that British public opinion is not unaware of the great difficulties Abyssinia meets with in the matter, and we feel sure that if the British Government is advised by its representatives in that part of Africa that a genuine attempt is made to carry out the plan outlined in the "Morning Post," the Government of Abyssinia will have no more whole-hearted friends and supporters than the British Government and British officials in Africa.

A LETTER FOR WEST AFRICAN PARENTS.

West Africa - 3-24-23

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—An evil in connection with the younger generation from West Africa is steadily growing in this country, and if you publish the facts as I propose to set them forth I hope they will be read and made note of by every African parent on the Coast.

For many years it has been the custom to send young people to this country from West Africa for purposes of education, and for many years, no doubt, this custom will go on. In time, one may hope, colleges and a university will grow up and flourish on the spot, but there are those who will always send their families here for learning, and the evil I speak of, unless it is taken in hand, will grow with the years.

The youth of West Africa is having to buy its experience at a bitter price in London and the big cities on this section of the map. The custom is, and I have heard of case after case, for the parents when they send their sons here to give them a lump sum to see them through their educational career. This sum of money, which often runs into hundreds of pounds, means sacrifice in practically every case. Education to the West African trader or peasant-farmer is the same cherished thing that it is to the peasant-farmer in Scotland, and to get it whole families have to sacrifice often even the common things, to say the least of it, that go to make daily life pleasant.

When the young, unsophisticated African lands in England, often alone and friendless, his trouble begins. Not only are there men of his own race awaiting him with kind (?) offers of hospitality, guardianship, etc., but the other race which controls the destinies of his own country also has unworthy members on the look-out for easy prey. The money that is to see the boy through his educational career and send him back to the Coast with medical or legal degrees is handed over, and that is usually the last that is heard of it.

This is happening frequently in London, and of the ruthless. (I know, of course, there are honourable exceptions.)

I shall probably be abused heartily for penning this warning to parents on the Coast, but the abuse will be borne cheerfully if these words are taken heed of by heads of families in West Africa, for whom they are intended. When their sons are left stranded in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dublin, I know of no organisation that would give them one penny's worth of practical help. About the only concern that has done anything real to help stranded Africans in this country has been Messrs. Elder Dempster, and all credit to them for it. They have sent men and youths back to the Coast at great financial loss and said nothing about it. The rest has been left almost entirely to the charity of the individual.

The parents can remedy the evil themselves. When they send their sons or daughters to this country, instead of handing them large sums of money let them pay the money into a bank, from which it can be drawn *at the rate of so much per month, allowance to be strictly adhered to.*

Yours, etc.,
A. W.

London, March 13th.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND SLAVERY.

The Assembly of the League of Nations is to discuss in September next the question of slavery and incidentally that of compulsory and contractual labour of coloured peoples. The "widespread and growing slave-trading in Abyssinia"—to use the words of the British Minister for Foreign Affairs—the recrudescence of acts of slave-running in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and between Madagascar and the mainland of Africa, to which French and British official publications bear testimony, form indubitable evidence that the traffic in human beings is still active. To bring this serious matter within the neutral atmosphere of the League of Nations justifies, in view of the successful results which have hitherto marked the political activities of that body, the hope that some more efficient repressive action may be devised. The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society have suggested certain principles, which it hopes the League of Nations may adopt, for putting into force international opinion and action against this villainous traffic, and the equally odious systems of forced labour wherever they are found to exist. And the Society points to the opportunity afforded, by the pending discussion, to Great Britain to "hand on the embarrassments and the glory of the work" of securing a higher standard of treatment for oppressed peoples to the international body represented by the League. In this connection, it pleads for the disclosure to the Assembly of all the evidence on slavery in Abyssinia which it possesses. And the plea is couched in terms which convey some doubt if, through political motives, such an open disclosure will be made. This is an implied indictment which it is desirable the Government should meet. The discussion by the Assembly of the League would fail in effectiveness if it had not the fullest evidence before it. Full and open discussion on all details of this important matter can only be given to it on the whole evidence available. There is, in our view, great hopefulness for oppressed humanity in the coming consideration of this and allied subjects by the League of Nations.

THE PROVINCE OF ANGOLA.

POTENTIAL TRADE WITH THE UNION.

VIEWS OF COLONEL GREENWOOD, V.C.

By a Special Correspondent in the "Cape Times."

The Portuguese Colony of Angola is becoming a little better known since the ranchmen of the country have started buying stud cattle from South African herds. A few days ago a consignment of twenty-four Hereford bulls was exported from here to Lobito, the port of the colony, to be used for the grading up of the native cattle. Altogether there have from time to time been five or six shipments, three being on behalf of the Angola Estates, the remainder comprising the purchases of stud cattle by Portuguese ranchmen.

Lieut.-Colonel H. Greenwood, V.C., the managing director of the Estates, was present in the Peninsula during the Rosebank Show, which he attended regularly. He paid special attention to the cattle exhibits. "I am quite certain better stud cattle of such breeds as the Hereford, Jersey, Friesians, Red Polls, and others could not be bettered in any other market in the world. As good might be got hold of, but not better. I have frequently been asked by the Portuguese ranchmen of Angola to name the best country to go to for stud beasts, and always replied: 'The Union of South Africa.'

"My company has spent between £5,000 and £6,000 in the purchase of South African-bred bulls, while Portuguese land owners have also spent considerable sums. In the near future it is probable we will start a stud farm, and will certainly come to South Africa for the animals, both male and female, to form the nucleus of a stud. So far, we have purchased herd beasts to cross with the native cattle, the idea being to grade up. I have told my Portuguese friends that, if they should go to the Argentine or any other country, purchase price, freight charges, and all other expenses would certainly be greater, while, not impossibly, the articles purchased would be inferior to that obtainable in South Africa.

General Trade.

"Besides," continued Colonel Greenwood, "there is likely to spring up a big general trade between Cape Town and the Angola settlers. My company has every intention of developing the dairying business. Strangely enough, though the country is a splendid one for ranching, it is next to impossible to buy milk, butter, or cheese. The Angola Estates, Ltd., in which the Bovril people have large interests, as they also have in other South African ranches, has already purchased in Cape Town fully a thousand pounds worth of dairying implements. When the Benguella railway is extended to the Belgian border there is sure to follow settlement on an extensive scale. So far there are very few British people in the colony, but they are beginning to trickle in. In a few years general trade between Angola and the Union should be important."

There can be no mistake about the enthusiasm Colonel Greenwood has for the herds of the Union. He expressed himself as enormously impressed with the livestock of all descriptions he inspected at Rosebank. He also had great faith in the future of Angola.

Situation of the Country.

"The Province lies between 6 deg. S. and 17 deg. S. latitude and stretches from 13 deg. E. to 22 deg. E. longitude, and contains between 700,000 and 750,000 square miles, or roughly not far short of 500 million acres. It is divided into three districts. Loando on the north, Benguella in the centre, and Mossamedes to the south. Loando and Mossamedes are at a much lower altitude than Benguella, which is the best suited for European settlement, although there are large herds of cattle in the southern district.

"If you look at the map you will at once see what a wonderful watershed the plateau provides, never failing streams, many of them splendid rivers flowing to the north and emptying into the Congo, and on the south, to supply the Zambesi.

"On the eastern border is Katanga, Belgian territory, famous for mineral deposits, to tap which the construction of the Benguella railway was decided upon. Starting from the harbour of Lobito Bay, the line passes through a coastal belt extending over 100 miles inland and rises gradually through country of great scenic beauty and rich in possibilities to the central plateau which is 6,000 ft. above sea level, the average altitude being 5,000 ft. and climate of European coolness, it being usual to sleep at night with three blankets for cover. The plateau is particularly bracing, healthy, and suited for European settlement.

Lobito Railway.

"The construction of the railway from Lobito on the coast to the Katanga border was begun in 1903, being carried about 550 kilometres inland when the work was interrupted by the war. Recently 12,000 tons of rails have been landed at Lobito, and the line is now being extended another 100 kilos. When the work in hand is completed the line will extend 400 miles from the coast. In connection with the further extension, Mr. Robert Williams, the concessionaire, is visiting Angola as well as Belgian, Rhodesian, and Union territory. As you will see by the map, the line extends in almost a straight line from the coast inland towards the Belgian frontier to be, in the future, linked up with Elisabethville, then turning south to Broken Hill on to Livingstone, joining up with the South African system at Bulawayo.

"A description of the railway reads: 'Starting from the quayside at Lobito Bay, the railway first runs south to the ancient Portuguese town of Benguella, about twenty miles distant, and then turning inland begins its ascent to the plateau. For 140 miles (224 kilometres) the line passes through dry and barren mountain gorges, all the while steadily climbing—sometimes by rack and pinion mechanism as on the Swiss mountain railways—to an altitude of 4,000 ft., when the character of the landscape begins to undergo a great change. Dry barren land gives place to green-covered valleys and slopes. Small settlements appear scattered along the railway, and the whole region for the next 180 miles (288 kilometres) up to the present railhead at Chinguar, presents a series of undulating slopes, in some places well wooded, with an abundance of streams and small rivers. The line attains an altitude of 6,000 ft. at Lepi, and from that point to the Portuguese-Belgian frontier slowly falls in long, well-wooded gentle slopes and big open veld to an average elevation of 5,000 ft. above sea level.'"

The Rainfall.

Colonel Greenwood went on to give details of the reliability of the rainfall on the plateau—the rainfall which supplies the tributaries of the Congo and Zambesi, keeping those mighty waterways in constant flow. He is a director of the Benguella Railway, and, naturally enough, has great hopes from the services it will be able to supply when it reaches the Katanga frontier. That consummation is probably not far distant, and when it is effected it will be possible to travel from Lobito to the Belgian frontier, thence to Rhodesia and the Union.

"The roadways of the Benguella plateau are exceptionally fine," said Colonel Greenwood. "The country is honey-combed with well-made roads along which it is quite safe and usual to travel per motor-car. No heavy traffic is permitted on the motor roads, which are always in good repair, and for general excellence may best be compared with the Marine Drive round the Peninsula."

In pre-war days the construction of the Benguella Railway, as it has always been called, provided much trade, both in employment and for goods with Cape Town. It is anticipated that within the near future the work will be as vigorously pushed on with as in the years from 1903 to 1914, and that through Cape Town the Union will benefit.

Gold Coast.

PAST YEAR'S REVIEW.

We continue below, from last week's AFRICAN WORLD, the annual address of the Governor to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast on the presentation of the estimates last month. In our last issue was published his remarks on revenue and finance, trade and education, and the scientific cultivation of raw materials.

Finance and Products.

The estimates for the financial year 1923-4 anticipate a revenue of £2,990,000, which, with the accumulated balance of £2,082,000, gives a total of funds available of £5,072,000. The estimated expenditure carries out the first of the three principles already mentioned, in that the revenue covers both ordinary recurrent and extraordinary expenditure, and allows for a contribution to the Railway Renewals Fund. On the subject of loan expenditure his Excellency showed that the proceeds of the last four million loan had been expended on various public works connected with transportation, and it would be necessary by September next to raise the extra two millions unissued. In the meantime the works concerned are being financed by temporary advances from the accumulated funds. His Excellency's examination of the productive capacity of his Dependency is full of interest. The maximum amount of 200,000 tons, which has often been referred to as the limit of export of Gold Coast cocoa, is based on a careful estimate of the possible output of the population of the cocoa-growing areas, and the Governor supports this potentiality, pointing out that as cocoa production is limited by the figures of population, "there can be little fear of the Gold Coast itself overflooding the world's markets." Evidence of General Guggisberg's practical energy in pursuing a policy of increasing production up to the full working capacity of the population is the compilation by the Agricultural Department of a map showing 'the actual and potential production of the various districts based on the population."

Transport.

On the most important subject of all the Governor is emphatic. "If," he says, "we are to increase our trade to secure the necessary funds for progress, we must cheapen and extend our means of transport. More than that, and I say this with all the emphasis at my command, the future existence of our trade is seriously imperilled unless we can cheapen and extend our transport systems." At least, he sees that it is not only extended transport that is wanted, but cheap transport. The comparative cost of existing head, lorry, road-rail and railway transport is a careful and patient compilation which is most instructive and informing. The replacement of head transport by lorry transport is an economic move only as regards a limited distance. There is also road maintenance to be considered. The solution really of this matter is more railways. And, by pointing to the rivalry in cocoa production from Nigeria and the French colonies the Governor comes to the arresting conclusion that any postponement of the extension of Gold Coast Railways will lead to its being beaten in the world's cocoa market. "With more railways," said his Excellency, "we shall be safe for all time—without them our future is not only imperilled; it is doomed."

It is on the railway extension programme that the Governor rightly dwells at length; and in connection with the construction of the much-criticised Central Province Railway, the following firm statement deserves attention: "The Chambers of Commerce strongly opposed the construction of any railways whatever, as they considered they would increase taxation. This is a misapprehension which it is difficult to understand, for, in the past, and for many years to come, it is not likely that any railway constructed in this country will cause increased taxation. On the contrary, in view of the increased trade caused by cheaper transport, new railways are directly conducive to reduction of taxation."

The address under review deals exhaustively with all progressive movements on the Gold Coast, and deserves serious study. The rapid recovery of the Gold Coast from the effects of trade depression is a remarkable testimony to the essential value of its chief resources.

Race Problem—1923

Africa

GENERAL HERTZOG AND THE COLOUR BAR.

During his recent visit to Aliwal North, General Hertzog met a deputation of Coloured people who were anxious to have a declaration of the policy of the General in regard to the Coloured people of South Africa. General Hertzog is reported to have stated: "I do not believe in the removal of the Colour Bar until segregation for Natives is complete. Coloured people are now reaching a state equal to that of the whites—and when they reach that state they should be put on an equality, with the exception of social equality." He further stated that he was in favour of Coloured people and white people getting equal pay for skilled work.

We do not know how the Coloured people of Aliwal North accepted this balderdash. The General is clearly distinguishing between the Coloured peoples and the Natives, and yet he withholds the civil and political rights of the Coloured until the segregation of Natives is complete? We have always stood forth for a policy of justice for all—whites, Coloured and Natives—and we would be the last to countenance any discriminating treatment based on colour or race. But, General Hertzog admits that the Coloured are now reaching a state equal to that of the whites. He will, however, not make the same admission as far as some Natives are concerned and yet it is an undoubted fact that many Natives are immeasurably ahead of whites in civilisation and intellectual attainments. Evidently the Native can never be the equal of the white man and must be kept back.

We have not the least faith in the sincerity of General Hertzog. A few years ago he expressed surprise to a deputation of Coloured people that Coloured women were compelled to carry passes in the Free State and were flung into prison if they refused to do so. No one believed him at the time, for he was one of the Law makers of the O.F.S., and only pretended not to know what the whole of South Africa knew and even after that expression of surprise the General did absolutely nothing to change the Laws of that Province.

Now he comes along again and tells Coloured people that they are already equal in civilization to the whites, but they must wait for political equality until his pet scheme of segregation to supply cheap labour for white farmers is adopted.

If the Coloured man is unfit to fulfil the duties attached to full citizenship, then he should not be entrusted with full political rights. But on the other hand, if, as General Hertzog says, the Coloured man has reached "a state equal to that of whites," then it is pure and unadulterated humbug and hypocrisy to withhold from him the rights and privileges until the Nationalist policy of segregating Natives has been adopted. As well argue that the Coloured man must be kept in political helotage until Afrikaans is the language in which God will speak to his chosen people, or until every poor white has had given to him by the State a thousand morgen farm, a thousand sheep and a 100 head of cattle. If a man is guilty of a crime he should be punished: if innocent, no manner of reasoning can justify his being punished. If we are fit—and we are fit—then restore to us our rights, but do not resort to arguments which stamp you as a hypocrite.

Furthermore, will General Hertzog tell us why he is not in favour of the Native getting equal pay for skilled work? He will certainly help us along very much in social life if he will plead the case of the Coloured farm labourer for a higher pay, and plead it with only half the vigour with which he championed the cause of the white Rand strikers. Will he advocate white man's wage—a living wage—for Coloured farm workers. Of course he won't, and he dare not. If he did he would not be leader of the Nationalists an hour longer.

THE COLOUR BAR PETITION.

Before the publication of the next issue of the A.P.O. Parliament will have assembled, and we expect that a petition will have been presented to it to consider the question of deleting the Colour bar from the Act of Union.

Last year, owing to the unavoidable delay incidental to its preparation and the Rand Riots, the petition was not presented until Parliament was well on its way. Consequently it could not be brought under discussion. This year, however, the General Executive will doubtless make sure that everything will be ready when Parliament assembles.

The petition will be a duplicate of last year's, and will be signed by the Executive on behalf of the non-Europeans of the Union.

In all probability Mr. Heatlie will be asked to present the petition, and at the same time he will table a motion that our President, Dr. A. Abdurahman, be heard at the bar of the House in support of the petitioners. Advocate Close will be asked to second the motion.

Extract of Kimberley Report.

Mr. LaVita said that it grieved him to read in the last issue of our newspaper, the criticism of Miss Gladys Daniels. Such criticism could only do us harm in the country. He thought that although we all deeply regretted the deflection, Miss Daniels was not the only nor the worst sinner in this respect. We all knew years ago that she possessed the talent to become a world's artist. Did we bestir ourselves to assist her to study and develop her talent? NO. Have we now the right to criticise her when she had been assisted by the Europeans? Most certainly NO. We should criticise our own apathy in allowing such talent to be fostered by the Europeans and thereby lose our brilliant young people.

Messrs. Lakey and Joshua supported Mr. LaVita.

Mr. Herman also objected to the severe criticism, although for a different reason. He thought that it was the duty of the paper to uplift the minds and intellect of our people, the tone of the article was not only not worthy of the writer, but degrading. It showed a lack of broadmindedness and tolerance, tolerance of the frailty of human nature.

The Reply.

In reply to Mr. Lavita, who saw fit to propose a vote of censure on the article written in criticism of Miss Daniel's new identity, let us first remind the good but irrational gentleman that we are not looking at the matter from a personal point of view, but rather from a broad public standpoint.

He asks whether we who criticise her in Cape Town did anything to assist her.

We did nothing, because we were never approached for assistance. If a person wishes public assistance in his or her career, he or she must ask for it. In Cape Town we have a concrete example of one who asked for assistance in his university career, and who received help from his own people. He has obtained his Arts degree and is to-day a credit and honour to his people, and is doing valuable work in assisting other young aspiring students. He has indeed proved himself a blessing to our race.

Miss Gladys Daniels did not want our assistance. She craved white assistance her ambition was white patronage.

What matters if she used false pretences, covered her pedigree a little, masked her colour a bit! She has attained the goal of her ambition, even if she had to trample on the hearts of her own people. How proud Mr. Lavita must feel of her!

No wonder the Coloured people are making such rushing strides, when so many of them assist the Europeans in building racial barriers and their dear Coloured friends stand by and applaud.

What a glorious future for our coming generations!

To be accepted by Europeans as one of them, acclaimed their star in art, music, medicine, or any high department, what consummate greatness! What matters it if our rising generations prove renegade to their Black grandmothers, the end justifies the means! According to Mr. Lavita let all sentiment and pathos swept aside in their grasp for greatness.

'Errare est Humanum.

The news that Government has decided to refund all the money collected from the Transvaal Natives under the Act which has been proved in the courts of the country to be ultra vires as far as the Natives are concerned will be received with mixed feelings by various sections of the population With some Europeans this decision will be viewed with grave misgivings as setting a bad precedent. They will allege that the prestige of the white man will suffer considerably. We beg to differ from these premises. In our opinion the Government's good resolution will have a very salutary effect upon the Natives. Instead of the white man's prestige being disturbed by this dicision we think it will be enhanced. The propped edifice of European infallibility cannot stand the test of time. Sooner or late the Native would have to find and complain of injustice meted out to him. The European is human and errs in common with all humanity. To try to make it out that he never errs and that whatever he has pronounced is as the oracles of the ancient gods or the Gospel truth is futile. When a mistake or error of judgement has been discovered as in the present case there lies no other courses open to the honest and candid mind but to acknowledge one's self in the wrong whether as individuals or as a

public body and the enlightened one should make amends as the only way for fulfilling the doctrine of restitution. We therefore observe in this action of the Government the determination for it to remain magnanimous and the appointed protector of us its wards. The resolution synchronises with the season of goodwill as sung into the world by that angelic choir more than two thousand years ago In future the Natives will believe the Governments' word and whenever he exercises firmness it will respected and honoured by the Natives.

S.A.N. College Report.

Principal's Report to the Governing Council for the year ending 31st Dec., 1921.

(Continued)

Arrangement can be made for the completion of this course after students leave College. Edwin Newana is taking the Arts Course for the College Diploma and his time has been largely taken up with the subjects herein, but he has attended some lectures in the Theological Course.

"The students have continued their evangelistic and pastoral work in the neighbouring villages, and have exercised their ministry from time to time in the Native Church at Alice.

"In view of the intention of the College authorities to raise the entrance standard, it is most desirable that Theological students should have higher educational attainments than our Church at present demands from candidates.

to Mrs B. Taylor for a valuable gift of some three hundred volumes from her late husband's library, and to Mrs C. Lister who has also sent a number of books. Other gifts have been promised by Mrs Tearle and Mrs J. Robb."

2. PRESBYTERIAN: Rev. John Lennox, O.B.E., M.A., Warden and Theological Tutor says:—

"During 1921, the Presbyterian students were housed in the College Hostel. From February to June there were 15 students in residence, and also the Principal's office Clerk, and, on two days of each week, the Agricultural Demonstrator. In the second session, the number of students was 14.

"Conduct and health alike were good and an excellent spirit prevailed throughout the year.

"Six of the students were members of the Theological class, and attended the lectures given by the Theological tutor. They also attended the College classes for the College Matriculation Certificate. One of the students completed this extra course in June, 1922 and has obtained the Certificate. One of the advantages of having the Presbyterian students at Fort Hare has been that they have been able to take these College classes side by side with their theological studies so that general education and specialised training have advanced together.

3 ANGLICAN: The Rt. Rev. Bishop Smyth, M.A; M.B., Warden of the Anglican Hostel says:

"We were fortunately able to secure as a temporary hostel the house which had been used for lecture rooms before the opening of Stewart Hall. The alterations to the House which were needed were not completed when the students arrived in February, and consequently we were uncomfortably crowded in those rooms which were available; we had to place students beds in the common room and in my library.

"We commenced with eight Anglicans and nine members of other Churches; subsequently another Anglican was admitted to the Hostel. The Churches represented were the African Methodist Episcopal (1), Congregationalist (3), Dutch Reformed (2), Independent (1), Moravian (1) and Roman Catholic (1).

"By the kindness of my fellow-wardens I was able to arrange that those who thought that their parents would prefer that they should attend their Services rather than ours, should go with their students. I also arranged that the Roman Catholic should attend at the Roman Catholic Church in Alice.

"We have been a very happy family throughout the year, I was especially pleased with the courtesy and kindness shown to my sisters, especially during the uncomfortable time which we all shared at first; students seemed to be always looking out for little ways of helping them.

"One student suffered from Asthma a good deal; otherwise the health of the hostel has been excellent."

FORMER STUDENTS: Last year in order to ascertain the standing of former students after they have left Fort Hare, I sent out a questionnaire to find out the nature of employment obtained, the amount of remuneration, and the type of house lived in. Other questions were asked to discover whether these students, in the light of their subsequent experience, had anything of value to suggest as to better adaptations of College Courses to Native circumstances. I was astonished to find how unanimous was the opinion that greater stress should be laid on moral instruction and training (i.e. instruction in sex hygiene). A course in Physiology and Hygiene is now obligatory on all theological and educational students. Asked which features of the College seemed in the retrospect to be most helpful, many stated that the course in English Literature had left a special impression, (one referred to the benefits derived from the Literary Society) some singled out their commercial studies and many referred in encouraging terms to the work done in agriculture in the students' plots. Suggestions were also made as to the improvement of educational facilities in the districts in which they found themselves.

THE PATH TO CIVILISATION.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ADIS ABABA, December 28.

Trade at Adis Ababa is still at a very low ebb. In fact, one might add it is lower than ever. It was stated in an article in the "Westminster Gazette" last January that the conditions governing commerce in Abyssinia were such that though the country was rich there were no facilities for legitimate trade in the empire. These remarks seem to have been almost prophetic in view of the present state of affairs. During the last few months two of the three new British firms who have started commercial enterprises here since the war have ceased to operate, not owing to lack of capital, of which there was plenty, but simply owing to the inability of these syndicates to cope with local conditions. The Abyssinian Corporation, which has long been moribund, is still endeavouring to save something from the wreck.

An event pregnant with great possibilities was the recent visit of Ras Tafari, Regent and Heir Apparent to the throne of Ethiopia, to Aden as the guest of the British Government. The Ras has never before set foot outside Abyssinia and this expedition of his cannot fail to be productive of good results. He is a very enlightened man of sound progressive ideas, but he is hide-bound by Abyssianian prejudices and customs. That he should be able to leave the country at all is evidence of the firm hold he has now secured on the reins of government. In the short time at his disposal his Highness was enabled to learn first-hand a great deal about our system of rule in Aden, and to see for himself the possibilities inherent in a country as barren as Aden, thanks to the rigid observance of law and order.

Recent articles in the London Press came as a bombshell to the more cultured natives of Abyssinia, and it is significant that attempts have since been made to remedy the more obvious abuses. The newly-established system of scavenging, which still leaves much to be desired, is a very long step in the right direction, and we hear of other changes and improvements in the town which will make for greater efficiency and comfort to Europeans and Abyssinians alike.

There seems little doubt that if Ras Tafari's health permits of his continuing to undertake the very arduous duties which he has imposed on himself he will in a few more years secure such a hold on the Government of the country and on the will of the people that some real advances along the road to civilisation may be looked for. He is still up against the "Diehard" element, derived from the old chiefs and warriors of the great Emperor Menelik, and he has many customs and traditions to break through every time he tries to make a step forward. But he has courage as well as ability, and his recent trip to Aden will only add to his prestige.

COLOURED DEATH RATE AND WHITE SOUTH AFRICA.

At the last meeting of the Graaff Reinet Town Council, it was reported that 35 Coloured persons died in the town area during the month of November. It was thought that the death rate could be checked by making better sanitary arrangements in the town location and other portions of the town inhabited by Coloured persons. One callous councillor did not agree with this view, and boldly said that the death rate was an act of Providence, and without it South Africa would not be a white man's country. At the same time a case was heard in Cape Town in which some Coloured person was charged with allowing dirt to accumulate to the danger of the health of the community. A well known Cape Town magistrate who tried the case was reported to have remarked that if the Town Council allow this insanitation to continue Cape Town will very soon be a black man's town.

Race Problem—1923

Africa

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

IN a fortnight from now, the second public session of the National Congress of British West Africa will begin its meetings. The last meeting took place at Accra; this time the capital of the old Mother Colony of British West Africa has been chosen, and it is evident from the columns of the Sierra Leone press that arrangements are in hand for giving the members of the Congress a hearty welcome and transacting a programme, the details of which will be followed with close interest in this country when in due course we are able to publish an account of them. Admittedly, the first meeting of the Congress took place under conditions not making altogether to the reasoned consideration of what was afoot. The whole political atmosphere, as it affected British West Africa in common with other important countries, was unreal, thanks to the injurious influence of that misleading phrase, "self-determination." In itself this represents a noble objective, which, however, like most political objectives likely to be of much permanent use, has to be approached by stages, one point being established before the next is attempted. The world, even that portion of the world liberal and progressive in its tendencies, was entitled to look askance at its author and most influential supporter, President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, when it found them, instead of staking their political fortunes upon the policy it represents, accepting programmes which have thrown the world back instead of forward. Then, misunderstandings arose in connection with the relations between the Congress leaders and the Governments of British West Africa; and finally doubt was aroused as to the scope and meaning of what the Congress asked for in regard to the control of public finance, which in the last resort means control and direction of the means of progress in the country. In the period that has intervened, the whole situation in perhaps its most important feature has undergone a change for the better. By this is not meant the commercial situation, for this has been difficult and unfavourable, and after a great war was bound to be so, and bound, as Sir Hugh Clifford points out in the speech reported elsewhere, to affect West Africa like every other country. The time has been one of immense stress upon our commercial houses and upon our banks, which have weathered stormy days with a degree of success for which we may all be thankful; and upon our West African Governments and the many interesting races with whose care and interests they are charged. We may be all a great deal more thankful for the way in which they have got through a difficult situation, thanks for the most part to the patient and loyal acceptance by the African producers of conditions the inevitability of which many cannot grasp but which have meant smaller returns for labour hand in hand by side with higher cost of purchases. West Africa is not alone in bearing this burden—we are all sharing it in our different degrees, and shall have to bear it for many years—but the price is small compared with what Britain and British Africa would have had to pay had the great struggle ended otherwise than as it did.

We refer rather to what may be called in the widest sense the political situation. Practically from all over the widespread section of the Empire made up of the Dependencies there has come a pressing request for a broadening of the institutions of government and for the granting of a more potent voice in working those institutions to the permanent peoples of the countries concerned. The West Indies, Ceylon, Mauritius, all have experienced movements similar to that set up in British West Africa; and we do not think that any fair-minded person can deny that the men in final charge at the Colonial Office, whether in the time of this Government or its predecessor, have risen to the occasion in dealing with such movements, in themselves but a tribute to the spirit which has informed British administrations hitherto—a spirit to which Mr. Herbert Macaulay, no mealy-mouthed critic of Governments, pays striking testimony in another column to-day. It is a circumstance of good augury for the fate of practicable and reasonable requests by the Congress that its session finds in office on the Coast Governors most of whom are wanting neither in experience nor in sympathy; and that at the same time the chief political posts at the Colonial Office are filled by the Duke of Devonshire, head of a famous political English house conspicuous for its moderation and good sense, and by Mr. Ormsby-Gore. We regret that the Colonial Secretary has not had the opportunity of seeing and knowing Africans for himself, except in South Africa, where they are at least a century behind those of British West Africa; but we rejoice that the Under Colonial Secretary has personally investigated political and social conditions in the West Indies, though we would remind him that in the beneficent and praiseworthy work of winning prosperity in the face of immense natural handicaps the people of British West Africa, Nigeria and the Gold Coast particularly, are very well ahead of those of like racial descent in the West Indies. The new *régime* at the Colonial Office, we may add, could hardly have made a better beginning than with the letter we published last week, affirming afresh, clearly and decisively, the sound British policy of keeping the land for the people.

The work of Governments in British West Africa, any Governments, even if they were Governments made up of Burkes in political wisdom and Cannings or Shaftesburys in sympathy and philanthropy, is extraordinarily difficult, because on the one hand they must meet the criticisms of an influential but numerically small section of educated African opinion, mainly in the towns, and on the other they must be faithful guardians of the rights and interests of millions of people who, because of natural handicaps of climate, can only very slowly assume any part in working the institutions of their country; whilst side by side with all this they must give just consideration to enterprises directed from Europe, but for which progress would be disastrously interrupted. It would be idle, and worse, to affect any belief that in our day or for long after it these root-conditions are likely to change

But there is also the fact that schools and colleges and the workaday life of the country itself are responsible for the appearance of an ever-growing host of African manhood resolved and eager to play its part in making the country a great and stable State of the Empire. For this energy an outlet must be found, in the Public Service, in commerce, and in that municipal work which has been kept far too much in official hands. Signs are not wanting that West African Governments are alive to this necessity, and the National Congress, wisely and prudently guided, can scarcely fail to help in strengthening that inevitable and salutary process.

WORLD DISPATCHES

SWAZILAND AND RHODESIA

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA,
DECEMBER, 1922.

THE homeward mail carried two interesting personalities, each representing, in his way, one of the minor sections which, when taken in the aggregate, compose the British empire.

Chief Subhuza, son of the late Umbandini, paramount chief of the Swazi nation, is one of these interesting persons, whilst the other is Sir Francis Newton, lately treasurer to the Chartered Company's administration, who now appears to be designated as the first chancellor of the exchequer of the first responsible government of the newly created colony of Southern Rhodesia, when that colony comes into being some time during the present year. It is notable that both the sable potentate and the "very gentil and parfit knight," seem to be animated by the same modern spirit, as in both cases their journey appears to be largely inspired by financial considerations.

Chief Subhuza, who will probably be enthusiastically received by Mrs. Lion Hunter, or, should she have passed away, by her heirs, administrators and assigns, makes no secret of the fact that his object in visiting England is to inquire into the cause of shrinkage in the tribal revenues, which are far from being what they were in the palmy days of his father.

In Umbandini's day, Swaziland was a Naboth's vineyard, coveted by Paul Kruger and his Boers upon the one side, and the British upon the other, both anxious to annex the country, but neither being prepared to see it absorbed by the other. Umbandini took full advantage of the rivalry of his neighbors, accepting presents and subsidies from both, to avoid giving offense to either, and generally playing off one side against

the other to his own personal profit. But he had another and a more original source of revenue, which consisted in selling, strictly for cash, concessions for every conceivable purpose.

A question of concessions

Other native potentates have disposed of land, mineral and timber rights for a consideration, but Umbandini and his advisers raised the business of concession granting to an art, and in addition to parting with these obviously valuable assets there was nothing too insignificant to form the subject of a concession, if valuable consideration was forthcoming. The writer has met the concessionaires of the monopoly for soda water machinery and billiard tables, which goes to show that the late Umbandini did not consider that details were unworthy of the attention of a conscientious financier. It is true that but very few of the concessionaires ever profited from these kingly grants, as when the country was taken over by Great Britain, after the South African war, the concessions were strictly scrutinized, and but very few survived the inquisition. With the disappearance of the Boer Republic and the absence of concession hunters, the revenues of the paramount chief have shrunk so considerably that Chief Subhuza is going over to see about it, but it is to be feared that the golden days have gone never to return.

Sir Francis Newton, the other visitor to the heart of the empire, does not carry his heart upon his sleeve for the daws to peck at, and the object of his visit can only be conjectured, although a fairly shrewd guess is possible. When the Chartered Company surrenders the administration of Southern Rhodesia to the colonists who are in future to govern the country, there will have to be an adjustment of accounts for which a considerable amount of ready money will be required, money which the colonists do not at present possess. The machinery of government includes buildings, equipment and necessaries, the property of the Chartered Company, which has paid for them with the shareholders' money, and will want that money back before parting with them. It is permissible to conjecture that Sir Francis Newton's voyage is not altogether disconnected with this subject, and that he is now sounding the money market with a view to ascertaining the terms upon which the funds required may be obtained. The Chartered Company, which has administered the territory of Southern Rhodesia since 1890, when it was occupied by their pioneer expedition, is, it is true, relinquishing the government at an early date, in accordance with the wish of the settlers, who are desirous of trying a form of self government. But the company is not relinquishing the mineral rights of the country, which are its private property, nor does it propose to hand over the railways which were constructed with the shareholders' money. Further, the public lands are pledged to the company until some £5,000,000, which has been expended upon development, are repaid. The leaders of the responsible government party assure their followers that they will find no difficulty in financing the new regime without increasing taxation. If they do so, it will be very much to their credit.

AFRICAN SILK WORMS.

Silkworms have long been kept by the West African Natives, especially the Hausas of the Western Sudan, and their product used for embroidery. The threads are spun by silk-yielding caterpillars known as Nigeria spinners. Research has shown that there are several sorts of these silkworms, and that they are found throughout Africa. They have probably got their name from the fact that the industrial peoples in Nigeria have recognised the value of the filaments and made use of them, while the other races have neglected them.

The shrub-like bridelia, one of the euphorbiactæ, the chief support of the most widespread silkworm, is found in great numbers along the Upper Cross River, east of the districts from Ahoada to Obudu, in the portion of Cameroon now British. A silkworm-breeding farm was established in Mamphe, on the Upper Cross River, at the beginning of 1914.

Thoroughly satisfactory results have been obtained from spinning and weaving experiments made before the war with these African silkworms' nests. The raw material was so cheap that the yarn produced was saleable at a lower price than ordinary silk waste. It was also established that the fabric woven from the threads of the African Anaphe is more valuable than that produced from other wild silks. The experiments showed that a kilogram of yarn could be produced from four kilograms of cocoons. Its service ability is shown by the fact that the threads can be used without further preparation for the manufacture of handkerchiefs, umbrella material, and especially velvet.—"Manchester Guardian Commercial."

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

Mr. J. M. Ahmad Din, who has spent 17 years in Nigeria in the service of the Government, is paying a brief visit to this country, but he is going to India for about a year, and when he returns, if health permits, he hopes to take up work again in West Africa. There are plenty of West Indians at work on the Coast, but Mr. Ahmad Din is said to be the only East Indian in the service of the Government in Nigeria. He was one of the Punjabi Indian officials who went to Nigeria in 1906 at a time when staff for clerical and transport work was difficult to obtain. When these officials left Nigeria for India he alone decided to remain, and he was transferred to the office of Sir John Eaglesome when Sir John was in charge of railway construction in the Colony. Subsequently he went to Lagos with him when Sir John Eaglesome was Director of Railways and Works, and later became his private secretary.

Mr. Ahmad Din is now Chief Clerk in the Nigerian Railway Dept. According to Sir John Eaglesome, he is a good traveller, energetic, always cheerful, an excellent shorthand writer and typist, is earnest and reliable and well acquainted with the routine of office work, as well as the details of a railway administration office. While visiting his native land Mr. Ahmad Din carries with him the good wishes of the many friends he has made in Nigeria in his 17 years' residence in that Colony.

Book Chat

by

MARY WHITE OVINGTON

New York. 1/31/23

"THE BLACK MAN'S PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA"

Amsterdam News

This little volume has come all the way from South Africa. I do not know the price but I want to note it among the publications of 1922 as one of careful study and friendly import. Neilsen tells us that he has studied the ways of the natives of South Africa on the spot, "at first hand, through the medium of their own speech, which he professes to know as well as the natives themselves." With this knowledge he discusses Bantu, evidently the South African native, whose language he knows, and finds him surprisingly like the white man in his physical, intellectual and moral equipment.

To give some quotations: "The Bantu, as compared with other races, labor under no apparent physiological disabilities to hinder them in the process of mental development." Of this language, he says: "The Bantu types are capable of being developed into as perfect a means of expression of human thought as any of the European types of speech. They are astonishingly rich in verbs, which make it easy to express motion and action vividly." The Bantus are not more bestial than whites: "The sexual instincts of the natives seem in no wise different from those of other people." Their bravery is very great. "Those who have shared the dangers of flood and field with African natives often testify to acts of sublime courage by native soldiers, hunters and miners in the face of real and appreciated danger under circumstances which show that the natives as a whole are no less capable than the white people of conquering instinctive fear and of sacrificing the individual self when great demands are made." And of brain power: "In sound reasoning ability, as applied to matters with which he is familiar, the native is no whit below the white man." Of Negro achievement: "The mental strain involved in leading the so-called simple life of the so-called savage is, on the whole, no less intense than that suffered by the civilized man in maintaining his civilized existence." And last: "The native is not a savage. Even before the whites came to South Africa the Bantu lived in social order under a political system in which the principles of constitutionalism were clearly recognized."

With this and other clear statements of the equality of the black man with the white, the writer proceeds to discuss the relation between the two races in South Africa. He makes it clear to us why white men see red when they view the mating of a white woman and a colored man. The white man's instinct of sexual jealousy is aroused. The male should win and hold the female, and this instinct, makes the white man resent the entrance into the field of a dissimilar race. This racial pride is growing among the Bantus as well. General education accentuates race pride rather than diminishes it. And yet, it is not enough to rely upon to keep the races apart and the writer ends with a scheme for complete separation of the races in South Africa. He would have certain sections given over wholly to the natives and others wholly, or almost wholly, to the Europeans. Natives would only own land in their own sections. Thus parallel civilizations would grow up, and friction be lessened.

This has been many a man's dream, but when we look at our own Pueblo Indians today, we cannot believe it will work out well in South Africa. There is one human quality upon which we can always count, cupidity. The whites in South Africa would take the land from the natives just as soon as it was worth their while, provided the whites remained in the ascendant. And the Negroes, like our Indians, would be left to die.

One feels like throwing up one's hands when this admirable little volume is finished. Is there no solution to the problem of white and black living together? Must one race be swallowed up by the other races or will humanity learn something from experience. This last seems unlikely, so which race will be swallowed up?

Race Problem — 1923

Africa

SWAZILAND NATIVES TO VISIT ENGLAND

New York Times

Deputation Headed by Paramount Chief Sobhuza to Meet Government Officials.

1-7-23

NOTED AS "RAINMAKERS"

African Tribes Have Faith in Their Ability to Control the Elements.

A deputation of native chiefs of Swaziland, including the Paramount Chief Sobhuza (So-booza), will arrive in England this week from Cape Town. The Swazi Kings are looked up to as expert rainmakers by other African tribes.

Swaziland lies between the eastern slopes of the Drakensberg Mountains, which form the eastern border of the Transvaal, and the low-lying lands of Northern Zululand and Portuguese East Africa. The Swazis resemble very much the Zulus in their superstitions and beliefs, and this resemblance is reflected in their customs and laws. The necessity for rain is important, and magic medicines or charms conferring the power to control the elements, as far as rainmaking is concerned, play an important part in the tribal life. The King is nominally in control of the "rain medicine," but he is not allowed to have its custody. The balance of power is kept by having it in the care of the King's mother, known as the Ndhlovukazi or Cow Elephant.

The Paramount Chief Sobhuza is 23 years of age. He succeeded his grandmother, who had held office since 1889, and was considered a wise chief who did valuable work for her people and country. She handed over her duties to her grandson Sobhuza in 1921. Her relations with the Administration were always of a friendly nature, comments a writer in The London Times, who describes the coming of the chiefs to discuss with the Colonial Office various matters affecting the administration of Swaziland. Some of the questions affecting native rights are said to have been in abeyance practically since the Boer War, and others have arisen in the course of the development of the protectorate since that time.

Swaziland was removed in 1906 from the control of the Governor of the Transvaal to that of the High Commissioner for South Africa, and a proclamation was issued in March, 1907, providing for the appointment of a Resident Commissioner, a Government Secretary, Assistant Commissioners and for the establishment of a police force. In 1921 an Advisory Council, to advise the Administration on purely European matters, was established. The council consists of nine members, five for the southern and four for the northern portion of Swaziland. Its first session was in October, 1921.

During the World War Swaziland contributed in personnel forty-seven officers and ninety-three other ranks. Fourteen decorations in all were awarded to men from the territory. A contingent of sixty-seven Swazis was attached to the native labor contingent in Flanders. The sum of £6,735 was collected and distributed for war relief funds, the Chief Regent and the Chiefs raising a fund on their own initiative as a contribution to the expenses of the war amounting to £3,000, which was devoted to the purchase of two airplanes for the Royal Air Force. They apparently have no difficulty in reconciling two such widely distant points as rainmaking and aviation.

Good News

1/28/23

From *Abantu-Batho* we learn that the Transvaal Native Poll Tax Appeal has been won by D. S Letanka who represented the Natives. The Provincial Council is thus defeated a second time in its iniquitous attempt to thrust an unbearable burden of taxation on our people for objects that do not justify the imposition. We congratulate the S. A. Native National Congress on this historic success. The Bloemfontein Correspondent of the "Star" gives the following particulars of the case:—"The Appellate Court, with Sir William Solomon delivering the judgment, has upheld the decision of the Transvaal Provincial Division that the Transvaal Poll Tax Ordinance is ultra vires so far as it applies to natives.

In the course of the judgment Sir William said "a non-native indigent who does not choose to work is exempt from the tax, however strong and fit he may be, whereas a native indigent is exempt only if he is prevented from working by one of the causes specified in Section 4 (3) of the Native Tax Act, 1908. It followed therefore that the poll tax, under Ordinance 7 of 1921 would fall upon a native in circumstances in which a non-native would be exempt.

"The incidence of the tax therefore is not the same nor can it be said that the discrimination is one which we are entitled to ignore. It was suggested by the Attorney-General that the reason for the difference in favour of the non-native is that the native can always obtain work, while non-natives frequently cannot. We are not concerned, however, to inquire what the reason for the discrimination may be, nor whether it is reasonable or not. It is sufficient for us that in this respect the incidence of the tax upon the non natives is not the same as upon the native and that the Ordinance therefore conflicts with Section 3 (2) of Act 5 of 1921.

"The appeal therefore fails, and must be dismissed with costs."

Africa for the Africans:

[*Contributed.*]

Imvo Zabantsundu

The above words were quoted from the leading article of the East London Daily Dispatch of the 21th October 1922. The very words were used by the president of the Negro Universal Improvement Association in a meeting held sometime back in New York. This grand president seems to have plunged and focussed his ideas in the rebirth of Africa and seems also to be feeling the future of the continent in the instant and unaware of the prevailing conditions viz:—political and social. 1/28/23

He declared openly in the course of his address that the Europeans should take all their belongings and leave the continent in peace if they want no war. These words are apt to instil needless turmoil into the minds of the patient natives and make them build hopes in the air.

He also advocated the good principle of close alliance in order that we may work together and demand our rights with one voice. Let us see our fellowmen rise and be not frustrated by our demon of jealousy and envy. "My people we are looking forward to a bright dawn for our nation. Let us mark our steps with caution and perseverance.

True are these words: "He that is down need fear no fall, he that is low, no pride, *Scandite Scalam.*"

E. P. D. MAHLANGENI.

University of Cape Town

Three prizes of the value of £5 each annually will be offered by the School of African Life and Languages, in 1923 and 1924 for the best collections of native lore or history from native sources. They may include family or tribal history, proverbs, plant names (with specimens), folk tales, descriptions of customs, 'Praises,' poetry, genealogies, lists of regiments or age-grades. The papers must be sent in clearly signed, before April in each year.

The names and addresses of original informants should be given where possible in each case as this increases the value of the information. The approximate ages and clans of their informants should also be noted.

The papers must be clearly written, typed, or printed. The School of African Life and Languages will provide for the examination of the papers. The result will be declared in June of each year.

The University reserves the right of publishing any information received unless it is stated on the paper that such right is reserved by the candidate.

This notice will be circulated every year in September to the Native Press)

W. G. R. MURRAY,
Registrar.

9th November, 1922.

Slavery Yet in Africa

The Missionary Review of the World 1-27-23

THE League of Nations, according to the *Evangelical Christian*, has had under consideration the reports of slavery in Abyssinia, and it is clear from the discussions that a *prima facie* case has been established. Not only in Abyssinia but in other parts of Africa is there well-founded suspicion that slavery in one form or another exists. The fullest investigation is necessary, and the remarks of some of the Continental nations that have interests in Africa naturally lead to a feeling that all is not well. No colonial power ought to be afraid of frank inquiry. The interests of humanity are at stake and humane administration can fear no effort to discover inhumanity.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

African World

LOURENCO MARQUES, December 25.

1-27-23

A "Free" Port.

To-day is Christmas, and although business has been, and still is, most depressed, yet the people are spending a very enjoyable time. Children have not been forgotten, and sports, tennis, cricket, and golf give variety to those desirous of agreeable sport. Many have gone on the bay to spend their time fishing, while excursion trains have been well patronised. It is good that such a break takes place in the ordinary and trying perplexities of commercial life.

The most noted thing regarding the day is that British and Portuguese meet together, and in each other's company spend a pleasant time, many of them picnicing in the shady groves of Polana Beach under coconut palms. And to-night at dinner there will meet many families representing these two nationalities. The old alliance between Great Britain and Portugal is truly manifested in the peoples of both of these countries out here. Perhaps it is more in evidence than in the countries to which they belong. It is a harmonious spirit that cannot be broken no matter whether the Governments of the Union of South Africa and the Province of Mozambique fail to come to a mutual understanding upon the terms of a convention. Convention or no convention, the cordial relations between these colonies will continue.

Port Matolla Cement Industry.

The Mozambique Portland Cement Co. is making substantial progress in the erection of its factory. The war hindered the importation of machinery, but all the plant has now arrived, and engineers and fitters from the makers in Germany have arrived, and the work of erection has begun. This company holds an exclusive right for the manufacture of cement in the Province of Mozambique for a period of ten years, with an extension for a similar period should the conditions of the law have been observed during the first term. The limestone has been found to be of superior quality, and the clay is said to be high in alumina, and the silica therein of a fine state of sub-division. The technical report says:—"The iron oxide present in the clay will act as a flux, and will consequently promote the chemical combination of the silica and lime, thus rendering unnecessary the addition of iron when the raw materials do not contain sufficient of the same."

Through the law of exclusive rights all materials necessary for the initiation of the industry is landed free of customs duty and municipal imposts.

The company, on a liberal basis of working and other expenses, and taking the pre-war price of the imported cement at 10s. per barrel, which price cannot now be attained, has fixed as a basis 12s. 6d. per barrel, and on that estimate demonstrates a high dividend—so high that, if necessary, the price of cement could be reduced.

The factory is being erected at Port Matolla, which is connected by a branch line with the main line and town.

Lines of rails are laid from the factory to a jetty, which will be extended by the port and railway authorities to enable vessels drawing 23 feet to go alongside at lowest spring tides. There is a good inquiry for cement in both town and province, and when the period of development sets in the demand will be very great, besides, owing to short railage, the calls of the Eastern Transvaal may be met by the local factory.

All the technical staff will come from Europe, and Portuguese, to a great extent, will fill the non-technical activities. Native labour is cheap; it can be contracted for at 14s. per month, with quarters, food, medicine, and medical attendance. This new industry will, therefore, start with many advantages which are non-existent in those of the Union. It is expected that the manufacture of cement will begin in three months.

lazette" states that Warri is no longer an infected area, which must be welcome news to its very sociable European community.

and factory in a few minutes—the distance is about 12 kilometres.

Owing to the heavy rains in the Transvaal the flood water caused the Limpopo River to rise far above normal. In some parts it has overflowed its banks and become a great lake. The Government is studying the plans of Col. Balfour both for preventing such overflow and by canals to reclaim and irrigate the plains of the Limpopo. It is estimated that the number of natives required will be in the neighbourhood of 22,000.

The Movene Agricultural Estates is considering a forward scheme, and the manager and Col. Balfour are proceeding to London in connection with same.

Railway and Harbour Control.

The proposition of General Andrade that the railways and harbours of the port of Lourenco Marques should be taken over and run by a joint stock company is very favourably received here. The idea is that the company should be Portuguese, the Government holding a large amount of the stock. In Portugal many of the railways are run by joint-stock companies. Naturally, the capital required would be very large, as it is said, with running plant, locomotives of the latest type, and steam-craft, dredgers, etc., the capital of the company would exceed £15,000,000. However, the expressed feeling is that the capital would be forthcoming for such a project. Naturally, such a company would require a long lease, and if the project was entered upon now it might have an adverse action against further conversation regarding the renewal of the concention. In that case the company would have a large say in any such agreement between the Union of South Africa and the Province of Mozambique.

But most officials and others interested in the well-being of the town say that it would be a good thing to have the management of the port and railways in the hands of a company, as its aim would be to make quick and efficient movement, combined with the necessary installations, that this port would by such means command a large import and export trade. Indeed, it is said that it would become a "free port," and that a large area on the Cata besides might be reserved as a "free zone" for landing and storing cargo. "Wait and see" must be the watchword here. All depends on Lisbon, but with such an authority as General Andrade proposing the scheme, it is looked upon as more than "words."

South African Native College.

Star of Buenos Aires

REVIEW OF THE YEAR.

1-5-23 Africa

The Governing Council met twice during the year In addition to the ordinary routine business the Council gave consideration attention to matters of finance. The year opened with a serious financial outlook, for the Government grant was inadequate in relation to the growing needs of the College. Drastic reductions on the budgetted expenditure had to be made, but even with these the accounts could not be squared. The Government expressed their agreement in principle with the claims of the College, but the treasury found itself compelled to decline all increases Eventually this decision was reconsidered, and the annual grant was increased by £800, and £1000 was paid as a special grant towards meeting the accumulated deficits. This, together with a Government loan under the Higher Education Acts to meet the cost of the Electric Light and Water Schemes, went far to surmount the financial difficulties.

Further steps however had to be taken to secure financial stability. The Governing Council accordingly intimated that in 1923 the tuition fee will be increased from £6 to £10, and the inclusive fee for board, tuition, etc., will be £30. (In the case of students already attending the College, the fee in 1923 will be £27 10s.).

Another matter which engaged the attention of fhe Governing Council was a Draft Bill proposed to be brought into Parliament in 1923 whereby the position of the South African Native College and that of some other institutions will be regularized under the Union Education Department. The Bill, if carried, will necessitate a few relative minor modifications of the College Constitution. It will also stabilise the financial arrangements of the College, and introduce the principle that grants will be based on certain types of income, fees for example, and not on expenditure.

For the second year of its brief history, the College had a class of its own matriculated students who were studying for the B.A. degree. A new Native Higher Teachers' Course was introduced, and in this connection the students went with the Principal each week to the village school at Dyamala and to Lovedale High School for observation and practice.

Regulations for the College Matriculation Certificate were adopted and published. In order to secure the units necessary for obtaining the certificate, students can in addition to English and Vernacular or Dutch which are compulsory to all, select subjects from one or other of seven groups. These groups are framed so as to meet the special requirements of students of Theology, Agriculture, Chiefs' Course, Business Course and Domestic Science.

During the first six months of the year Principal Kerr was in Scotland and America. In the latter country, he along with Inspector Malcolm of the Natal Education Department visited a number of schools and colleges, and in particular several of those engaged in Negro education. Principal Kerr with his family returned in July.

In February, Mr. C. P. Dent, M.Sc., entered on duty as lecturer in Physics and Chemistry.

From February to June, Mr D. J. Darlow, B.A., lectured on the History of Education. The enrolment which in 1921 was 63, jumped in 1922 to 93, and the available dormitory accommodation was fully taxed.

The increase in enrolment promises to continue, and is causing pressure both on the Dormitories and on the Dining Hall and Kitchen. During 1922 plans were drawn for the Presbyterian Hostel, and towards the end of the year a contract was made for the erection of part of the building. This portion when completed will accommodate 35 students.

Steps also were taken by the Governing Council for the erection of a new Dining Hall and Kitchen to serve 300 students. For a time, the Hall will, it is anticipated, have to serve as Assembly Hall as well as Dining Hall.

During the year a new sports ground was prepared and began to be used. The annual sports were held in June Entries were smaller than expected, but the various items were keenly contested. In soccer football and cricket, Fort Hare met the teams of sister institutions and was successful in becoming the first holder of the Tremeer Cup and in continuing to hold the Gillie Cup.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

AFRICAN COLONIES.

Mr. Murray asked whether in the African Dependencies, before the policy of Export Duties was embarked upon, the Natives were consulted in any way as to the possible effect of duties upon production.

Mr. Churchill: In the West African Colonies the export duties received the consent of the Legislative Council of the Colony on which the Natives were duly represented. An export duty on ground nuts has been in force in the Gambia since 1899. The Natives of Uganda were not consulted before the Cotton Export Duty was imposed in 1919. The duty on Palm Oil exported from Sierra Leone has recently been reduced.

THE HOUSING QUESTION.

Opposition to Workmen's Cottages.

The City Council of Cape Town receives very little encouragement from those who are comfortably housed to relieve the housing problem. Every site that it has chosen for building cottages for its own employees, white or Coloured, has been met by a storm of opposition. Consequently it has had to abandon in turn projects to build cottages at Muizenberg, Raapenberg, Roeland Street and Ebenezer Road.

Two years ago the Council decided to provide some of its Coloured workmen with dwellings at Keurboom Road, Claremont. Last month it was resolved to proceed with the scheme. But no sooner had this been announced in the press, than letters of protest, signed by the influential rich in the district, poured into the City Hall. The Ratepayers' Association of Claremont,—to their credit, be it said, as they are a body of Europeans—called a meeting and passed a resolution approving the action of the City Council.

They also elected a deputation, who together with a deputation of the Claremont Branch of the A.P.O., waited upon the Housing and Estates Committee of the City Council on Monday. Mr. S. Reagon for the A.P.O., and Mr. Hensilwood for the Ratepayers' Association showed that the site chosen by the Council was from every point of view the most suitable in the district. In the end the Committee adopted a resolution confirming its previous decision and recommending the Council to proceed with the building of the cottages forthwith.

Race Problem— 1923
Africa

PLANS TO BUILD GREAT SCHOOL IN EASTERN TROPICS

One copy for Inder

Dr. Hayford After Funds to Erect a "Tuskegee" on Africa's Gold Coast

2-17-23

The Rev. Mark C. Hayford, M. A., D. D., F. R. G. S., founder and general superintendent of the Baptist church and mission and the Christian Army of the Gold Coast, West Africa, is in Chicago. He visited this country 23 years ago with credentials of exceptionally high value from Rev. Drs. John Clifford and F. B. Meyer and other prominent divines and leaders of Christian work in Great Britain, the said credentials bearing the attestation of the United States consul general in London, and received the indorsement of several of our leading divines, including Drs. R. S. MacArthur, Edward Judson, Robert F. Sample, Wayland Hoyt, A. J. Rowland and Lyman Abbott, and Bishop Edward G. Andrews. We should also mention the name of Rev. Dr. Alexander Whyte of Edinburgh, whose strong indorsement he also has had for many years.



Dr. Hayford

Dr. Hayford, through his father, is a member of the ruling house of Cape Coast, politically the most important province of the Gold Coast, of which Cape Coast is also the intellectual center. He was, on the occasion of the death in 1896 of Prince Henry of Battenberg, who had gone to the Gold Coast on an expedition to Ashanti, entrusted with a message to Queen Victoria, and he was one of the guests who were invited to dine, and had the honor of dining, with his royal highness the Duke of Connaught at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial institute, at which the British colonial premiers were entertained in London in 1911, when Dr. Hayford was last in England.

The distinguished visitor is the author of "West Africa and Christianity," a work embodying, with some important additional matter, a lecture delivered by him at the Rochester Theological seminary, New York, in 1900, and indorsed by the president of the seminary, Dr. A. H. Strong. The work was very favorably reviewed by the American and the English press. He is also the author of "Mary H. Kingsley," which has also had very favorable notices from the press.

He was one of the delegates who attended the world missionary conference held in Edinburgh in 1910, and his important work on the Gold Coast is spoken of in the Gold Coast government Blue Book of 1921, which gives the list of the churches—31 in number—which he has founded in different parts of the Gold Coast (besides 14 others on the French Ivory Coast), while the year book and report of the church and mission, published some time back, and giving the subscriptions received in aid of his work from various sources—European, American and African—furnishes an interesting account of his strenuous and self-sacrificing labors, which deserve continued generous public support. The converts of the church and mission number not fewer than 10,000.

In 1912 Dr. Booker T. Washington invited Dr. Hayford to attend the international conference on the Negro, held at Tuskegee, and to deliver an address on the educational conditions prevailing on the Gold Coast. The address, which took the form of a lecture, was duly published and is an important contribution to the literature dealing with the past history and the hopeful future of the Negro.

Dr. Hayford was elected a member of the Royal Sanitary institute of London in July of last year.

In 1918 a school and training college, for which Scotland and England and native Africans provided the necessary money and materials, was built and opened by him at Acera, the capital of the Gold Coast, an institution which has been giving secondary education to a number of the youths of that part of Africa, and 18 of whose students have already passed the London college preceptors' examinations, six with distinction, the aim being to prepare the students for still higher or university examinations and to qualify a number of them for mission, pastoral and educational work, while on the industrial and technical side its object is to give a training on the lines of that given in the Tuskegee institute when the necessary plant and equipment are obtained for it.

What Dr. Hayford has been enabled to accomplish in spreading the gospel in his region of the dark continent and in founding the school and training college is not only recorded in his report and in the Blue Book above metioned, but is also testified to by 34 of the most prominent citizens of the Gold Coast.

In the Gold Coast country (which is so commonly called because the earlier traders and navigators—those of the 15th century and subsequent periods—found and obtained gold there, as they found and obtained ivory and grain in other parts of the West African coast, which were accordingly designated "Ivory" and "Grain Coasts"), of a population of 2,000,000, fewer than one-tenth have been Christianized, or have any appreciable knowledge of Christianity; and of an estimated school population of 300,000 the schools provide for or are attended by only 35,000 children.

Dr. Hayford is here to appeal to America for an endowment fund and the means by which to insure the future of the school and training college, to perpetuate its work, and to facilitate any developments that may be necessary.

During his stay in Chicago Dr. Hayford is stopping at the Wabash avenue Y. M. C. A.

ENGLISH JOURNAL OPPOSES AFRICAN LIBERATION PLEA

Pittsburgh

Says Way of Booker Washington Better Than Methods of Present Radical Leaders.

American
1/26/23.

Pittsburgh Pa.,

LONDON, Jan. 26. (Crusader Service)—The announcement from the United States of another Booker T. Washington in the person of James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, an African-born Negro, who is now a candidate for his Ph.D. at Columbia Universiy, has been received here with frank interest in the prospects of usurping the present dominant radical New Negro with a leader of the old type and school. British imperialists in particular, received the announcement with undisguised pleasure, while even the Liberals reacted favorably to the prospects of ousting the present radical leadership of the Negro people in the United States. Typical of the comment of the press, is the following excerpt from an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*:

"Like Dr. Moton, who was recently in England, Mr. Aggrey is opposed to the African Liberation movement which has been advocated by radical Negroes in the United States and has inspired many colored men throughout the world with the ambition to bring to an end European domination of the Dark Coninent. Mr. Aggrey has long occupied the pulpit of the colored church near Salisbury. Many Negroes aspire to the position of influence that Booker T. Washington held in America's "Black World" of nearly twelve million persons, but most of them are working on the lines entirely opposed to the doctrines of the greatest figure which has yet emerged from the ranks of the colored men in America. Aggrey, however, is working along the lines laid down by Booker T. Washington—that is, to fit the Negro into a proper niche in the agricultural and industrial spheres."

PRESS AGENTING LIBERIA.

If President King of Liberia had chosen a press agent to secure free advertising for that West African republic as an inviting spot for emigrants from the United States, he could not have done better than the British trader, whose interview appeared in the New York *Evening Mail of* last Saturday. According to this authority, anyone with five hundred dollars and a dark complexion can clean up a fortune in Liberia, legitimately as well as quickly.

This British trader, whose name was given as Harold Robert Taylor, was quoted as follows:

New York Age

"The queerest thing to me is that there is not one American doing business there, although 50 per cent. of American manufacturers use the products of Liberia.

New York

"Every cake of soap you buy in the drug store has palm oil in it; all soap requires either palm oil or olive oil. Every street-cleaner's broom and the rotary sweeper you see at night is made from piassive fiber, which grows only on Africa's west coast. So much radium is being found there that it is estimated the cost will drop to one-tenth of what it is now. Commercial quantities of gold, silver, tin and diamonds are there for the taking. And any man of dark complexion with $500 or so who couldn't make a fortune there in a few years wouldn't deserve one, that's all."

2-17—23

For fear that there might be a stampede of hardy adventurers who boast a dark complexion, from the region of Lenox avenue and 135th street, it is well that the requirement of five hundred dollars was added. Even this nominal guarantee of good faith should not decrease the waiting line greatly, though space should be reserved at the head for Marcus Garvey as the original promoter of the "on to Africa" movement. One trouble is that steamships bound for the West Coast are not as frequent in their sailings as North River ferryboats. However, if the adventurer is game to take a chance on a vessel for the West Coast via Dakar, Bathurst, Freetown, Cape Palmas, Seccondee and Accra, he might be able to make a connection for Monrovia. But he should be careful of his complexion and his pocketbook.

Tanganyika Territory.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA.

africa; World
5-23

(To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.)

SIR,—It has been brought to my notice that a paper called the "Afrika Nachtrichten," evidently a German Colonial propaganda publication, is making frequent use of my name in quoting from speeches addressed by me to the Dar-es-Salaam Chamber of Commerce, and also in quoting extracts from certain letters which I have signed in my capacity as acting chairman of that body. I do not like this.

First of all, as a Britisher, I take the very strongest exception to my name being used for German propaganda work, and secondly, as the acting chairman of the Dar-es-Salaam Chamber of Commerce, I, on their behalf, object most strongly to their expressions of opinion being twisted and mutilated in a manner calculated to assist German propagandists in their frantic efforts to regain their colonies.

Although possibly not understood by Germans, the right of free speech and open criticism is a privilege held by Englishmen to be very dear to them, and does not necessarily—and certainly in this case does not—mean that any Government other than our own would be tolerated.

While making allowance for licence in expression of political views, particularly from a paper such as the "Afrika Nachtrichten," representing, as it doubtless does, the bitter feeling only natural to a country which finds herself in the position of Germany, I maintain that this prerogative imposes a prior obligation of elementary verification of the facts on which such views are based, and it also imposes the further obligation of publishing in full a letter or a speech, and not merely those extracts which happen to suit, for the moment, the mouthpiece of the propagandists.

Views which I have expressed with regard to the administration of this territory appear to be wrongfully and, I might say maliciously interpreted by the "Afrika Nachtrichten" as implying a wish that at some future date this territory will be returned to and administered by Germany.

In order to make myself perfectly clear on this point, I would like to say that I cannot imagine anything more undesirable than such a state of affairs, and I think I am quite safe in adding that this is the view held by the whole of the British community and a very large majority of the native community of this territory.

Finally, I would like to add that if Germany has no stronger argument to put forward, in her attempt to regain her lost possessions, than giving prominence to the ordinary criticism which is directed at all Governments from time to time, and using it as active anti-British propaganda, then it would appear that her case is indeed a parlous one.

A copy of this letter is being forwarded to the "Dar-es-Salaam Times" and the "Afrika Nachtrichten."

Yours faithfully,
Acting Chairman.
Dar-es-Salaam Chamber of Commerce.
December 15.

PREMPEH'S RETURN TO [illegible]I.

We gladly reproduce [illegible]erse letter addressed to the Editor of the "New Sta[illegible]n" by Mr. J. H. Harris, in which he urges there shou[illegible]be no unnecessary delay in the officially promised repatriation of King Prempeh to the Gold Coast after twenty-six years' exile in the Seychelles. Where at one time there were certain risks in bringing back the King and his entourage to Ashantiland, we understand on reliable authority that such are non-existent today: therefore, it would be a graceful act on behalf of the Government—an act which would be deeply appreciated by the natives concerned—if their long-exiled and now chastened ruler was permitted to return to his own country at once in accordance with the statement made by Sir Gordon Guggisberg some months ago.

"SOVEREIGN OF THE SUDAN."

As foretold by our Alexandria correspondent, political matters in Egypt are again approaching a climax: so much so that, at the time of writing, it is announced that Lord Allenby is either postponing or cancelling his annual Sudan trip. Yet, it is the Sudan itself which, so we are told, is the impasse at the present moment. We reserved this subject, as between ourselves and Egypt, for future negotiations, but in the meantime the Constitution Committee in Cairo has declared that the King of Egypt is likewise "Sovereign of the Sudan," an assertion that, if accepted, would place H.M. King George in a position inferior to that of King Fuad. Needless to say, it cannot be accepted, and hence the differences which have arisen between the Residency and the Prime Minister. To make matters more difficult, the position of the latter is none too secure. He holds his office on suffrance, or, in other words, he must act up to and command the respect of the Zaghloul Nationalists or he falls as others fell before him. We do not envy him his task: we sympathise with him. But our sympathy cannot go to the extent of admitting that the King of Egypt is "Sovereign of the Sudan." As long as the Union Jack, together with the Egyptian flag, floats between Wadi Halfa and Gondokoro, so long will it be impossible for the British Sudan to submit to any paramount authority other than that of the Rex Britannicæ.

THE SWAZI CHIEF'S RETURN.

After a pleasant three weeks' sojourn in London, made as agreeable as possible to our dusky visitors by all concerned in their welfare, Chief Sobhuza and his advisers left yesterday for South Africa. On Monday last his Majesty graciously received them in audience at Buckingham Palace, and on Thursday the Duke of Devonshire, our Colonial Secretary, gave them an official reply to the various requests submitted. The reply was friendly but negative, and we gather that, though very disappointed, our visitors did not really anticipate a different result, seeing the Government has once again confirmed the decision of the various High Commissioners of South Africa who dealt with the same claims before. We understand these requests on behalf of the Swazi nation may be brought up again later in another form, and can meanwhile only wish Chief Sobhuza and his friends a pleasant and safe journey home to their picturesque mountain lands adjoining the Eastern Transvaal.

Native Nuns.

The "Kokstad Advertiser" states that the recently consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of Mariannhill, Natal, Dr. M. A. Fleischer, has notified the Native people within his sphere that a new order is to be formed therein to be known as the Daughters of St. Francis of Assisi, and will consist of Native nuns who will be engaged in mission work among the people of their own race. All candidates must be between 20 and 30 years of age. No profession can be made unless the lobola question has been satisfactorily settled.

Bishop Fleischer's diocese is a vast one extending from the Durban division to the Basutoland border and including East Griqualand. He recently visited Kokstad and had a public reception. Presumably this will be the first order of Native nuns established in South Africa.

We should like to know more about this interesting development, and we

Native Farmers.

The Association of Native Farmers held its 22nd meeting on the 25th. Nov., 1922 at Madubela's Location, Debe Nek when there was a good attendance despite the fact that the Keiskama River held back all the members on the other side. Mr J. D. Gulwa, Vice Chairman took the chair and opened the proceedings, after a hymn and prayer by Rev. T. P. Mtyobo, with instructive remarks based on quotations from Carlyle, to the effect that blessed is he who has found his call; let him ask for no other blessedness.

He laid stress on the fact that our greatest enemy is the idle man. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and passed.

The Secretary proceeded to make a lengthy report embracing the following subjects: Grain tanks were now available at low prices and that it is wise to save mealies against the weevil. At the suggestion of J. S. Mlonzi, President of the Mt. Frere Native Agricultural Society a Conference of all existing Native Farmers' Associations would be summone next June specially in connectio with the Fort Hare Agricultura Show for the purposes of organisation, of creating close co-operation among the various unions and of stirring up interest in improved methods of cultivation among Natives generally. For those who wished to thrash wheat it was announced that the Machine purchased by the Native Endeavour Association was ready for use. Chief Zibi, the chairman of this meeting, had intimated that he had accepted the next Convention of Native Chiefs and their Councillors to be at Nowazi during January.

A Lecture Tour.

(Concluded)

During his recent visit to the Weslevan Mission Stations in the districts of Herschel, Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., (Lond.), of Fort Hare. Alice, C.P., had occasion to address a special meeting of the Herschel Native Farmers' Association held in the R.M. Office on Monday, the 18th December.

In the course of his address, Professor Jabavu pointed out to the native farmers that the methods of tilling the soil were wrong and far from being up to dete, and, after convincing them that it was owing to these methods that they were always victims to destitution and famine, he, with the constructiveness characteristic of him, gave recipes as to what should be done to the fields in future. After giving the state in which the agriculture of this district is one's earnest consideration, one is bound to come to the conclusion that its successful development depends on the co-operation of the native and European residents of the district, and that the latter by virtue of their superior intelligence ought to give their natives the proper guidance they so much need. It is, therefore, to be hoped that in a matter of vital importance to all sections of the people within the district, as well as to the country at large, the European residents of this district will, in future not adopt the attitude of indifference they have so far shown.



A ROYAL PRINCE OF A LINE AS OLD AS THE PHARAOHS OF EGYPT: HIS HIGHNESS RAS TAFFARI, Prince of Ethiopia, Who Has Introduced European Customs Into His Kingdom, and Has Recently Given His Patronage to a French Exploring Expedition to the Lands Beyond the Nile. (*Times Wide World Photos.*)



THE CROWN PRINCESS OF ETHIOPIA: THE PRINCESS MENENN, Consort of the Prince Ras Taffari, Who Rules the Abyssinian Kingdom Jointly With Waizeru Zauditu, Empress of Ethiopia and Daughter of Menelik II., Under Whose Influence European Manners and Customs Have Been Introduced. (*Times Wide World Photos.*)

Race Problem— 1923.

Aerica

The Paramount Chief Reviews His Court.

A belated report on the progress of the Paramount Chief's High Court reflects creditably on the Paramount Chief's watchfulness and keenness on the subject of reformation in the dispensation of justice at his High Court. He is reported to have demanded from the members of his court, a review of the work accomplished since February last when they assumed office, and to say if there have been any change in the old order of things. This matter was debated as the court was divided into three. Others, particularly the old members of the Court to whom the nominees from the National Council and the Progressive Association were brought as a leavene were of opinion that the position was still as it was before the new members were invited. The second section took a middle course. They held that the procedure of the court was improved, and that concerning appeals and fresh cases considerable progress had been made both in promptness and reasonable application of the law. Their only deterrent was in the case of old outstanding disputes which remained unsatisfied by the old members of the court, and which they, as new members, could not make out the head and the tail of them. They felt that the ever presence of the delinquents of those old cases about the court, reflected badly on the progress of the court. That was the only blot that they wished the old courtiers would make some effort to remove.

The third section of the court said there was progress made and said the delay, if there was any, was caused by the delinquents themselves because in most instances they did not appear at the court at the dates on which they were expected. They, in that way upsetted the arrangements of the court, thereby putting others back who would not have been delayed, had the orders of the court been complied with in all cases.

The above is the summary of the report we received at the end of last month. Although we are not in a position to say who are correct in their judgment we have, however, a glimpse in the affairs of this High Court. Further the members of the court would not be fair judges over their own work but nevertheless the report has left us with the impression that the present members of the court mean business and that the Paramount Chief was contriving to steer his court in the right way.

Now he knows what differences of opinion have his men about his court and the duty of finding out who are right falls upon his shoulders.

A Great Disappointment.

Among the alterations introduced "Says the Imvo," by the Select Committee of the Native Urban Areas Bill, we learn, is one that substitutes the lease of land for ownership.

According to this drastic amendment our people will no longer be entitled to purchase the site on which their improved house stands. This is a concession by the Government to the Dutch of the Orange Free State, but we do not see why the anti-Native policy of the exDutch republic should be brought to bear upon that of the Cape Province and Natal and Transvaal. An exception might have been made here in favour of the other provinces where Natives have always been privileged to buy land. As the Land Act, by the Thompson v. Kama decision, does not apply to the Cape Province it is a moot point whether this restriction will hold good everywhere. In the 1920 Municipal Congress when a paper by F. A. Saunders stirred the country in favour of improved conditions for Natives, the strongest argument used was that the Native inhabitants of a location such as, for instance, the one at East London, cannot take interest in beautifying their houses and environment when they are there unattached to their sites, because they are liable to be evicted any day when their rent becomes overdue; whereas if the owned the land they would be able to take a pride in their security of tenure. Where is this security now under this amendment? It is gone, and we are left exactly where we were before the project of an Urban Areas Bill was introduced. The new handsome buildings in the Bloemfontein Native Township were purchased by their owners under the promise of this security was the real attraction of all Natives to this bill. Now that it is gone our Native fellowmen everywhere will feel a real disappointment and justifiable disgust at the vacillating policy of the Government who have thus violated their faith and sold their cause to the Free State Dutch.

O. F. S. Teachers Conference.

The twentieth annual conference of the O. F. S. Teachers Association met at Ficksburg on the 3rd. inst. About fifty Native Teachers including two European lady teachers had assembled at Ficksburg location Rev. R. H. Daneel of the Dutch Reformed Church Bloemfontein presided. Quite unexpectedly the Rev. B. Huss of Mariannhill, Natal, attended as also a number of visitors from Basutoland.

After the opening ceremonies Mr Daneel read his presidential address which was instructive, powerful and encouraging. He emphasized the need of organisation in order to make the Association strong and powerful and to inspire the teachers spiritually and morally.

It was after the president's a that the Association agreed to its programme in order to make for a lecture or more by Rev. B. whose devotion to the work of he and uplifting the Natives is known, and who had come to F burg specially to attend the ference and to give lectures t teachers, should they so de and was to leave by the next m ing's train to attend the Natal Nat Teachers Conference at Ladysmi where he had also to give lecture His first lecture was on Agriculture o which, he has written a valuable book which is already in circulation, and is useful to those who follow the instructions contained therein.

Rev. B. Huss is small of stature and looks very ordinary. It is these characteristics that add a great deal of interest to his lecture. He delivered an eloquent lecture illustrated with instances of everyday occurrence which are met with by everybody but which are not noticed or are noticed by very few people. He expounded his subject so lucidly that it could be easily understood and closely followed by everybody. He explained how manual work was necessary fo health reasons, and how through physical effort the mind develops; gave a vivid picture of the Native mode of cultivation and described it as an utter waste of the ground. "It too a century for the soil to grow an inch but it took a Native one year to waste that inch," he said. He impressed upon the audience the importance of learning by doing, and demonstrated the Native capacity to do agriculture.

At the conclusion of this interesting and educative lecture the meeting was addressed by Mr. van de Merwe, the Mayor of Ficksburg, in the Dutch language. Among other things the Mayor said he regretted the local European Industrial school was closed for holidays he would ask the teachers to be taken round to see what was done there. He advised the Natives to keep up the traditions of their ancestors, to master their language and to develop in their own lines and not to ape the Europeans. The Town Clerk also made a short but interesting speech and told the audience how sometimes they made promises to the Natives which they did not fulfil but which were made to keep them quiet, how the Natives after waiting for sometime became impetient and voiced their grievances again, and how they would do all that is possible to help Mayor of Ficksburg gave an ox to be again made another promise which them. He had not been long in was again not fulfilled. However he Ficksburg but he however hoped would be pleased to meet the Natives to get in good terms with Natives of the location to discuss any matters of location as he did with the Natives affecting them and to try and see a Theunissen whence he came from. way out of their difficulties. He was told by it will be ascribed to the little acts of the local Native teacher that the kindness they extend to them.

Native Farmers.

The twenty fourth quarterly meeting of the Native Farmers' Association met at Burnshill on the 26th May, 1923, when there was an attendance of nearly a hundred men. The President Chief Shadrach T. Zibi after an absence of twelve months, opened with a grand address of welcome in which he remarked that in all his experience during his absence, he realised that this was the true vigilance association that really guarded the liberties of black men in this country, commanding influence in Government circles, and guiding the Bantu on sound lines with regard to the things that really matter. The reason for his absence was that he had gone to petition the Government for a real home for his people, because ever since the Lands Act of 1913 became law, he had seen from bitter experience that the effect of that law was to bottle up the black man in narrow confines, where he would be unable to find dwelling space for his expansion in the future, and thus be compelled to be a landless servant and serf to European employers. Last year an old forgotten law of 1884 was revived to eliminate from all Native locations men over eighteen years of age and others who owned no field, and compel them to live in separate huts and pay taxes although they possessed no field. The object of this is stated in the Beaumont Commission report as being to coerce the black man to go out of the land and seek labour in European employment. We are to be made a nation of landless servants. All so called Native Reserves must be labour reservoir. There seemed to be a systematic policy to hound out the Native from Crown Land. For instance, the land extending from Peddie to Keiskama Hoek was "granted" to Fingoes in a manner, as indefinite as that which the Devil in the Scriptures offered to Jesus "All this power will I give thee" there being no boundaries nor beacons to bind the giver to anything so that the giver may come when soever he likes, to reclaim it. We see it in Keiskama Hoek area, where the blacks are being driven out and/or to establish a separate Land Bank for Natives. (c) That the Provincial Council be asked to make much as a spade to dig sods to build a hut without a permit from the Location Superintendent! It is to day clear that unless we buy our land for cash, both dwelling and grazing land, our posterity will become helots These remarks proved instructive. The minutes of previous meeting were read and confirmed. The de- tion to the Fort Hare and Lovedale authorities concerning the forthcoming show, gave their report in which he remarked that in all it was passed. The Secretary then gave a detailed explanation about the Winter School enjoining members to send exhibits to the Agricultural Show, and to attend the first Native Agricultural Congress. He showed a specimen of the new book "Incwadi yaba Limi" (The Farmers' Book) which had just been printed at Lovedale embracing art'cles on Native farming by Mr N. A. Mazwai, Dr J. E East and Father Huss and Mr D. D. T. Jabavu for the guidance of Native people It consisted of 144 pages and cost only 1/6 post free. It was a very popular that nearly the whole edition was booked for orders before the printing was completed. The roll was called and active members were found to be 36, the subscriptions realising £2 11/0 making the balance at bank £22 3/6. Pathetic was the fine example of a member, R. Magodla who had sent in his shilling subscription and had since died A sum of two guineas was unanimously voted towards the Imvo Memorial Fund to the late Mr John Tengo Jabavu, at the suggestion of Mr S. Peteni.

Three resolutions were decided upon: (a) That the department of Railways be humbly petitioned to provide waiting room accommodation for Native second class passengers at the Cookhouse Junction in view of the nightly long waits during the cold winter for passengers, especially those going to and from the Native educational centres of St Matthews, Lovedale, Fort Hare and Healdtown. (b) That the Minister for Finance, in view of the promise he had made to Mr Nel on the 8th May to introduce certain amendments to the working of the Land Bank, be requested to open facilities for the use of the Land Bank, to Natives (who are at present debarred by a colour clause)

a yearly grant to this association on the lines of the grants made to European Farmers' Associations. Mr Sol. Tontsi introduced a motion that some co-operation should be formed among the members for the purpose of purchasing Native immovable property such as is sold off under destraint This led to a discussion in which the following participated: Messrs Mabuto, Kwatsha, Sonjica. Mfunda, Gulwa, Manyela, Nkonyeni, Mzimba, Mankazana, Cweba and D. Time. The matter was referred to next meeting.

Chief Zibi, by special request, proceeded to outline his scheme of purchasing certain landed property in the Transvaal and delivered one of the most informative and eloquent addresses, in the Si-Xosa language, ever listened to in the history of the association. A digest of it is given in the vernacular version of these minutes. The object of the scheme is to purchase a certain farm of 14,760 morgen for £22,500, divided between 600 men, each to hold title to 50 acres by payment of £40, half of which is payable by the end of June 1923, the remainder after a further period of eighteen months. The individual allotments comprise 2 acres of dwelling site, 21 acres of cultivated fields and 27 acres of commonage. the treasurer for the enterprise being H. M. Taberer, Esq, Box 1521 Johannesburg. After he address, Mr Jabavu warmly supported the project and read out, to the dismay and disappointment of the gathering, the reply made in Parliament, on the day before, by General Smuts to a question by Mr James Stewart M L A. on the unjust encroachment on Native land perpetrated by the Forest Department in the Keiskama Hoek area, where the Natives were being driven off their pasturage contrary to all the treaty agreements of the 1853 Kaffrarian Ordinance, the Government supporting the unrighteous policy of confiscation in a manner tantamount to a breach of faith and unworthy of the best British tradition. The Government, having failed to prove its case, was riding roughshod, like the Prussian Germans, whom they so loudly deprecated five years ago, on the treaty rights of a subject race, and had openly embarked upon a land-grabbing procedure. If the Native could find no help from the Government in such a case, then the next best thing was to buy land for cash and throw the responsibility for any dissatisfaction thus caussd upon the Government itself.

The office bearers of last year were re-elected and after a few other minor items of proceedings, the next meeting was fixed for August 25th at Gwiligwili.

MISSIONARY TO ORGANIZE INTERRACIAL WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York, N. Y., Aug. 10—The effective constructive work being done in the South under the direction of the Cimmission on Inter-racial Co-operation has so favorably impressed Dr. James Henderson, principal of the Lovedale Institution, South Africa that he has returned home with the intention of organizing a similar Commission whose personnel shall consist of natives and white people interested in South African problems.

For thirty years Dr. Henderson has been engaged in missionary education. His school is the largest in South Africa conducted in the interest of the native youth. After spending seven weeks in the United States studying at close range the educational, economic, social and industrial development of the American Negro he has formed some highly favorable impressions.

The absorbing passion of the American Negro for progress, his intense loyalty to his country and the American flag, the facility with which he speaks the English language, his thirst for education and his strong religious tendencies were among the commendable characteristics to come within the range of Dr. Henderson's observations.

The two things to puzzle him most while in America were: First, the inclination of white America to accord better treatment to the foreigner than to the Negro, although the former comes to these shores as a rule purely for selfish and mercenary reasons; second, the lack of appreciation shown for its leaders by members of the Negro race.

While on his extended tour of observation Dr. Henderson visited other places, Tuskegee and Hampton, also Atlanta, Savannah, Gulfport, Miss., Calhoun, Ala., Glouchester County, Va., King's Mountain N. C. Richmond, Petersburg, Washington, New York and Boston. His itinerary enabled him to study Negro life in both urban and rural communities.

He was first impressed with the great desire of Negroes to own their own homes. Wherever he found landowners he noted progress—good houses, well-furnished homes and decent self-respecting home life. Negroes owning their property aim to send their children to schools and colleges, it having been no uncommon experience for the South African educator to hear of three or more children in a family having graduated from diffeernt institutions of learning.

In the opinion of Dr. Henderson, the system of tenancy without lease affects both white and colored people and is a very serious barrier. The relative progress made in a community as distinguished between owner and enant was most noticeable struck with the progress made by Negroes in Glouchester County, Va., where all but sixteen farmers own their land, have good homes, and are improving the soil.

The keenness displayed by the Negro farmer about agriculture, his extraordinary readiness to learn new methods from Federal and State farm demonstrators were strikingly apparent to the visitor.

Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes came up to Dr. Henderson's expectations. Some phases of their work even exceeded his expectations. He thinks it would be unsound for these two great schools to merely turn out common workers from their respective industrial departments, for the care and thoroughness of the training fits students to go out into the world and serve as "masters" of the trade and not merely ordinary workmen.

The spectacle of Negroes living in elaborately appointed homes and enjoying all modern conveniences was quite an eye-opener to the South African during his tour of inspection in New York, Boston and Washington.

Dr. Henderson is a Scotsman of strong religious convictions. He believes that in God's providence Negro slaves were brought to America hundreds of years ago for a great purpose, and that the American Negro is destined to fill the pages of American history with glorious service to themselves and to the Nation

KING OF ABYSSINIA TOILS WITH PEOPLE

(Crusader Service)

ADDIS ARABA, Abyssinio, Aug. 10.—His Royal Highness Ras Tafari, King of Abyssinia, is not above going to a rock pile and carrying stones to mend a road, and doing so with the humblest of his followers, according to Dr. Thomas Lambie, an American medical missionary.

Dr. Lambie, who recently returned to his field of labor from the United States, declares that he has been an eye-witness many times of the King's co-operation with his people in the most arduous and menial of labors.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

When the delegates of the Native Congress went to Cape Town a few weeks ago to interview General Smuts on the Urban Areas Bill, the Prime Minister described them as mere intellectuals who did not represent all the Natives. The greater mistake was never made by the head of Native Affairs, who is evidently insufficiently informed on the character of the Congress. In the three Northern provinces the Congress is an unrivalled body, commanding the faithful allegiance of all intelligent blacks, men and chiefs. It is in the Cape where its authority is disputed by the Bantu Union. But as it happens, Rev. J. S. Mazwi, one of the leading officers of the Bantu Union, was among the delegates that met the Premier, so that the interviewers were true representatives of all Natives in the Union. Therefore to despise the representations of the delegation categorically as being only those of a group of intellectuals was a capital error, showing that the Premier had spoken without making a close study of Native political organisations.

We agree however, that the document reuter sed abroad as the "Native Bill of Rights" was couched in unduly blatant rhodomontade, unlikely to give a favourable impression upon the authorities. For this, there is a mitigating reason. Native education, so far as it has gone, has produced but a mere handful of Natives with an adequate training in the idiomatic manipulation of the admittedly difficult art of composing the English language. Even among Native Englishmen, it is but a small percentage of the population who are qualified to frame a bill of rights in a manner suitable to its aim, so as to give it force and precision along with modesty and effect. The inadequate literary training most of our people have enjoyed in their secondary institutions, has just been enough to kindle in them an inordinate penchant for the extravagant high faluting phraseology of international diplomacy, [for instance. "economic strangulation," "democratic liberties" and so forth] which does not always fit the case represented.

Some of the Congress delegates have conned this lingo by rote, but cannot be blamed. The lack of proper educational facilities is the fault of the Government, not theirs. The Government is lavish with money spent on European education. This year it has allocated over £130,000 on the six European Agricultural Colleges, but not even £500 towards Native Agricultural training. It maintains more than six Higher Education Colleges, with fabulous grants for Europeans, whilst the solitary Native Higher Education college supplying the needs of the whole Union, has to sing hard to obtain a couple of thousand.

There is therefore no justifiable ground for the complaint voiced by the "Cape Times" against the offensive language by the Congress. While we grant that the "bill of rights" could have been modified in tone, there is no gainsaying that the political liberty for which it pleads, is true and necessary for the good of South Africa.

The Native case in Parliament always suffers because there is no direct representation of the aborigines in it. It is a purely white Parliament, serving first white interests, and only secondarily Native interests. Native affairs are merely the spare time hobby of an overloaded Minister. The so called intellectuals therefore, constitute the nearest approach available for the ascertainment of Native opinion in this country. The unwisdom of their hyperbolic expressions does not in any way take away from the genuineness of the grievances of the millions they represent.

Herschel Teachers

(Paper read by A. Siboto)

Mr chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is but a humble effort to lay before you a few things that are as the saying goes, "the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." The civilisation of [illegible] the Occasional glimpses into the bio-Native people of the present gener- graphies of some of the greatest men ation. Although the observations and women who have ever lived; herein made be based on experience some of them founders of great galaxies of light amongst the Natives institutions which exist for making within this district, I hazard the as- mankind and the world better, have sumption that they are true of convinced me of the truth of this almost all the Natives within the sayings. Almost all of these illus- Union of South Africa. Here are trious men and women have made the things I want you to ponder:— the confession that, were it not

European civilization, with its for the early discipline they were scientifically organised industrial subjected to by their mothers life, born of a keen competition in- whilst yet quite young, they the struggle for existence, is gradu could never have achieved the ally but surely destroying our primi- significant success which to-day tive and communistic life, thus stands to their credit. The sphere causing to exist circumstances of fatherhood is not less impor which compel the native (men, wo- tant than that of motherhood men, young and old) to leave their My reason for laying more homes for the Rand and other emphasis on the latter than labour centres in quest of employ- on the former is that those ment. Whilst there, these poor fulfilling the duties of motherhood people have the vices of civilization have better opportunities than confronting them at every turn their husbands have, of moulding The effect of these vices on their the lives of their own children at moral life is a most deplorable one a formative and most impression- As a rule, most of those who after- able stage of life. Good books wards return to their homes, carry like the "Ikaya" by the Rev. A. back with them vicious habits and E. Edmunds of Palmerton, for notions which, because subversive the guidance of parents and of christianity and morality, corrupt guardians, must be read, and the the lives of the other people, with example set by fathers and mo- the result that the present gener thers of children amongst cul- ation of our people, by thus breaking tured races must be followed loose from controls which had, from Next to the parents, those enga- time to time, preserved the race ged in the teaching profession from demoralisation, is in a state come in for their share of respon- degeneration. Parents, both chris sibility for the children's welfare, tian and heather, are fast losing not only because their occupation guiding influence and control over brings them into contact with their sons and daughters. This is the children at a tender and im- illustrated by the following facts:— pressionable stage of life, but also

(a) Most of the young people of because the schools are the our days do not show respect to the places where the children get older people as in the days of old their best equipment for life. when seniority of age was much Teachers act the sacred part of venerated. guides to the mental and moral

(b) There is, amongst our people life of the children. As the most of the present generation, a great unerring imitators are generally deal of impurity which is directly found amongst the young, great responsible for the presence of care should be taken to make illegitimate children, the number of sure that anything that may lay which is fast increasing. hold of this side of the children's

(c) There are amusements of nature, as a result of the teacher's doubtful nature indulged in by our influence, must have no other young people. These amusements, effect but that of making them unless they are carefully watched better men and women, and I be- with a view to their discouragement lieve that the secret of success to will be a source of much evil. this end lies in prayerfulness and

A great deal of counter activity sustained self-culture on the is required to combat these evils part of the teacher. and, amongst the forces that can win in any struggle against them, the women of the race come first, for.

BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION
1924.

It may be unknown to many interested in the study of Bantu life that an ethnological exhibit portraying native life and crafts, is to be included in the South African Section of the British Empire Exhibition next year.

It is proposed that the representation should take the form of a composite Native Village laid out after the fashion of a Chief's "Royal Kraal." Each section or "Lapa" "Kaya" of the Kraal to represent one of the prominent tribes of the Union. For instance the Zulu, Bapedi, Bakgatle, Bavenda, Shangaan, Pondo or Tembu, and if possible the Ovampo of South West Africa. Within each "Lapa" or "Kaya" will be shown all handiwork, domestic appurtenances, etc, pertaining to the particular tribe it represents. A complete display of such articles will at once give to one a fairly good idea of the life and attainments of the tribe. Besides the tribal, it is proposed also to have the following sections:—

Inter-tribal, containing articles of common use amongst the Bantu.

Mystic, containing articles of tribal superstition, animism, phallism, tribal totems and so forth.

Then as a contrast there will be a modern section, showing the handiwork of Natives who have benefited by the labours of missionaries and by contact with European civilisation.

The Department of Native Affairs has undertaken to organise the representation, and any one interested with suggestions to offer or willing to lend articles of native make, should get into touch with Major C. L. Harries, Native Commissioner, Potgietersrust, Transvaal who has charge of the work, or with Mr I. Bud Mbelle of the Native Affairs Department, Pretoria.

All interested are cordially invited to co-operate.

Correspondence.

Native Councils.

"Backvelder" writes us thus:—

Sir—,In your leader of the 24th April headed "Wanted a Native Policy," appears the following:—

"The Act of 1920 establishing the Native councils is as dead as Queen Anne. The so-called Cis-kei Commissioner has done nothing to bring it into practical politics. On the contrary his occasional excursions among the Native headmen have accentuated division, to split the people into "educated and uneducated" persons, and to lessen the general faith in the good intentions of the Government."

This is both interesting and disappointing; interesting as it shows that your are naturally and rightly disappointed at the Government not going on with the Native Affairs Act which filled the Natives with bright hopes, and which partially arrested the bitter feeling of distrust on the part of the Natives towards the Government and the European public; disappointing—because it shows you do not appear to be aware of the great part you played in materially helping the opponents of the Act in their obstruction policy.

In September last, you stated in your leader something to the effect that, you, as a leader, particularly of the educated Natives of the King William's Town District, were not at all prepared to accept the council system contemplated in the Act, unless and until certain emendments desired by you were made to the Act, and that you would sooner have no council at all than accept the Act as it at present stands. This most uncompromising attitude, I consider, was and is highly unwise, and is a serious blunder on your part as a leader of your position. I quite appreciate your honesty about the matter, but your judgment was wrong and ill considered. You gave little or no thought as to what damaging effect would be brought about by such hasty announcement on so great and important a matter. Apart from the attitude taken by the "uneducated section of the Natives" you have greatly strengthened the position of the Europeans who would not like to see any progress made by the Natives under this Act Personally, I think, the Government is, in a great measure, justified in being so slow in establishing Native Councils, for, taking the matter as a whole, no one can doubt that in passing this Act the Government was trying to meet the Natives at least halfway. In doing so the Government found itself up against three different opposing groups, namely: the uneducated section of the Natives; a great number of influential Europeans: and most important of all—the educated section of the Natives led by you. According to the Imvo leader of September referred to, your chief ground on which you base your objection is that under the Act an unmarried men would be taxed. Quite a minor detail compared with the very liberal principle of local self government offered us by the Act. Further, it would appear you had forgotten that any such tax would be expended by the Natives themselves in their own matters of that particular area. You have thus shown us that you are prepared—and you actually advise the Natives to forego the entire long sought for principle because of such a petty and minor detail.

Many of us believe that the Act, like any other law, has its defects and, probably flaws, but, on the other hand we are strongly of opinion that we should accept the council system as offered us under the Act, give it a fair trial, its judicious administration would reveal its defects, and then we would seek to effect some amendments to it which would remove such defects.

That great majority of the educated or enlightened Natives throughout the Union—outside King William's Town District—is, I am afraid, against your views in this matter.

I do not think it is through "menacing language" that Dr Abdurahman, the leader of the coloured and Malay community is always successful in getting better terms from those in authority. The secret of Dr Abdurahman's success is that he studies the wishes of his people confers with his colleagues—the other leaders, and then makes his demands and representations; having the full mandate from the people he represents, and their full-hearted and solid support. Needless to say that it is not the way our leaders go about their business as leaders No blame attaches to the people. The fault is with the supposed leaders who are quite out of touch with the people.

In the matter of the council system under the Native Affairs Act, a great principle is involved That enlightened people appreciate the good intentions of the Government" to meet our claims, though not wholly, at least half way; but you, a responsible leader in your community, tell the world through your paper that, the Native Affairs Act is wholly unacceptable to the Natives and will not be accepted by them until it embodies the minor details desired by you.

I do not for a moment say that you, as a leader, are not entitled to give your own personal views in any public matter. But, it is when we find that the Natives intelligent opinion is being smothered by our leaders who have command of the Native press for their own personal ends that we feel like breaking the fence in order to make our views known. Generally speaking, our leaders have abused the responsibility placed upon them by the people, they have taken advantage of the ignorance of our people and of the easy means they have with which they can effectively make themselves felt and heard, and have become out and out political autocrats, adopting the "when I begin to speak let no dog bark" tactics. In their Congresses and various Unions, it is simply common practice to see them formed into cliques, dominating the situation, lording over the others and forcing resolutions typically their own. We are, however, living in a democratic age.. The leaders must, in order to carry weight and sustain their dignity, study the interests of the people in all matters of public importance.

Of all our leading men, I know two who appear to have given the question of the Native Affairs Act a very careful study. They are, Chief Shad. Zibi and Mr Selby Msimang. These men have as leaders. one rare quality, and that is, I have never known them to allow their judgment to be influenced by any outside prejudices and agencies, such as seeking cheap popularity, either from the public or from members of their Congress or Union; fear of losing support; etc., etc. They give us what they consider is the best for our people, and they do so tactfully and after cool and calm judgment. They know how and when to do it. It is their honesty, tact, open-mindedness, their wide and varied experience in Native affairs administration, that has made them command such powerful influence over their people. It is to them I appeal to use their influence to bring about the successful administration of this Act. We look upon them as the leaders of those who want the Act. given a fair trial. It is now quite three years the Act. was passed, and, to our bitter disappointment, not a single Native Council has as yet been established under the Act. Probably, as usual, we shall soon have meetings and general conferences with officials and Commission. We rely on men like Chief Zibi, Mr. Msimang, and give us chance and full opportunity to show what we. as citizens and a race can do. We want to use the little opportunity given us under the Act. and then we shall ask for some more responsibility. All the Congress-Union and journalistic oration void of practical deeds will not help our people in any way whatever. I appeal to all, let us use our little education, our sense, and work for the good of our people.

I am. etc.

BACKVELDER.

[The logic of "Backvelder" is self-destructive. He credits us with being leaders of educated Native opinion and at the same time asserts that the majority of educated Natives is against our views. This is inconsistent His statements are historically incorrect, betraying either a spasmodic or unintelligent reading of Imvo. The criticisms of Act 23 of 1920 originated from accredited representatives of Natives (including his idol Chief Zibi) from the districts of King Williams Town, Middledrift, Ncwazi and Keiskama Hoek) who issued these in the form of a request to the Native Affairs Commission and the Government in November, 1921, a copy of same being published in this journal. "Backvelder" apparently is ignorant of this or wilfully blind, for he wrongly ascribes the genesis of the criticisms to us in "September last" (1922). We are not vain enough to imagine that the Government acts always according to our opinion as expressed in this journal for we have only too many instances to the contrary, some very recently. The homily on Dr. Abdurahman whom we respect as highly as Chief Zibi and Mr. Selby Msimang is useful but the comparisons drawn by our correspondent are doubtful for the leaders of the Native Congress and the Bantu Union are constitutional representatives of their people, whatever be their faults against which personal acrimony and fulmination is here directed and into which we do not care to enter. On our part we yield to none in our desire to see the Native Councils established but we do not believe such a desire precludes us from criticising details which are bound to react unjustly on our people. On that point we agree to differ from "Backvelder" who is obtuse enough to accept the Act without criticism today but whose wisdom was somehow unavailable when it was required in 1921. The failure or dilatoriness of the authorities to reply to the criticisms, call representative conferences of Natives on this Act and to carry it out must, we fear, still be laid at the door of the Government and the Cis-kei Commissioner whom "Backvelder" has failed to justify. —Ed.]

AFRIC MAID MODESTER

WHITE WOMAN MISSIONARY SAYS NATIVE AFRICAN WOMEN MORE MODEST THAN WHITE WOMEN OF U. S. A.

Chicago, June 12, 1923.—The African Sheiks are more modest than American girls, in the opinion of Mrs Rose Rosenhart, who recently returned to the states from Sierra Leone, West Africa.

"The African women wear clothes that 'cover up'," Mrs. Rosehart explained, "and are much more modest than young American women."

The flappers of Africa, which species are rare, according to Mrs. Rosehart, use blue paste instead of rouge Mrs. Rosehart is a missionary and was stationed in West Africa the last six years.

Race Problem — 1923

Africa

The Congress Resolutions.

The Argus

We crave no apology in reproducing the views expressed by Prof. D D T. Jabavu in a letter to the East London "Daily Dispatch" on the above resolutions, as we feel sure they represent the views of all sane Native leaders as well as thinking Europeans who have our interests at heart. The letter reads:

Kingwilliamstown

"Mr R W. Rose Innes, a life long friend of the Natives, has, through the medium of your influential journal (issue 17th u't), thrown a challenge to all Natives to repudiate the resolutions as published by Reuter from the African (Native) Congress sitting at Bloemfontein on Monday, 9th instant. The European press generally has also deplored these resolutions as harmful and disloyal, even challenging the claim of the African Congress to speak in the name of all Natives in the land.

7-31-23

Picking up the gauntlet and speaking for myself I would like to point out to our respected friend and protagonist Mr. Rose Innes and the European press that not all Natives can subscribe to all the seven points raised in these resolutions, for one of them at least is palpably at variance with true fact. Some points there are, however, which correctly reflect the feeling of the moderate educated section of our people, and also that of the more reasonable and friendly Europeans.

This being the case a categorical repudiation of all the resolutions is clearly impossible, whilst equally impossible is a whole hogging support thereof

The seven points raised are these:—

1.—Non confidence in General Smuts as Minister for Native Affairs.

2.—The desirability of a separate and whole time Minister for Native Affairs.

3.—The treatment by Great Britain of treaties with the Bantu as contracts of no value.

4.—The non-interference of Great Britain in Dominion affairs and the hardship of this on subject races.

5.—The advisability of supporting a republican government.

6.—Disappointment at the dismissal of Mr. Edward Barrett from the Secretaryship of Native Affairs.

7.—The protest against the appointment of the present Secretary for Native Affairs.

That, I think is a fair summary of the points raised.

Now, let us examine these briefly as they come.

(1) With reference to the first, we must take it for granted that all Natives who read newspapers have lost confidence in General Smuts as Minister for Native Affairs. It would be idle to deny this patent fact. But as to whether they possess justifiable grounds in losing faith in him is another matter capable of discussion on its own merits.

There are at least four reasons for his unpopularity: [a] He is quite unfamiliar with Native life [illegible] this by misstatements on Native matters in Parliament witness his reply on the Koiskama Hoek grazing question when questioned by Mr Stewart). [b.] In all his travels he studiously avoids addressing Natives, for instance last year in Natal when he held many meetings with Europeans. Possibly he is too busy; but the charge remains against him as head of Native Affairs. [c.] His concealment from the public, of the full evidence of witnesses in the Bondelzwarts Rebellion Commission has created justifiable suspicion even abroad. We need not labour this. [d] His denial of the right of ownership to Natives of land sites under the new Urban Areas Act against overwhelming evidence in favour of its desirability (See the First Report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs, April, 1923), sounded the death-knell of Native confidence in him All Natives are bitterly disappointed

(2) The second point needs no elaboration, for the whole country, including Parliament itself, has been convinced by hard experience that a separate and whole time Minister for Native Affairs is now an urgent necessity.

(3) That "Great Britain has treated ALL treaties, promises and pledges made with and to the Bantu people as contracts of no value" is not susceptible of proof. For some certainly have been dishonoured but not ALL. For example the pledges with the Crown Protectorates of Bechuana land and Basuto land are still honoured by Great Britain. So that we have a clear case of exaggeration here which we, at any rate, cannot support.

This however, does not mean that Great Britain is sinless, much less South Africa with its policy of land grabbing at the expense of igoorant Natives by Town Council's, Divisional Councils and the Forest Department as we see in Fort Beaufort, Peddie, Keiskama Hoek and many other places throughout the country, places definitely promised protection in historical records now ignored as of no value.

A real sore grievance here has been obfuscated by overstatement and extravagance of language on the part of the African Congress The grievance, nevertheless, remains a grievance.

(4) The principle of non intervention by Great Britain in dominion matters is vigorously defended by Mr. Rose Innes who in his righteous indignation has gone to the other extreme as a rabid Imperialist:—"This is, and must be an unequal world. But the interests of the European come first in the Union of South Africa."

This is just where the shoe pinches for (except for the Cape franchise) the Native is taxed without representation by a white parliament manned by white men, pledged primarily to guard the interests of the white men and only secondarily, often accidentally, those of the black man. True, we have quite a number of friendly white men in the House of Assembly and all the Bantu are grateful to them for the stand they frequently make in defence of their cause; but that does not alter the argument that black men are not directly nor personally represented in a parliament that has appropriated six million pounds from its general funds to help land buyers but restricting the right of obtaining a loan therefrom only to "a white man with a white wife"! We Cape blacks can quite afford to write and speak with moderation in such things for our Province is the home of the best white element, the cream of Englishmen in our happy towns of Kimberley, East London, Cape Town, and so on. The picture is a totally different one in the Transvaal and O.F.S. the unhappy home of most of the African Congress delegates who cannot afford to speak moderately against their immediate Lord and Master without retaliation the unsympathetic treatment of their superiors with no Appeal tribunal but their own taskmasters. In their case reference to England provided a refuge and asylum because what passes for justice in South Africa is not necessarily justice in England

Now Mr Rose-Innes rejoices and [illegible] reference from Downing Street and Exeter Hall are things of the past." His comparison of the Native deputation with General Hertzog's Nationalist deputation for a republic is a mere *petitio principii*; because Hertzog and his fellow Boers after being defeated in the 1900 war were granted absolute equality of liberty with their conquerors and to day overwhelm Englishmen everywhere in governing this country, filling all important public posts and speaking Dutch all day long in the House of Assembly at Cape Town. Their republican propaganda is a piece of mental abberation unworthy of a favoured European civilised race. Here it is the voteless, voiceless hapless Native of the Orange Free State who has reason on his side in yearning for overseas protection against un British treatment. Mr. Rose Innes living in halcyon King Williamstown is not quite in a position to enter into the feelings of the unfortunate African Congress men who must endure without murmur life-long insults in, say, Zeerast, as a curse of their black skin.

(5) To support the Nationalist republican movement can have no practical meaning for the Transvaal Natives for they have no vote. A *fortiori* they are less disloyal for expressing such a disloyal sentiment than their Dutch masters who constitute a great portion of Parliament where they formally swear the oath of loyalty but proceed to bandy their disloyalty throughout the country with impunity. "Physician heal thyself"!

Two wrongs, however, do not make one right, and the republican movement cannot absolve the Native from disloyalty. But it does serve to show their degree of desperation. Think of the miserable educated Native in, say, Heidelberg daily told off from the pavement in the land of his birth and snarled at as an outcast, exacerbated by humiliating Pass Laws.

This proposal was probably meant to influence the Cape Native Voter, but the latter's answer is the recent Uitenhage by-election; for while the government is unpopular (for reasons shown under the first point) it is equally clear that the Cape Native voters are not all desperate enough to jump from the frying pan into the fire. So that under this head the Congress naturally voices sentiment only of the Natives exasperated by the oppression of their Provinces. They feel they have nothing to lose by a restoration of the republics. We in the Cape have everything to lose. We have never desired a Dutch republic nor do we desire it now. What we desire is British justice instead of South African justice.

(6) The grounds for the dismissal of Mr. Edward Barrett, a man with real sympathy for the Natives, are a mystery to us. Hence, we are not satisfied with the manner in which he has been withdrawn from our services.

(7) The replacement of Mr. Barrett by a man previously identified with the bureaucracy of the Bondelzwarts, even granting he was not personally responsible for the events there, is at best a doubtful policy which can only be justified by future results. Here, the Congress correctly represents articulate Native opinion.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, one may say that while much harm will be done to the Native

cause by the flamboyant language of these resolutions, we must concede that among the more intelligent sections they have served to arouse the public once more on the serious matters that agitate the minds and hearts of an awakened subject race and will set them a-thinking more and more on the ways and means of securing a more enlightened policy for the better government of the Bantu people of South Africa.—I am etc., D.D.T.J.

O.F.S. Teachers' Conference.

Basutoland Star 8-3-23

It also means the careful management of resources so as to get the best out of them. Our resources are money, ability, energy and time. In the use of money we practise frugality or use it sparingly, to stretch a penny to its utmost capacity, and to use it not more than necessary; thrift or use it wisely; and saving or spend it wisely. Ability, labour, energy and time are also factors which can be used in such a profitable way as to get a maximum profit from them. Time is money says the whiteman and he is right, because by making a good use of your time you can increase the money which you earn.

By economics we also understand the science of the production of wealth, its acquisition, circulation, exchange, distribution and consumption or active use and ultimate destruction. Wealth is the product of nature and labour. Nature is the father, labour the mother and wealth or capital is the child. By nature we mean all raw materials treasures and forces existing on our globe, chiefly in the soil. Labour is the energy which man applies in order to make use of or exchange the gifts of nature so as to suit his plans. The combination of these two great factors produces all those goods which we call Capital and Wealth.

Economic efficiency means the ability or power to procure all things or goods necessary for sustaining our life in this world We can distinguish three degrees of economic efficiency.

(a) The lowest degree or the minimum which must be required from every ordinary, healthy and able-bodied human being is to become economically independent of others or self—supporting, that means every one must learn to get his living, his daily bread.

(b) Over and above that man must also become able or efficient to return to society an equivalent or the same amount of what he got whilst undergoing the process of becoming self-supporting. During all that time he got a great deal from other people or society. and he is expected to return at least the same amount again to other people or society.

(c) The third and highest degree for every man is that he also contributes his share of further development and progress, or everybody should try to make the world a better place than he found it.

A child who does not become self supporting will be a social parasite a dependent, and is in danger of becoming a criminal. Parasitism is a state caused by avoidence of effort. The child cannot make efforts at once. He must be supported for a long time, but the aim of this long support is not to let him escape future effort, but to let him develop, grow and become strong.

All what the child does whilst under education, all playing, learning, doing and working must aim at development or growth. If a child works only for present needs, disregarding the effect of such work on his later life, then his development is arrested and his ultimate efficiency will suffer. Such is the case when young children are sent to factories to do monotonous work for a wage, or when children of school age are sent to work as kitchen boys or nurses.

The child must not too soon become self-supporting. A good foundation of a healthy body and an efficient mind is necessary. It is therefore a grave mistake if children are over worked to the detriment of their health and if they do not get the necessary minimum of an elementary or primery education.

Economic independence is gained step by step through effort, exertion and overcoming of obstacles. Every child must go through a long series of efforts. There is a great danger that rich parents are tempted to spare their children this trouble and make life too easy for them. Such children will be ill equipped for the battle of life.

The child must also learn to consider himself as a social unit, as a member of a group, and not as standing quite alone for himself. He cannot become independent except in combination with his fellowmen. His individual motives must be socialised. An American writer says: "Never before have people felt so strongly that social need rather than personal profit should be the stimulus behind production."

We learn to understand our economic relation to society, or what we get from society and what we have to give or to return to society.

We are enabled to understand better the history and the meaning of the various institutions and practices affecting our income and expenditure (money, wages, prices etc.)

The common facts of our daily life become more interesting because we understand them far better. We learn to live well and our efficiency as members of society is increased, we are enabled to do more for other people.

Common people are prevented from being exploited and plundered through their ignorance. Natives know only too well that this happens often. There is also a great tendency found amongst ignorant people of all races, colours, places and times. Sound knowledge of economics will effectively counteract this tendency.

It also helps us to get the best out of our resources; we learn to do much with little, whereas many people do only little although they have large resources.

We learn our limitations and are prevented from dangerous steps and uncertain speculations.

We learn habits of thrift and carefulness in little things. It is really astounding what big amount of money Natives are losing continually through their habit of carelessness in little things The whole Native race needs a sound education and thorough effective training in the good and highly useful habit of being careful in little things.

Knowledge reduces poverty and its consequences: disease and crime.

Education in economics can also help to promote good will and peace between individuals (master and servant) classes (Capital and Labour) races (White and Black).

Study and knowledge will decide the results of economic pressure. A change must be effected carefully and judiciously using existing conditions. Such a process is one of evolution and is the natural process. Revolution is a quick process and consists in the blind upsetting of existing conditions. It is an unnatural process, causing misery, ruin and destruction.

The aim of education is the prosperity of the nation. But no nation can become prosperous or rich if it does not want, if it has no strong desire. As a whole any nation becomes quite naturally and in the long run as rich as it resolutely makes up its mind to be. But the nation is an aggregate of units. The prosperity of the whole depends on the economic efficiency of the individual. Every one who aims at such efficiency is working for the welfare of the whole Native race.

The training of Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes and other agricultural and industrial schools for the American Negros has produced Agents and Teachers who go out into life persuaded that the fate of the race depends primarily on improved economic efficiency.

—Mochochonono—

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Liberia.

LATEST NEWS-LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, August 4.

Matters and things in the Republic are fast getting to the normal. There is some dullness in regard to money matters, and a consequent experience of hard times on the part of many of the citizens and small traders, but no serious alarm is felt, for it is recognised that at this season of the year this scarcity of money is usually felt. This is due principally to the fact that those who are producers of trading commodities are at this time busy with their rice farms, but after this has been gathered, trade will revive and the money situation will improve.

In some quarters considerable anxiety has been felt that the recent revival and consequent operation of the Port and Harbour Dues Act, by the last session of the Legislature, would affect adversely the shipping of the country; but these fears so far seem groundless. We have been having steamers calling regularly, and the shipping has not been in any way interfered with.

It is to be regretted that the local merchants do not wait to see a law in operation before they begin to launch a propaganda against it among certain classes of the population. It should be remembered that the men who frame the laws are men of discretion and thought, and have far more interest in the welfare of the country than the itinerant trader, and therefore would do nothing to militate against its interests in any way. The sooner our good friends rid themselves of the idea that all legislation must have their individual well being, or the welfare of any particular business in mind, no matter how extensive that business may be, the better it will be for them.

The Germans are competing for the supremacy in the trade with English firms. With their characteristic business "push" and energy, they are extending and enlarging their places of business, and in every way catering for the wants of buyers. The English firms here are holding their own, and on the whole there is quite a good volume of business going on.

The twenty-sixth of July, Liberia's Natal Day, has come and gone. It marked the seventy-sixth anniversary of her independence. The celebrations in the city were very inspiring, the oration being delivered by the Hon. Arthur Barclay, Ex-President of Liberia, who gave a very graphic account of Liberia's efforts at nation-building for sixty years. One feature of the celebration was the presence of a considerable number of white foreigners, representing the English, American, French, Dutch, and Germans. All seemed deeply interested in the interesting recital of Liberia's history, which was given in a clear and lucid manner.

It is a cause of congratulation to Liberia that in the short space of 75 years the country has been able to make such progress as it has. True, the country has not measured up to the standard our European and American friends have for us, but it must be remembered that such a standard was set without any reference to the conditions prevailing when the country was founded, and the troubles, internal and external, she has had to encounter. It must be remembered, too, that most of the troubles that have befallen Liberia have been brought about not by Liberia, but by her neighbours, whose demands when not furnished a pivot from which another fresh demand could be made. Happily, the country has overcome them, and now there is not that feeling of fear extant that these questions will be reopened in the near future, if at all.

The statesmanship of Liberia has faithfully done its part in formulating a policy that tends to a settlement of the boundary questions that had for such a time vexed the nation, and these foreign and domestic questions being now at rest to adjust itself to the carrying out of a policy of development of the resources of the country and the making of roads, so essentially necessary thereto.

In honour of the celebration, President and Mrs. King entertained at dinner on Friday, July 27, the Cabinet, foreign representatives, Supreme Court, ex-Presidents of Liberia, the Acting General Receiver of Customs, and the manager of the Bank of British West Africa, with their wives. It was a most brilliant affair, and proved a very pleasant and interesting occasion. The President proposed a toast to the health of the Cabinet in felicitous terms, and Secretary of State Barclay responded in happy vein. The health of the foreign representatives was next proposed, and the American Minister, Dr. Solomon P. Hood, responded on their behalf. Associate Justice Johnson responded to the toast on behalf of the Judiciary. Both Ex-Presidents Barclay and Howard made excellent speeches, and pledged continued loyalty to the administration. The Monrovia Brass Band was in attendance, and rendered exquisite music, and the whole affair was a decided success. The local Girl Guides served the guests in a most pleasing and acceptable manner.

On the whole there is no cause for complaint. The present administration of affairs is in the main satisfactory, and is doing all that can be done under the present circum-

Self-Determination.

"One word more," writes the correspondent. "The population of Nigeria contains many and diverse races. Like Chinese and ourselves are not further apart in racial characteristics than are some of the inhabitants in Nigeria. On the coast there are a sprinkling of educated natives who claim to represent Nigeria as a whole, and who for some time past have been agitating for the application of President Wilson's explosive policy of 'Self-determination.' The claims of these people to those who know Nigeria are absurd on the face of it, but speeches such as that of the Governor of the Niger Company provide these agitators with a longer lever and a more secure fulcrum."

JOINT EAST AFRICAN BOARD.

Sir Sydney Henn the First Chairman.

Details of Constitution.

We have received a copy of the Constitution of the Joint East African Board for promoting the agricultural, commercial, and industrial development of Kenya, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar, in which the following articles are enumerated:—

1. The board shall consist for the time being of not more than eight persons (exclusive of the chairman) resident in Great Britain, chosen to represent those who are engaged in the active economic and industrial development of any of the five territories.

2. The board shall nominate an independent chairman, who shall be subject to annual re-election by the board at its first meeting after the annual general meeting in each year.

3. The first members of the board shall be Lord Cranworth, M.C., General Sir John Davidson, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., M.P., Major E. S. Grogan, D.S.O., Major Sir E. Humphrey Leggett, R.E., D.S.O., C. Ponsonby, Esq., A. Wigglesworth, Esq., and Sir Trevredyn Wynne, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., and the first chairman shall be Sir Sydney Henn. The board thus constituted shall have power to complete their number or to fill any vacancies that may occur during their term of office by co-opting suitable members. Any nominations thus effected shall be submitted for approval at the first annual general meeting of subscribers in 1924.

4. Two members of the board, chosen by lot if necessary, shall retire annually by rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election at the annual general meeting of subscribers. Any vacancies occurring between the dates of one annual general meeting and another shall be filled by the board, but any nomination thus effected shall be submitted for approval at the next annual general meeting of subscribers, and shall stand in lieu of the retirement of a member whose turn it may be to offer himself for re-election.

5. The board shall be assisted by a council composed of persons who shall be invited from time to time to accept nomination by the board on account of their special qualifications or for their knowledge of East African affairs. Their number shall not be limited.

6. Members of the Council will not sit as a separate body, but shall have the right to attend all meetings of the board, and for this purpose will receive copies of agenda and minutes. They shall not be entitled to vote, but they shall have all the other privileges of members of the board.

7. Every person, firm, company, corporation, or association interested in East Africa shall be invited to become a subscriber to the Joint East African Board, and shall have the right to attend in person or by delegation at an annual general meeting to be convened as soon as convenient after June 30 in each year.

8. At the annual general meeting of subscribers the board shall present a report upon the year's proceedings and a statement of accounts for the approval of subscribers.

Native Labour on the Rand.

There is a shortage of some 15,000 natives on the Rand, with the consequence that many of the mines are not working to that capacity which is justified by their technical positions. The Transvaal Chamber of Mines attributes the shortage to the action of the Union Government in restricting recruiting on the East Coast, while the Minister of Mines is reported to have retorted that the blame for the present condition is entirely due to the action of the mines in sending natives home during the strike period. The argument, however, is inconclusive unless the reasons which occasioned this action can find another explanation than the feebleness of the authorities in maintaining law and order during the earlier stages of the labour troubles. The mines kept their native staffs in idleness for many weeks, while murders and outrages innumerable took place in consequence of the totally inadequate protection which was afforded to mine officials and the properties of the companies. It is little wonder that a movement sprang up among the natives to get home, nor that the companies during the hesitancy of the authorities to restore good government did not refuse permission to get away from the troubles. It may be that these retirements have hindered volunteering, but, if so, the effects would have been long ago got rid of had the Government permitted free recruiting in Mozambique. In order, however, to put pressure on the Portuguese authorities to accept the proposals of Sir William Hoy for the future control of Delagoa Bay, recruiting on the East Coast was practically forbidden. The restriction was imposed on the plea that work should be provided on the mines for natives in the Union in preference to those from outside—a flimsy excuse, seeing that such employment would be refused by Union natives or coloured workers owing to the colour bar which exists in the Transvaal. Even were the latter non-existent, the mines could not have afforded the wages required to attract the better class of labour resident in the country.

W. INGRAM-LYON

A move in the right direction is that reported of the African Government of Egbaland deciding in future to employ a trained Lawyer to preside over the Senior Court of Egbaland. The conditions in Egbaland are more or less the same as in the Gold Coast where Native Law and Custom are administered in the African Courts by the Chiefs. It appears, however, that in the Senior Court it had been found expedient, marching with the times, to employ a well educated African to preside. A further advance has now been made of adopting the choice of a trained lawyer for the work. This, as we have said, is a move in the right direction. In India the Asiatic States and Princes have their own Courts presided over by trained Lawyers as Judges. It is the natural line of progress, which we are pleased to note adopted for the first time in British West Africa. We commend the idea to our own progressive Gold Coast Chiefs as likely to make their Courts more attractive and command the greater confidence.

BELOW IS THE SPEECH OF MR. CASELY HAYFORD REFERRED TO IN OUR EDITORIAL NOTES.

Gold Coast Leader

Gã Manche, Paramount Chiefs, Chiefs and people here assembled: I came here by invitation, and my intention was merely to listen and to learn. I did not intend to have attended all the meetings up to this, but I felt so interested in them and there was so much to learn that I have not missed a single meeting up to now. The first thing that struck me was this, that all the people of the Gold Coast are one. I have observed at these meetings the same ceremonies, the same customs, the same dignity that are observable at the meetings of the Fanti Chiefs at Cape Coast with the other Chiefs of the country. One important note that has been struck is that of unity. It has been noted by every speaker almost at these meetings. It has been emphasized, and it is desirable that it should be emphasized. The Gã Manche told us that at one time the English, our present rulers, were in single states one Chief here and another Chief there. They combined together, and now they have the Union Jack that rules over almost one-half of all the world. He told us that Germany was at one time a number of petty states. Bismarck came and made all one concrete solid state. The great nation of America to-day was at one time divided—the North was divided from the South. The wise men among them said, we do not believe in division but unity. They came together, united, and became the United States of America, and now they practically rule the world with their finance. We must not think that there will not be domestic differences. Twins from the same womb quarrel, and our people have got a parable to the effect that, if you have got a quarrel with your brother and a stranger knocks him down your bowels yearn. While we are trying to come together as a people there are others who are trying to divide us in order to rule us. Now the other day the whole country joined together and settled the question of the Native Jurisdiction Bill when they put forth certain views which were to be laid before the Government. They sent Counsel to the Legislative Council to represent their views. Every African Member of that Council supported by some of the European Members, thought that the views that were urged against the Bill were sound. The result was the Bill was withdrawn. Now what has happened since? We hear that individual Chiefs are being approached upon the same question, and I have heard it said in the Central Province that there are some Chiefs who said that the old proposed Bill was all right. Now the question arises, how is it that after all the Chiefs of the Country have come together and decided on one point they should attempt to go to them again one by one and ask them individually their views? There can be no other reason except it be the intention to divide and rule them. Hence the importance of the more they seek to divide and rule us, the more we come together in order to prevent them. Now the part of the country where I live principally we have got a river called the Prah. Now the Prah at its source, where it starts to flow, is a small tiny river. As it flows down the Offin river, the Huni river, and other rivers join, and when you see it rushing down Chama way in its majesty, it is one of the greatest wonders of nature. The giant trees of the forest are borne down helplessly. Now I liken this to the Aborigines Society of which the James Town Manche has spoken this morning. By itself it is like the Prah at its source. But when, not only the Chiefs of the Central Province, but those of the Western and those of the Eastern combine and join together towards the sea it becomes a great majestic thing of wonder. It may bear down all injustice, all misrule, and all the troubles that we may have to complain of. Therefore I heartily second the proposition of the Gã Manche that the Eastern and Central and Western Provinces should be one with this Society. It has done great work in the past, and it is capable of doing yet greater work in the future. Now we have been discussing a good many important subjects on this occasion-Cocoa Legislation, Forestry Legislation, Primary Education and various other matters and we have also discussed the question of Elective Representation. Supposing all of us in the Gold Coast are of one mind, and we send our own representatives to the Council, what will happen? It can have one constitutional result, namely, that the will of the people, that is to say, of our Amanhin, Chiefs and their people, as regards Cocoa Legislation, Forestry, Primary Education will win constitutionally. Therefore, I urge upon you that if by the time Mr. Ormsby Gore comes into this Colony Elective Representation has not been granted it should form one of the subjects which should be placed before him. Now I have nearly done, but let me touch again upon the one great and important thing, unity. Now supposing when Mr. Ormsby-Gore came out as representative of His Majesty the King, and all our Amanhin and subjects sat in their own towns and no one moved, and the Governor took Mr. Ormsby-Gore to the Gã Manche separately by himself and said, what do you want me to do for you? And did so round all the Chiefs of the country, and one Chief told him one thing and another Chief told him another, what would be the result? He would come to the conclusion that these people are no good. But supposing when he came, not only our Paramount Chiefs here assembled this morning in their dignity, but all the Paramount Chiefs of the Central and Western Provinces also in their state and dignity met him altogether, what would be the impression? And their word was one, and they said "this soil is our own God given soil, here we are, here we remain, we will have it as our own forever. There have been attempts in the past to try and take the land from us and make it Crown lands. We have resisted constitutionally," and forever we shall continue to resist constitutionally—what would be the result? Now if you sent now and again some of your men without any of your Chiefs to Downing street to protest and succeeded, what a lasting effect such representation would make? I have got one or two last words. Now Education has been spoken of here. It has been represented that the education of the people of the Gold Coast is superficial, on the surface, not deep. If that is so or not, we mean to make it very very deep in the future, so that we can hold our own against any. Now what about the position of our Chiefs in this Country? The Government say that they rule the country through them. Now we have met here in Accra, the seat of Gã Manche, and it is right that we should do so. Now go through this town, go to the various areas, see the fine beautiful houses, see the arrangements made for the comfort of the people of the Government. Is the Gã Manche not part of the Government? If he is supposed to rule the masses of the people here, is he not a part of the Government? The same applies to all the Chiefs of the country because we are given to understand that through them the Government rule the people. We must see to it, therefore, that in proper cases suitable provision is made to keep up the dignity and the position of the Chiefs. That again depends upon unity. It again depends upon our having a great Society like the Gold Coast Abogines' Rights Protection Society, the medium through which we can approach the Government. It depends again upon our having our own representatives in the Legislative Council to make laws for us, and to see to the distribution of the revenue; and it is for these reasons that I heartily support the proposition of the James Town Manche.

Gold Coast.

Eastern Province Chiefs' Conference.

Preparatory to the important conference of natural rulers which opened at Cape Coast on September 20, a conference of paramount chiefs of the Eastern Province was held in mid week. The agenda included discussion on such diverse subjects as elective representation, primary education, forestry, and Mr. Ormsby-Gore's forthcoming visit, and useful results may be anticipated from the conference.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AND GENEVA.

The decisions of the League of Nations Conference on the shores of Lac Leman are becoming of increased interest. It was the Savoyard and Piedmontaist that spoke when the Marquis Alberto Theodoli, chairman of the Mandates Commission, thus promulgated the policy which he considered should control the government of mandated territories. "First in importance came the interests of the natives; secondly, the interests of the whites. The interests of the whites should only be considered in relation to the direct or indirect exercise of protection over the natives." An ideal proposition, but showing much ignorance of practical conditions in the lands of the Dark Continent, where the interests of the whites and natives are so closely interwoven and dependent upon each other. No permanent progress can be made in the morale and prosperity of such territory unless the white population is encouraged to take a pride in civil government, and the means are afforded them of giving to the Administrator the full benefit of their experience and knowledge. The native races are peculiarly imitative, and no surer means could be devised to fulfil the spirit of the mandate than the example which would be provided by the establishment of a Legislative Council to take cognizance of local matters, and which in course of time may allow of representation of the natives. General Smuts, in the liberalism of his statesmanship, has taken the initiative in providing the first practical step towards securing for South West Africa in due time recognition of her right to a place in the Council of the Empire, consistent with her progression along the path of civilisation and humanity. General Smuts in his recent letter to the Mandates Commission foreshadows the creation of a local Government to which all the white populace would be entitled to send representatives, and perhaps later obtain representation in the Union Parliament. The Prime Minister of South Africa defines his policy "to extend uniform equal treatment as far as possible to both sections of the white population. Any system based on differential treatment would lead to unrest and agitation, which would be not only undesirable as far as the whites were concerned, but produce regrettable reaction among the native inhabitants." With such a policy inviting the co-operation of all—irrespective of country of nativity—the fundamental steps to toleration and unity of action will be truly laid, and the path made straight for a liberal and united Government, which will in itself provide the best lever to raise not only the white community, but also the native towards the goal of self-respect and enlightenment.

Education in Northern Nigeria.

The recent Report of the Education Department in Northern Nigeria emphasises the difficulty which a general lack of appreciation of the value of education faces educationists in both Moslem and pagan communities. For the vast population the number of elementary schools is nineteen only: there are twelve primary and five arts and crafts schools. Trained teachers are still sadly to seek. Much is expected from the Katsina Training College which Sir Hugh Clifford opened in 1922. It has started with forty pupils. There seems to be a little conflict about the existence of opinion amongst the common people, apart from their Chiefs and Emirs, in favour of education as between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Director of Education, and it is a little surprising that efforts to get into touch with the people should be so unproductive of definite result. The arts and crafts schools seem to be dependent for actual achievements in results upon a provision of European instructors. African instructors seem to fail not in knowledge of their crafts, but in ability to transfer and impart that knowledge. The approval expressed by police and military headquarters of the training given to selected policemen and soldiers as company schoolmasters is a sign of useful productive work. The progress of education would seem to be discouragingly slow, but probably finance and lack of teaching capacity blocks the road. There are nearly 33,000 Moslem schools, however, which is but small satisfaction.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa

ETHNOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION.

BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION 1924.

So. African Outlook
Dec 1 1923

It may be unknown to many interested in the study of Bantu life that an ethnological exhibit portraying Native life and crafts is to be included in the South African Section of the British Empire Exhibition next year.

It is proposed that the representation should take the form of a composite Native Village laid out after the fashion of a Chief's "Royal Kraal." Each section or "Lapa" "Kaya" of the Kraal to represent one of the prominent tribes of the Union. For instance the Zulu, Bapedi, Bakgatla, Bavenda, Shangaan, Pondo or Tembu and if possible the Ovambo of South West Africa. Within each "Lapa" or "Kaya" will be shown all handiwork, domestic appurtenances, etc., pertaining to the particular tribe it represents. A complete display of such articles will at once give to one a fairly good idea of the life and attainments of the tribe. Besides the tribal it is proposed also to have the following sections:

Inter-tribal, containing articles of common use amongst the Bantu.

Mystic, containing articles of tribal superstition, animism, phallism, tribal totems and so forth.

Then as a contrast there will be a modern section, showing the handiwork of Natives who have benefited by the labours of missionaries and by contact with European civilisation.

This is briefly the proposal if sufficient space under cover is available. If not, for the uncertainty of the English summer weather has to be taken into account, then the idea of the village will naturally have to be modified and a model village of suitable dimensions substituted.

The Department of Native Affairs has undertaken to organise the representation and anyone interested with suggestions to offer or willing to lend articles of Native make should get into touch with Major C. L. Harries, Native Commissioner, Potgietersrust, Transvaal, who has charge of the work, or with Mr. I. Bud-Mbelle of the Native Affairs Department, Pretoria.

Besides the ethnological, there is also to be Museum and Historical Sections. At a recent meeting of the Heads of all Museums of the Union and a representative of the Department of Native Affairs it was decided that these sections, without entailing unnecessary duplication, could not very well be dissociated one from the other, and should therefore be merged into one representation. That is to say, under the control of one executive Committee, each still preserving its individuality. This arrangement at once assures to the ethnological section the essential support of the museum authorities and it therefore stands a better chance of becoming a noteworthy adjunct to the South African Representation as a whole.

All interested are cordially invited to co-operate.

THE GOLD COAST FARMERS ASSOCIATION, "THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE" AND THE COCOA INDUSTRY BY VERITAS.

Gold Coast Leader

The Gold Coast Farmers Association cannot be congratulated on its letter to the President of the Gold Coast Agricultural and Commecial Society published in "The Voice of the People" of June 16, 1923. It reveals a lamentable lack of those qualities of judgment without which so important a body as the Association must lose much of its economic utility and become a source of danger rather than of help in the control of the Cocoa Industry. Still less commendable is the editorial of "The Voice of the People" in its issue of June 9, 1923, which labours to justify the somewhat painful attitude assumed by the Association and which, like the latter, employs the fallacy that because the Cocoa industry has made phenomenal progress without the help of legislation diseases and pests should not now develop into a serious menace to warrant the introduction by legislation of the more effective control now proposed.

Cape Coast, W. Africa

The Cocoa industry has been and is still the means of contributing prodigiously to the wealth and prosperity of the Country, the statement of "The Voice of the People" that it is an "unpaying industry" notwithstanding, that it has assumed national importance and its maintenance, preservation and development have become questions of paramount national consideration.

The very great part that diseases and pests play in the life of an Agricultural industry has been no doubt felt here and there by the heavy tollage of their ravages but it is feared that the Gold Coast has yet to learn that tolerance and want of vigilance demand a more dreadful price such as the terrible experience of Ceylon in the extinction of its Coffee plantations, a misfortune, the like of which in the Gold Coast would mean a national catastrophe.

One shudders as one thinks of the dire consequences of such a dreadful doom and of the national affliction and adversity which must follow in its train that the contemplation of it must fill one with horror and dismay and call forth a solemn prayer for deliverance from it.

8-4-23

The national importance of the industry and the imminent danger of extinction which the existence of a serious menace offers being conceded the question resolves itself into the best means to be employed to minimise the risks and the correct attitude to be adopted by the Gold Coast Farmers Association, indeed the whole Country, towards any scheme which has for its object the consummation of that desideratum.

The bill cannot be simply dismissed as uncalled for without examining the reasons which prompted it even though the principles on which it is established may not fall within the notions of "The Voice of the People" as to what Jurisprudence should or should not countenance. By way of parenthesis it might be here remarked that any undertaking that is based on the principle that the voice of the people is the voice of God cannot be useful to humanity unless it possessed the faculty of correctly determining where the voice of the people ceased to be the voice of God.

The work of Agricultural Officers in the control of diseases and pests is rendered effective or otherwise according as to whether their valuable instructions are followed or ignored. A froward farmer does by his negligence imperil the existence not only of his own farm but also of that of his more conscientious neighbour. Under present circumstances Agricultural Officers must necessarily depend on the good-will of farmers for the effective control of diseases and pests but as such good-will is not very liberally displayed in some quarters it has become an unsafe commodity on which to swear off the existence of a vital industry with any appreciable degree of faith in its effectiveness. The Voice of the People' has yet to learn that there even wisdom in "hurting" the "sensibilities" of our delicate" farmers by drastic measures where necessary so as to ensure the existence of an industry on which the economic life of the Country is built and on which the substance of the very farmer "it is now sought to ruin" is sustained.

The Association will enlist greater sympathy by sinking its prejudices against legislation and against Government interference and by frankly and plainly stating its objections where it feels the bill would operate to the detriment of the industry. It should realise that its interests are identical with those of the Gold Coast Agricultural and Commercial Society and the Department of Agriculture and that these two bodies would be unrighteously blind to their own interests were they in any way to jeopardise the existence of the industry. If the names of the well-meaning European friends on the Management Committee of the Society do not serve as a guarantee of genuine sincerity those of patriots like the Honourable J. Hutton-Mills, Dr. Nanka Bruce and of other African members of the Committee should help to dispel completely the suspicions of the Association. Co-operation, genuine co-operation, with the above two bodies should lighten the burden of the Association and should incidentally strengthen its hands.

The situation is serious indeed, and the Country cannot afford to sacrifice the interests of an important industry in order to satisfy the obsessions and prejudices of any self-opinioted class.

S.A.P. AND THE COLOUR BAR.

Speaking at the Congress Dinner, Advocate Stallard said that the decision of Mr. Bovill on the colour bar made not the slightest difference in the South African Party's policy on the question: the S.A.P. would not tolerate the intrusion of coloured men from the Provinces into white men's spheres of employment.

Gold Coast Leader
YOUR YOUTH.

WERE I a young man full of zeal for the uplift of my country, the uplift of my race, I would favour the promotion of an Association of young men for the development of their political ideas. I would make such an Association a junior branch of the great Congress movement and in direct co-operation with it. I would adopt a centre like Cape Coast, Accra, or Secondee, and form a strong nucleus from which would radiate influence which would in time cover other important centres with a network of similar Associations.

My aim would be to study carefully the political situation not only as applies to the Gold Coast or even to British West Africa, but to the entire race of which I am a member. I would encourage political debates on practical issues and conduct the business of the Association Assembly in accordance with the Parliamentary rules of the Empire, to which I belong.

Cape Coast, W. Africa

I would make the leading lights and representatives of British West African thought and opinion realise that myself and co-patriots meant in all earnestness and in all sincerity to take our

race in due course in the guidance of the destinies of Africa and Africans at home and abroad.

To this end I would study books, particularly those written by members of my own race in so far as they throw light on the problems which affect us. I would be a keen student of affairs in all parts of the earth; and whatever affects the African at home and abroad would affect me, whatever interests him would interest me. For I would be preparing myself to be the mouthpiece of the teeming millions of my people who are voiceless and whose aspirations reach not the ears of the mighty. I would institute lectureships and, in course of time, professorships and encourage members of my Association to specialise in particular branches of knowledge and information as regards the Ethiopian race. Egypt would interest me greatly. I would dive into the history of its past and present, and make myself familiar with the doings and the achievements of the ancient kingdoms of Ethiopia. Having covered the ancient history of my race, I would lose no time in exploring its relation with the present, and, for that purpose would closely study the works of such men as Blyden, Sarbah, Dubois, Ferris, Kelly Miller, Hayford, and the philosophies and the history of present-day movements within and without the race.

8—11—23

Particularly would I devote attention to the Geography of the African Continent. It is a Continent of the very greatest interest, as testified by the activities of the European nations operating therein. It is the treasure house of the world, only alas! we who own that treasure house are at present regardless of its abundant wealth and its exploitation by others. I would study the history and the purport of the Cape to Cairo Railway and the branch services east and west of the Continent and their bearing upon future world politics and economics. I would specialise in mineralogy, archealogy, chemistry and allied sciences, which throw open to me the knowledge as to what Africa contains and how they can be obtained. Above all would I promote independent business combinations and associations to make African participation in the good things of Africa possible.

And since research work along any and all these lines requires money, I would proceed in a practical matter of fact way and begin to add pound to pound until my Association and kindred Associations commanded thousands in the Bank. There is no royal road to money-making along this line. The only way is that which common sense dictates. You can get in the half-crowns and the half-guineas of the people every week of the year or every day of the week for that matter, if you know how to go about it. People in these distracting times require relaxation in a pleasant form. Well, give them what is pleasing to them; give them what they want. Balls, concerts, and other popular entertainments will bring you in the money to your astonishment. That will be your foundation, and that will be your upbuilding, and remember, that you are building up a fund that will be available and useful also in the hour of your country's need. Therefore build with all zeal, with all earnestness, prepared to spend and be spent.

Who is equal unto this programme, equal unto this task? I admit it is a truly formidable undertaking. But if you can say, I will, I can, I must in the spirit of him who is determined to conquer for his country, for his race, and for God, you will see the mountains rolling before you like clouds, and your very difficulties becoming blessings in disguise. I invite the attention of the youth of my country, the youth of British west Africa, the youth of my race to these weighty considerations, and I say to them, as I have said before, Think and look ahead, for the evil day cometh when the African race must be saved by its own dynamic force.

ATHINNANA.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Gold Coast Leader

WE are following closely and with keen interest the political developments in the sister Colony of Nigeria. According to the Nigerian papers the Lagos Town Council Elections resulted with Mr. J. Egerton-Shyngle leading the poll with 276 votes, Mr. G. D. Agbebi following closely with 259 votes and Mr. O. Alakija next with 241. This was a close contest, and it is gratifying that one of the leading members of the Nigerian Congress Committee should head the poll. Mr. J. Egerton-Shyngle is the leader of the Nigerian Party, and it will be remembered he represented Nigeria on the Congress London Delegation with Chief Oluwa in 1920, and did useful work in British West African interests. The other two successful candidates, namely, Mr. Agbebi and Mr. Alakija have come considerably to the fore in local politics lately. It is suggested that the Municipal elections and their result give some indication as to the probable trend of public choice in the forthcoming Council of Government of Nigeria elections to which we drew attention in connection with Prince Atta Amonu's candidature for Calabar in our last issue. It is positively reassuring the zest with which our Nigerian brethren have entered upon this new political life and experience. We are of the view that in an open contest for seats either on the Municipal Council or the General Council of Government there is no need for bitterness, personal attacks, and rancour, as all right-minded persons must wish the community exercise its free choice in electing persons in whom the people have confidence. We shall await with considerable interest the result of the General elections.

Cape Coast, West Africa

The attack by Governor Guggisberg upon our African medical men has, as we said in a previous issue, drawn much useful criticism from many sources both at home and abroad. The *Nigerian Spectator* deals with the matter in its issue of July 14 last, and we draw attention to its point of view by reason of the fact that its editor was at one time in the Medical service of the Government, and, as such, must have been acquainted with much that went on behind the scenes.

8—11—23

Our contemporary comes to the same conclusion as ourselves that the attack constitutes a grave reflection upon the British Universities and Medical Colleges responsible for the diplomas of the African doctors who qualify under the same conditions and training as others. And it probes into the motive for this unwarranted attack, which appears to be to discredit the African medical men and shut the door of opportunity against them. Says the writer: "We know a little of the Gold Coast. It is the greatest stronghold of Die hard in the West African Medical Staff. It was from there many years ago, we have good reason to believe, that a terrific attack was launched against West African doctors who were charged with inefficiency and were consequently unfit for admission as Government Medical Officers. The question was fought every inch from the Gambia to Nigeria and the lying charge had to be withdrawn. Sir Gordon Guggisberg is again on the war path."

Speaking of his experiences, the medical writer says: "It was hell to work on the Gold Coast under European medical heads. The more efficient you were as an African doctor, the more enmity you incurred among your European colleagues and senior officers, and you had to keep your time apart from that spent on official duties thinking out and working out plans to meet their machinations against you. Apparently things have not at all altered in this respect in the Gold Coast and they will never alter until Africans have learnt to create a public opinion in their country which even Governors will be bound to respect." This in a sense is an eye-opener. We knew things were generally made disagreeable for our brethren in the Medical service of the Government, but we could not conceive they were quite as bad as that. Here, however, is evidence forthcoming from a responsible quarter speaking from bitter experience. "The more efficient you were as an African doctor the more enmity you incurred"—that is really too bad, and in one's own country too in a service maintained by the African taxpayer.

And the evidence here set down is quite believable and must be so since it would be singular indeed if in the sister profession of the Law, where each practitioner has to stand on his own bottom unsupported by any trades union arrangement, the Africans are in the top of the profession and command the best practice, and it would be the height of imprudence for any one to suggest incompetence as it would not accord with practical results. What is to be done? We agree that public opinion must be so roused as to end this sort of thing. Our contemporary concludes: "Sir Gordon Guggisberg's new campaign must be watched, and he must be compelled to withdraw as quietly as possible from an iniquitous and unjust enterprise." We must say we agree with every word of this. The matter goes deeper than maligning the members of a noble profession. It affects the general African public in no small degree. Gradually our people are beginning to have confidence in European service and practise of medicine. It is important that promising youths should be encouraged to fully qualify both in medicine and surgery, and it should be the right of those so qualified to find employment and scope in Government institutions for the healing of the African sick. Any campaign therefore that tends to defeat these objects is a campaign directly against the best interests of the community and is right down bad and iniquitous. We must be prepared therefore to fight the whole ground over again if necessary.

PRIMITIVE ZULU MORAL CODE LAUDED

The Commercial

African Cities Contaminate Savages, Says Bishop.

Local 8-21-23

Zulus and other natives of Africa who know no civilization have a higher code of morals than most of the other people of the world, and only the contamination of the big cities in Africa to which the heathens come occasionally is serving to guide them away from the tribal restraint in morals, says Bishop Wm. T. Vernon, former pastor of the Avery Chapel, A. M. E. church and now in charge of the diocese of South Africa, who was in Memphis yesterday.

Bishop Vernon, who was elected to the episcopate in 1920, while at the Memphis charge, has spent the last two years in South Africa, with headquarters at Cape Town. He is back in the states on a leave of absence.

To do wrong in primitive Africa means death at the hands of the tribe, says Bishop Vernon. Even the most savage heathens, worshipping wood and ivory idols, nature and even snakes as gods, require the most pretentious marriage ceremonies in which the entire tribe participate. Polygamy is common among some of the tribes, but all of the wives of each man are legal ones, in the sense of the tribal laws.

Bishop Vernon's diocese includes Cape Colony, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal and Basutoland. The first four comprise the Union of South Africa and the Basutoland is a British protectorate. The African Methodist Church has about 125 preachers and native workers who are rapidly spreading the Christian gospel in full co-operation with missionaries from practically every other denomination.

Gen. Jan C. Smuts, premier of South Africa, is a personal acquaintance of Bishop Vernon's and is helping the A. M. E. work as much as possible. The Memphis bishop was the first negro preacher to invade the homeland of the Zulus. While the bishop has sufficient numbers among his conferences that speak English to carry on business in the English language, it is always necessary to use one or two interpreters when preaching to a native congregation.

The A. M. E. church missionary work began in Africa 24 years ago and today there are about 25,000 members of the church, of whom about 5,000 have joined since Bishop Vernon was placed in charge. The bishop, whose work is mostly supported by the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the South, has just been attending in Birmingham the Allen Christian Endeavor Congress from the southern church and will sail again for Africa in October, to return for the general conference in Louisville, Ky., next May.

Race Problem – 1923.
Africa

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN WEST AFRICA

MISUNDERSTANDINGS EXPLAINED

(Special to the "West African Monthly Supplement" by W. F. Hutchison)

The West African Mail
Jan. 3/1923

There is much misconception of the position of women in the Native social systems of West Africa. They are generally believed to be mere slaves and drudges of their husbands. But where the rule of matrilineal descent—the tracing of pedigrees and the devolution of property through females—prevails, as it does in most parts of West Africa, women occupy a position which no male or combination of males can assail.

The misconception has arisen from the superficial observation of travellers who saw only the surface of things, and has been fostered by several features of West African life which have been imperfectly understood by those who were ignorant of the inner working of the social system. In the first place, the executive officer—the Chief—is generally a male. But this Chief is the creature of a woman. When a vacancy occurs it is the "Senior Woman" of the family who summons the Council for the election of a successor and presents the candidate. But her powers do not end here. She can veto any other candidate of whom she does not approve.

When the new Chief is elected it is she who invests him with the insignia, admonishes him and instructs him in his duties. It is at her right hand that he sits to receive the homage and allegiance of his sub-chiefs. She sits beside him in court and takes part in trying cases, and alone has the right to publicly rebuke him. She also holds her own court which may become a formidable rival of that of the Chief himself.

"Buying" a Wife.

Another source of misunderstanding is a misconception of the nature of the pre-marital payment to the wife's family. A man is said "to buy" his wife, which implies that she becomes his property. This is a complete distortion of the nature of the West African marriage contract, and arises from the European idea of marriage. Under English law a woman, on marriage, becomes a member of her husband's family; and, until the passing of "The Married Women's Property Act," her property passed to him; she lost her individuality and sank to the legal level of an infant or lunatic, her husband being her guardian.

But the West African married woman retains her individuality and her property to which no male can succeed till all female heirs are exhausted. It is on descent from their mother—and not from their father—that her children and descendants base their claims of succession. The West African family consists of a woman and her children and is the exact opposite of the European family which consists of a man and his children. The legal aphorism—"Mulier finis familiae"—is not applicable, and must be altered into—"Homo finis familiae." A man may represent the group before the outer world, but within the group the woman holds the reins.

Another cause of misconception is the division of labour in the West African group, in which each age and sex has its appointed duties. The men are the hunters and warriors; they have to face the dangers from men and beasts which lurk outside the village; they go out to hunt for meat and to clear the ground for the farm on which the year's food-crop is to be grown. When the ground is cleared and comparatively safe the women go out to sow, and later on, to reap the crop. So, on a journey, the man, as the protector, marches in front unencumbered by a burden, but armed and ready to fight for the protection of the burdened woman. The man's work lies outside the village where there is danger, the woman's in the village where there is safety. Consequently, when a travelling European passes through an African village he sees the men lounging about while the women are working, and jumps to the conclusion that the African man is "a lazy nigger" who is entirely supported by his wives, of whom he is always supposed to have a large number.

Polygamy.

Polygamy is certainly widely practised in Africa because the constant small tribal wars, although the loss of life in each may be small, do, in the aggregate, levy a heavy toll which falls mainly on the male population and causes a preponderance of females; but even in so-called polygamous countries, plurality of wives is limited to the rich and powerful, a retinue of wives being as much a mark of rank and wealth as a retinue of male followers.

In Sir Henry Maine's work on "Ancient Law" he makes the profound and illuminating remark that the explanation of a custom which appears to be abnormal may generally be found in the domestic habits of the people. And I believe that it is so with the West African rule that a man's heir is his nephew (his sister's son) and not his own son. West Africans were, and are, mainly agriculturists and their chief occupation has always been the cultivation of the ground for the production of the food of the groups.

As the condition of primitive life is a constant warfare between group and group, and as the growing of food-crops requires a considerable and constant supply of labour, the two great needs are defenders and labourers, and so one object of the household polity is to increase the number of its members, and for this purpose to have as many women, the producers of children, as possible. But marriage between members of the same household being barred by their real or supposed consanguinity the women must seek husbands outside, and if they were to become members of their husband's families their children would do the same, and would thus be lost to their mother's family.

Therefore, having married, a woman remains a member of her mother's household and so of her family, having her "permanent place of abode" in her mother's house. She retains her independent individuality after marriage, has property of her own, and does not become her husband's chattel. The husband pays for the exclusive marital right to her body and her domestic services. In a polygamous marriage the wife has her stated periods of cohabitation with her husband, during which she cooks his food, attends to his house, and assists him with his farm. At other times she lives in her mother's house with her children who are, therefore, members of their mother's and not of their father's family.

Inheritance.

It is his sister's children who are of the same household, and therefore of the same family as the man, and they therefore inherit his property and thus keep it in his family, while his own children would carry it away to the strengthening and enriching of their mother's household. Sisters, being of the same household inherit from each other, as does a daughter from her mother.

This, I believe, is the true explanation of the West African rule of tracing descent through females, and of the nephew inheriting in preference to the son, and also of the importance of the Queen-Mother in African States. It is certain that the explanation commonly given:—that a man can be sure that his sister's children are of his own blood, while he cannot be sure that his wife's are—is not the correct one. It may be taken for granted that peoples do not base their rules of conduct on the assumption that their women are grossly immoral, the turn of thought which suggests this explanation is too complex in its cynicism for the mentality of primitive man which is simple and direct.

And in fact the primitive family usually provides safeguards of female chastity, and punishments for unchastity, much more stringent than are to be found among more advanced societies. The West African rule that the son of a slave mother can succeed to his father's property, while his freeborn brother cannot, which appears so strange to European jurists, is a corollary of the reasoning on which the succesion of the nephew is based, because the slave-wife is a member of her husband's household and the succession of her son does not alienate the property of the family.

I trust that I have shown that the West African woman, under Native Customary Law, holds a strong position, both legally and socially, though she may not be surrounded by the adulation and flattery with which European women are surrounded by European men, who call their wives the Queens of their hearts while making themselves Kings of their persons and property. In every country and every clime women, as wives and mothers must wield great influence over their husbands and sons, and through them on the affairs of their world.

Ancient Customs.

It is now recognised that nearly all the customs of African and Asiatic peoples which appear so curious and abnormal to modern Europeans are merely survivals from stages of development through which the Europeans have passed in the course of their evolution. This is seen in the description of the ancient Germans by Tacitus and also in the records of primitive life to be found in the Bible, in which are several analogies to West African customs. Thus when Abraham sent Eliezer, "the eldest servant of his house," to seek a wife for Isaac among his own kindred "the servant brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebecca; he also gave to her *brother* and to her *mother* precious things." Here we have the pre-marital payment or "head-money," and it is to be observed that the gifts were made to the *mother* and the *uterine* brother. There is no indication of the father or the males on the father's side taking part in the betrothal.

Again the "leading case" of the

daughters of Zelophehad poses the problem of the property of a family passing to another tribe and the jealousy of the enrichment of one tribe at the expense of another. We are told "Zelophehad had no sons but daughters." When these women became marriageable the heads of their tribe came to Moses and said:—"If they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereinto they are received so shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance." Moses and the Princes of Israel replied:—"Let them marry to whom they think best: only to the tribe of their father shall they marry: *so shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe.*" In this case the desired end was reached by retaining the women and their children in the tribe as is done in West Africa.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

Mining in Nigeria.

The 1922 Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines gives some very interesting particulars of the mining operations actively carried on in Nigeria. As to distribution, Bauchi Province contains about nine-tenths of the area allocated to mining work either under lease or prospecting licence. The remaining one-tenth of the area is in desultory patches in Nassarawa, Zaria, Kano, Ilorin, and Nupe Provinces. Mining leases cover about 105,000 acres. The output of tin was 7,319 tons, and of gold 702 ounces. The largest tin production was to the credit of Ropp Tin, Ltd., being 1,451 tons. The high price for tin prevailing in the market led to an export of 8,127 tons in volume. The average cost per ton of winning tin is given as £103. The gold comes principally from Birnin Givaro and from two areas in Kontagora Province. Oil exploration was attempted on the Cameroons and Dahomey borders, but was abandoned. Nigerian mineral resources other than tin have yet to be proved. Gold in small quantities and the Udi coal mines are, of course, to be excepted. A lode of silver-lead in the neighbourhood of Amega is under prospection by a company, but no results are as yet obtainable.

The Central Province Railway.

When the Gold Coast Legislative Council met for the approval of the construction of the Central Province Railway from the Huni Valley to Kade, the unofficial members, as was to be expected, voiced their disapproval of a scheme which seemed likely to diminish the volume of trade from Cape Coast, Winnebah and Salt Pond and divert it to Takoradi—an unproved port. The Colonial Secretary appears to have claimed that the line would promote the general development of a wide area, and, though it would restrict the trade zones of the small ports mentioned, the latter would find a remedy in more intensive development of their contiguous districts. Approval was ultimately granted on an understanding that Fosu, one of the stations on the new extension, would be linked up with Cape Coast.

"Pills" on a West African Liner.

Included in Sir Conan Doyle's memoirs in a recent copy of the "Strand Magazine" is a reference to his short period of service, in 1881, as doctor on the old steamer "Mayumba." It vividly revives recollections of the old days of coast travel—mine go back to 1883—especially in its descriptions of Sierra Leone and Bonny River. Those were the days of the pre-mosquito theory, and Sierra Leone was indeed what Sir Arthur Conan Doyle describes as "a truly dreadful place," where despair made the whites take liberties with alcohol. The Bonny River too, "in all ways hateful with its brown swelling stream and its mangrove swamps"—Ugh! I can smell it now and see in memory the life on the trading hulks of those distant days. One of them was reported to have been aground on the empty bottles cast over the side. Sir Arthur's appreciation of Negro mentality is fine also. They were not all "palm-oil ruffians" in those days who travelled down the West Coast.

General Dobell.

Other West African scenes and recollections are recalled by the retirement of Major-General Sir Charles Dobell, and not only of his successful conduct of the war in the Cameroons. General Dobell included in his varied spheres of service Northern Nigeria and was at one time Inspector-General of the W.A.F.F. His appreciation of the military qualities of the rank and file of this splendid force is the result of much personal knowledge and experience in field and camp with them. General Dobell was a distinguished soldier, who "did not advertise." The one economical campaign of the Great War was the Cameroons campaign.

The Peasant Farmer of W. Africa.

In Mr. Himbury the British Cotton Growing Association has a man of much acute observation. The tribute he pays, in his public addresses on cotton growing in the Empire, to the agricultural skill and industry of the West African farmer, is well deserved. There is little we can teach the latter in his handicraft, and much that his superior knowledge of his own climate and soil make irrelevant has been urged upon him. In labour-saving methods the European can help him largely, but in methods of cultivation he can teach him nothing. Our surest aid is to give him facilities to market his produce to the best advantage and to improve its quality.

Nigerian Cotton.

Talking of cotton, it was reported at the last monthly council meeting of the British Cotton Growing Association that 15,500 bales of cotton had been purchased this year in Nigeria. This is a good record in comparison with last year's purchase, which totalled 13,100 bales. I have previously spoken of the large increase in seed distributed this year. The report gives the total distribution as amounting to 1,844 tons—a very promising result for next year's crop and for the steady progress of the industry. The work that is being carried on towards the development of cotton cultivation in Nigeria by the Agricultural Department and the British Cotton Growing Association is beyond all praise. It deserves the best achievement and the successful results of their energies so far has been most encouraging.

West African Railways.

In my remarks last week on the construction of railways in West Africa my approval of the Secretary of State's answer in the House was not intended to rule out the advantages, if any, of construction by private enterprise. It is in the provision of labour by the Political Staff that the construction by the State scores. There is no reason why the private contractor should not receive the same facilities. It is in the handling of this labour that local experience is required. Given this experience, and proper control by the political officers secured from interference, there is, of course, every likelihood that railway construction may be a more economical affair in the hands of private enterprise rather than in those of the Government.

Segregation.

Much good-humoured chaff is displayed in the local Press over Governor Slater's remarks in England on the benefits of segregation. The "disease-carrying Africans" pass a friendly gibe or two upon them, but I think that, while naturally resenting the implications in the policy of segregation, most Africans see its impracticability in the long run. Neither commerce nor Government can exert their full strength without co-ordination, and co-ordination implies contact in a certain measure.

The Gambia.

Captain Armitage gave a very interesting little lecture at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on Tuesday on "The Gambia, Our Oldest British Colony in West Africa," illustrated with lantern slides depicting a tour of the Government boat up the Gambia River. This trip up the backbone of the colony practically takes in all there is of it, for it is only some six miles broad by 250 miles in length. Touching on the ground nut industry, which is the colony's main export, the lecturer gave interesting particulars of the extent of cultivation by "Strange Farmers" from the neighbouring Senegal, of which the Gambia has become an enclave through the international agreement with the French in 1889, which did the usual cutting up irrespective of tribal boundaries. The lecture was very informing.

J. W.-G.

WEST AFRICA AT WEMBLEY.

Pan-African Congress Delegates' Visit

Mr. H. S. Goldsmith, C.M.G., Chairman of the West African Group Committee, was invited by the Committee of the African Progress Union to deliver an address on the British Empire Exhibition at their annual meeting on November 6. Mr. Goldsmith, however, thought that an address without film pictures showing the progress of this colossal undertaking would be a dull affair, and as a more profitable and popular attraction, the Group Committee invited the members of the African Progress Union and delegates to the Pan-African Congress to Wembley last Friday to see for themselves how West African intended to be represented at the "big family party" next year.

In spite of the inclement weather, Lady Guggisberg, C.B.E., Sir Henry Galway, Capt. Armitage, Major Armstrong, Major Laurance, Mr. A. Addison, Mr. J. J. Scott Mr. Bailey, Dr. and Mrs. Alcinnor, Mrs. Pearson, Miss Coussey, Miss Hope-Panton, and Mr. Barbour Gates were among those present.

The Stadium, with its carpet of beautiful [illegible] and providing accommodation [illegible] people, was first visited. It is [illegible] that the Stadium has been booked [illegible]ire period of the Exhibition, and [illegible]al entertainments organised on a large scale, will be an attractive feature.

On leaving the Stadium and turning to the right, the party caught sight of a strange structure which on completion will represent a walled city such as may be seen in the hinterland of West Africa. Mr. Goldsmith explained that the walled city will cover an area of over three acres, and so far as area is concerned will be second only to Australia, Canada, and India. Within the city will be the three colony buildings: Nigeria, 18,750 square feet, Gold Coast, 15,000, and Sierra Leone, 25,000 square feet.

Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd., and the Colonial Bank are also erecting separate buildings, and propose to participate with West Africa to the fullest extent.

In addition there is to be a Cinema Hall and Tea Chalet, and, last but not least, an African village, comprising four compounds occupied by Hausa, Yorusa, Fanti, Menai and other West African tribes.

The exhibits on view in the three colony buildings will be among the most attractive and interesting in the whole Exhibition. It seems unfortunate that Gambia, like Gibraltar, will not be represented at the Exhibition; but one's sympathy is with Capt. Armitage, the Governor, who does not see his way to participate on a scale commensurate with the importance of the Gambia Colony.

The party was entertained to tea, and expressed their delight at seeing the great Exhibition in the making. They also expressed their sincere thanks to Mr. Goldsmith, the reception officer, and the other officials, who were at so much pains to make the inspection as pleasant as possible.

(The proceedings at the annual meeting of the African Progress Union and Pan-African Congress were briefly summarised in our last issue; a full report will appear in the next issue of the *West African Supplement*.)

Race Problem— 1923
Africa

GOLD COAST ABORIGINES RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY.

Gold Coast Leader
7-28-23

Cape Coast Castle,
17th July 1923.

Sir—At the last meeting of the Executive Committee it was decided, in accordance with the rules governing the constitution of the Society, to call a Conference of the Natural Rulers to discuss important matters affecting the interests of the country.

I have the honour, by the direction of the President, to respectfully extend the invitation to you, to Conference to be held at Cape Coast on the 10th day of September 1923, and I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as possible, signifying your intention to attend the Conference.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Obedient Servant,
K. Sakyiama
Secretary.

Cape Coast - West Africa

The Editor.
Gold Coast Leader
Cape Coast.

AGENDA.

Memoranda on Elective Representation.
Forest Reserves
New Native Jurisdiction Bill
Primary Education
The visit of Hon. W. G. Ormsby-Gore Under Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Gold Coast.

Questions by Mr. Casely Hayford to the Acting Colonial Secretary.

1. What is the final route decided upon by Government of the Central Province Cross-Country Railway, and how is it proposed to safe-gaurd the trade interests of the ports whose interior will be tapped by the Railway?
2. Was there a medical board or examination held on Captain Rippon, Veterinary Surgeon, as to his fitness for the Gold Coast Civil Service before he went on leave?
3. When did he go on leave, and is it intended that he should return for further service in the Colony?
4. Will Government lay on the table the proceedings of his trial with respect to the death of Fulani of the Northern Territories, who was the prosecuting Counsel in the case, was there a jury empanelled to try the case, and in such a serious charge as manslaughter against him was he tried by the Judge alone, or with the aid of a jury and Counsel for the accused?
5. Will Government seriously consider whether the time has not arrived for promoting the trial of criminal cases in Ashanti and the Northern Territories with the aid of a jury and Counsel for accused persons?

Questions by Mr. Casely Hayford to the Director of Public Works.

1. What was the cost of the repair of the road between Inchaban and Biposo at the previous washout? What was the nature of the engineering work done to repair the road, and whether there are any particularly engineering difficulties in the permanent repair of the road having regard to the nature of the country in that part.
2. What is the nature and extent of the damage done to the road during this season, and will Government see that the repairs undertaken are of such a permanent nature as to minimise a future washout. What was the cost of the previous repair and the probable cost of the present repair?

The "Load of Coal."

In Colonel Young's case merit triumphed under a series of difficulties which few in the military service are called upon to face. He had to face colour prejudice of a deeply-rooted kind in surroundings particularly addicted to raillery, chaff and gibe. He has left his own verbal account of what he had to endure at West Point, and all can understand it, in the mess room, the dormitories and on the parade ground—everywhere, in fact, where the exuberance natural to congregated youth has full play. His arrival in a cab, for example, gave him the sobriquet of the "load of coal." If it shews the doubtfulness of the wisdom of placing men like Young in such an environment the testimony to his character and tenacity is none the less emphatic. In after years the "load of coal" became "that splendid fellow Young." Associated with misery, terror and insult he yet kept his pride of race. Colonel Charles Young is one of those cases which refute the all-too-prevalent contention that the Negro is a child with a character as unstable as water. When on an official mission to Liberia he gained the admiration of the Afro-American and Aborigines Community of the Republic.

The Partition of Africa

The Partition and Colonization of Africa. By Charles Lucas. The Oxford University Press, American Branch. $4.20.

IN this age of rapidly increasing knowledge brief summaries of extensive areas of information are in great demand; and this little book of Sir Charles Lucas will be found to be a valuable compendium of useful information on the subject of the European penetration of Africa. It sketches the history of racial contacts from classical times to the present period of mandates, and presents briefly every one of the problems to which these contacts have given rise.

The Nation

The slave trade and its attendant horrors, and the mitigation of these by the efforts of good men in England and elsewhere; the abolition of the traffic in slaves and the rise of colonial exploitation of African peoples in their homelands which immediately took its place; the international scramble for choice sections of African territory; the wars, diplomatic and military, which the nations of Europe waged with each other in consequence; the horrors of the Congo, and the various campaigns in Africa from the times of Henry the Navigator to those of General Smuts—all these are set forth in admirable compression.

New York City, Sept. 5, 1923

But the story is told exclusively from one side—the side of the European who administers Africa for the African's good. One misses the broad humanitarianism of Morel, Olivier, and De Brazza or the warm Christian kindliness of Harris and Patton. But such temperings of the spirit may well be out of place in a simple summary prepared by a British administrator to make clear to casual readers the problem of the white man's rule in Africa. Within its limits this book is a correct and competent piece of work, easy to read and easy to remember.

HUBERT HARRISON

A "Black Basis."

Basutoland Star

The Prime Minister last Saturday evening attended the annual dinner of the Chemical, Mining and Metarllurgical Society at Johannesburg, and spoke on the labour position. He said: "If we wanted to make a real success of South Africa, if we wanted to fulfil our task and build up a European civilisation we would have to look more closely at the white foundations on which we were building our civilisation." He added, "Do not let us continue to cry as we are doing for more and more black labour. Every other industry is doing the same. The young industries of the Union are also starting very much on a black basis."

9-3-23

We have a great regard for General Smuts. We try to follow and to understand him so that we may form some idea of inwardness of his Native policy. It is a study that complicates us, and we seem to know no more of the Minister's real views on Native Affairs than we did. But the "black basis" is a matter to which we have given considerable thought. We claim to know something about it, and without trying to pierce the clouds which envelop General Smuts and contribute to our obfuscation we can state three solid facts: It is the "black basis" that makes possible the white standard in this country. Without the "black basis" the industries of this country would dwindle and die. Without the "black basis" the poor whites of this country would countinue to be the unemployables they are

ETHIOPIA FAVORED AS LEAGUE MEMBER

Gazette
9-20-23

Geneva, September 19.—Admission of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) into the league of nations was recommended today by a sub-committee on the provise the Ethiopian government make known its intention to suppress slavery within its territory.

Some of the delegates opposed admission until it was apparent slavery had been abolished.

LIBERIA MAKES BISHOP BROOKS A SIR KNIGHT

St. Louis, Mo.

MONROVIA, Liberia, Aug. 27. — In the presence of a throng that jammed its spacious auditorium almost to suffication and which overflowed the campus, the Monrovia College and Industrial Training School was dedicated here Sunday. Ex-president Arthur Barclay, Liberia's grand old man, presided.

He introduced President C. B. D. King who delivered a markful dedicatory address. The president's speech was frequently interrupted by applause. The climax came, however, when at the conclusion of his remarks he turned to Bishop W. Sampson Brooks, of Baltimore who had built the institution with funds raised in America and centered upon him the high honor of Commander grade Order of the Star of Africa, a most coveted honor conferable by the Liberian government.

10-12-23

Bishop Overcome

Bishop Brooks was so overcome with emotion he could make no immediate reply, great tears taking the place of words, and this visibly affected the big audience which had come to the exercises. The insignia of the order is a heavy gold jewel watch, suitably inscribed and handsomely encased. In awarding the diploma, which is an accompaniment to the insignia the President said: This diploma is expressive of the very high consideration and appreciation which the people of Liberia through their Chief Executive attach to the energies you have unreservedly spent in this country in the furtherance of education, one of the most essential elements of human civilization and progress.

While the Monrovia College stands as a monument of your labors, this diploma goes to express the endorsement and approval of those for whose benefit such a structure has been erected, and at the same time to show that you have attained to this degree of distinction by the course of merit.

ABYSSINIA JOINS LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dallas Express - Dallas, Tex.

Black men's voices will now be heard in the councils of world powers! Abyssinia has been granted admittance into the League of Nations with applause that was as hearty as that which greeted Ireland. Abyssinia by proving her determination to abolish slavery has made the first step toward entrance into modern civilization and close contact with the remainder of the world. 10-13-23

Here indeed is the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the black races of the world—the herald of a new day. Abyssinia—the more powerful and rich of the only two black empires of the world gains her day in court. Hitherto unknown, she now invites the close communion of the civilized world and makes way for the greater respect for her people by contact with the rulers of the world **on the same plane as they.** An empire, a dominion—a country able to demand respect! A land of freemen with a past that is bloody but glorious. In that history are feats of arms and tales of victory against overwhelming odds which are glorious in their consideration for Abyssinians are black men who have never known the hand of a master.

Writing of the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations a representative of one of the leading dailies in the East says, "when the plaudits had subsided, Prince Dedjazmatch Nadeon, the chief delegate, with finely chiselled ebony features and a black Van Dyck beard. mounted the rostrum and spoke in the name of his ruler. Her Majesty Ouizero Zeoditu." The chief delegate told his audience that Ethiopia had had a far more glorious past than was ever dreamed of, but being deficient in modern progress had sought admission into the great League, which stood for progress in modern civilization and for helpful co-operation between the people of the earth.

Here is a country whose history should become as well known to us as that of our own in America. Formerly a part of Ethiopia it has numbered among its rulers the Queen of Sheba and Menelik whose reputed father was King Solomon. The name Menelik is still assured by rulers of later date.

It is a country rich in natural resources and abundantly blessed by nature.

It has long been coveted by European powers and now its greatest disadvantage lies in the fact that it has no seacoast. It has been shut in completely by the colonization in Africa of Britian, France and Germany.

This covetuousness by Europeans heretofore has been successfully checked by diplomacy and often by force of arms. But with the establishment of the new relationship new problems will arise.

But the prospect for the future as far as this little country is concerned is not dark. Far from it! It opens up to black men all over the world an opportunity for the fulfillment of dreams ages old. It is a real and living evidence of the fact that Ethiopia is slowly but surely stretching forth her hands unto God.

It is for us to take heart from this new day which has dawned for this branch of our kinsmen.

Unique Three Day Feast of Gold Coast Natives Supplants Orderly Process of Caucasian Civilization And Natives Revert to Native Customs.

Dallas Express - Dallas, Tex. 10-13-23

(By A. N. P.)

Accra, Gold Coast, Africa, August 1st. The white man's civilization in this progressive center gives way for three days at this time to let the original quaint and interesting customs of the natives have full sway.

The people from the outlying villages and hamlets come down in their thousands to participate in the celebration of the Homowo festival, the literal meaning of which in "Hooting at Hunger or Famine," experienced at the time of the lean days when the crops sown were not yet ripe for the harvest.

Early in the morning, the women of the house began cooking the food, which is uniform for all, consisting of steamed unleavened maize or Indian corn, ground fine, and soup prepared from the nut of the palm tree, in which chile or porgies fish play a prominent part. Before the cooking began, the stoves and the immediate vicinity of the kitchen are daubed with akpadered clay, and the unleavened bread of the feast, there is a strong belief that the gas originally were an off-shoot of the Jewish race. This belief is lent extra weight by the fact that the Kings or Rulers of Accra, were as late as fifty or sixty years ago, styled Wulomei or Chief Priests.

From nine o'clock huge calabashes and pans heaped with the food for the feast have been going round and will continue far into the afternoon. The food is invariably eaten at the place where the original head of the family resided. By this, strangers are surprised when they happen unexpectedly upon a family group celebrating the feast just in the middle of an open street or lane or on the open site of an old building which had crumbled and fallen away.

This is done so that as the belief goes, the spirits of the departed members of the family may join in the feast. In the evening will be danced what is known as the Oshi Dance, in commemorating the return after the flight of the Gas to Little Popo or Anecho.

The next morning wailing and crying will be heard in every house, for those members of the family dead and gone, but more especially for those who died during the year. After this every one will repair to his or her relatives and acquaintances to wish them No Wala or Take Life in the following terms: "No Wala, Gbii kpanyo aba nina wo, Wo fe mo mo, Wose afi bene wo trasi,—Pray for life, pray to live for many years to come, may eight even days meet us, may we be old and live to see the following year.

Words of advise and counsel are given and reciprocated during which drinks and other presents are offered by the party visited.

Liberian Court Indicts Employees For Embezzlement

Washington Bee - Washington, D. C. 10-13-23

Monrovia, Liberia—Special—The financial condition of Liberia is in a very desperate state. So bad has the situation become that the Government is not now in a position to pay her employees.

This condition has forced many Government employees in the various departments to resort to stealling in order that they get funds with which to pay their expenses.

The court dockets are literally crowded with embezzlement cases. The Liberian Circuit Court which is now in full session returned indictments against Jerome R. D. Padmore, Chief Clerk of the Supreme Court of Liberia for embezzlement. Mr. Padmore's case was called up and he pleaded guilty, but under extenuating circumstances the jury returned a verdict of guilt and the court sentenced him to pay $280, the value of the stamps embezzled as set up with the records of the case, and a fine of $200 and a sentence of one year in jail was imposed.

Norwood T. Dennis was indicted for emblezzlement of stamps while clerk in the General Post Office. Indictments were also returned against Henry E. Snetter, secretary and accountant of the General Post Office; John Henry Smythe, postmaster of Monrovia; Elijah James Watts, Stamp agent of Monrovia Post Office; Stanley C. Clark, parcel post clerk of the Monrovia Post Office, Norwood T. Dennis, Assistant Secretary of the General Post Office was also indicted for embezzlement of 69 parcel post packages at the Monrovia Post Office.

An indictment was returned against Jesse E. Harris, cashier of customs, for embezzlement of $5800 while employed in the customs service of the republic. An indictment was returned against Samuel S. Collins for fogery in connection with the receivership accounts while he was employed as chief clerk of his receivership.

The family of Mr. Padmore, chief clerk of the Supreme Court of Liberia petitioned President King to remit the punishment but was not successful So far however, Mr. Padmore is not in chains nor is he working on the streets as others would do if they had been convicted of similar offenses. 10-13-23

The last four cases cited above has been turned down for the November term of the court. The defendants appear not serious at all; they are as some of them expressed it, trusting to get even with the jury. The state prosecutor appears to be not much concerned in these very important cases of the Government which places the international reputation of Liberia in the balance.

FRANCHISE NOT THE KEY TO HEAVEN.

The African World 7-22-23

Dr. Donald Fraser of Livingstonia, who is proceeding on a missionary expedition to Central Africa, delivered a remarkable speech prior to his departure from Cape Town. There was a day, he declared, when commerce cursed Africa when it touched it. One learned to feel that there were many high-toned companies and business men who were eager to raise the natives to a higher standard of civilisation. One wanted to see that as a nation we would not allow a trader to go among backward peoples merely for his own profit. Every contact of Western civilisation with the natives should be a clean contact. He did not believe the sub-continent was going to be redeemed by good administration or greater material prosperity. These factors would help, but he did not believe the franchise was the key to heaven. It was possible to give a veneer of civilisation which left a man a brute at heart. Old tribal foundations had been broken up, and they must build anew.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa.

The Appointment Of R. Cs.

Basutoland Star
8-10-23

Some months ago, a correspondent of the "Comet" wrote at length, purporting to show that the recent policy of appointing Resident Commissioners from outside Basutoland was not fair and reasonable. His main argument was that such officials were more or less entirely in the hands of their Junior officers for advices and guidance in the administration of justice, and in the adjustment of political questions in the territory. In short he made it clear that the brains that directed the government were those of Junior officers. We think this argument will only hold good in exceptional cases. It would never materialise with persons endowed with administrative capabilities. It does not matter to us whether the Resident Commissioner was appointed from Canada or New-Zealand if he has the necessary qualifications he will be welcomed to us.

The practice may be reasonably unfair to the government officials who have served the territory for years and years, in the hope that they would at last be at the head of the government, and eat, with pleasure, of the food of their labour. This sounds well, as far as the Basutoland civil servants are concerned But with the people that have to be governed and the few junior officers who assiduously devote themselves in study and work, who are ear marked by the public as promising future able governors, find the system of appointing government officials in Basutoland, odious. It is not a matter of efficiency that counts. It is a matter of waiting for each ones turn to come. It does not matter whether his head be a vacuum, when his turn come he goes a step higher on the ladder, until he becomes the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland. This policy is only deviated from at times through favouritism. Just imagine how an officer that has no administrative capabilities gets on up the ladder until he is R.C; how he managed his office work all this time prior to his appointment as R C? You will, without hesitation, say he lived on the sweat of his junior officers and clerks.

Strictly speaking the Basutoland public have nothing to benefit by appointments of R.C's whether they are appointed from outside the territory or not. When the Resident Commissioner retire the public have to look forward for a chance of meeting the luck of a good Resident Commissioner or vice-versa. If he has to be appointed in the territory, they only have to turn over the roll and find out who comeus next.

Further we know that the Basutoland public is unprivileged to say "aye or no" in the matter of appointment of officials; and the reason for this is quite plain. Were we privileged we would mention that the Basuto section have fears about the next appointment. Specially if the appointment has to be made from within the territory. No matter what their future prospects may be about their advancement in matters that are of material to every nation under the sun, industry and its resultant economics, they shall have been "hit below the belt."

The latest misfortune of the Basuto and the territory of Basutoland as a whole, lies in the appointment of a Resident Commissioner. The main factor of the progress of a race is lost sight of when these appointments are made; and this is educational qualifications. A question may be asked why should the Resident Commissioner have educational qualifications other than law (civil Service Lower Law) and native experience? Because his office supervises the departments of education, surgery, agriculture, and many others and it is his duty to see that each of these departments is working to the best end and according to the best principles by which progress would be assured. And unless he has educational qualifications he would never, if he has sense, make a fool of himself He could never encourage education beyond its present limits. He is only a tool of officers directing these departments.

Basuto Chieftainship.

Basutoland
8-10-23

(by T. W. K. 'Mote.)

"Of what earthly use is the existence of this chieftainship to us?" This is the sad question often asked by what may be said to be the major number of the inhabitants of this country. The attitude of our chiefs or shall I say of some of them—has not been very satisfactory in replying to this question; either through selfish indifference or cross ignorance. To sit down and look with folded arms, because one is not directly concerned, while one's country is ceaselessly groaning under a system which *was* in itself well-meant, but which *is* through the selfish carelessness of its up-holders rendered most abominable, and hopelessly intolerable would be, I think, unfair to oneself, unfair to one's country, and unfair to the chiefs' themselves. While one cannot with fairness shut one's eye to the many and laudable services done by some of our chiefs for the welfare of the people for whom they are the God-chosen guardians. It would be inconsistent with justice to over-look the darker side of affairs—the unfaithful misuse of their authority by some of our minor chiefs, who have deliberately and persistently constituted themselves the stumbling blocks of the progress of their country; to whom chieftainship means the perpetrations of all the crimes forbidden by the laws of God, humanity and Nature. I mean those unfortunate chiefs whose idea of greatness is the dispisal of all the laws of humanity Those poor souls who make drunkenness their pleasure and vice their delight. Not that chiefs are worse than other men in this respect; but, what picture could be more pitiable than that of a chief who neglects his duties towards his subjects, and strives only for his own comfort and gratification Unless the country is rid of such monstrous beings, the shedding of innocent blood cannot be expected to cease, What the country needs most as the National Council reopens to-morrow is a reform of its chieftainship. I do not say *abolition* like so many of our discontented people, who think the country would be the better by the *abolition* of this system. I do not agree with them, because abolition would be detrimental to the laws of God and nature, who has established chieftainship for the better government of the people. Readers of European History mark how the civil, economic and

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL DEBATES.

NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL, 1922.

The Gold Coast Leader
Cape Coast W. Africa

(continued from our last issue.)

Now there is also the judiciary. I do not think that the idea of part of the executive being set aside with the right of transferring cases to the judges is right. I have known in practice that it is the higher jurisdiction that transfers cases and not the inferior, to the superior, and we know what great confidence our people have in the administration of justice as exemplified in that great case of Chief Oluwa when he went all the way from West Africa to the Fountain Head, namely, to the Privy Council, in a case between him and the Nigerian Government which was dealt with fairly and impartially. I say that British Justice is appreciated in these parts more than anything else, and I am here to-day pleading for the integrity of the Judicial Bench of the Gold Coast, its pristine position as under the Bill of 1883. Let it have full jurisdiction, let this jurisdiction run concurrently with that of native Tribunals, then there will be harmony; then there will be contentment.

Now, it may be said that my criticisms have been destructive. Supposing this Bill is thrown out now, what is proposed in its place? Before I come to that I may draw attention to one point that was referred to by the Honourable the Secretary for Native Affairs, namely, that the schedule put up by Government will not have the effect of transferring the allegiance of one people to another, but in practice, I say, it must be so. For if Government had the power to subdivide divisions, it may have the tendency of taking a whole people, say the Akwamus, and placing them under Akim Abuakwa.

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Then there is also the power of making bye-laws by Government. The right of making bye-laws is really inherent in the people. The bye-laws are not bye-laws of the Chief. A Chief has no right to make bye-laws himself. Bye-laws are enacted with the consent of his people. If the people have got the inherent right of establishing such rules that guide them, when once the power is place in the hands of Government to either approve or disapprove or vary them, the inherent right of the people is lost. I think I need not labour that point. Therefore bye-laws which are not repugnant to natural justice and which the administration may not have the opportunity of knowing the reason for which they have been promulgated should not be disturbed.

Now then having destroyed the present Bill, what do I put in its place? I cannot do better than to tell the Council what is suggested in the able words—in the masterly words—of the petition to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the citizens and Chiefs of this Province, dated September, 1919. Now, what they said in that petition is as follows:—

"Your humble petitioners further pray to be permitted to make the following proposals that, to their minds, will remove the grievances of the people."

"That the powers and jurisdiction of the native tribunals be made to revert to the position in which they were under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883, inferior tribunals retaining their respective inherent jurisdiction."

"That the jurisdiction of such tribunals be allowed to remain co-ordinate with that of the English Courts in all matters and suits whether relating to land or otherwise, that is to say: whilst suitors are given liberty to elect their own forum in all matters inclusive of suits relating to land, native tribunals should still possess and exercise the power to compel the attendance of persons summoned before them and to enforce their judgments."

"That appeals from inferior native tribunals in land suits should lie to the superior native tribunal of the Division and from such tribunal to the Divisional Court or to a Judge sitting in another branch of the Supreme Court to be known as the Lands Divisions at which Court Counsel should have audience as in the other divisions of the Supreme Court."

"That His Majesty's Privy Council should remain the final Court of appeal to natives as well as to Europeans in matters and suits relating to land or otherwise."

"That the right of the people to elect and install and to depose their Chiefs should not be interfered with by the Government, and that the exercise of jurisdiction by a Chief should not be made to depend upon the pleasure of the Governor."

"That the Chiefs should have jurisdiction over all Africans or over all persons of African descent resident in their respective jurisdictions."

These are the main points involved in my observations, and I am asking that effect may be given to them and since it is impossible, as our standing rules and orders are to-day, to deal with this important question of principle in Select Committee, I am asking, respectfully, that Your Excellency may see your way to cause this Bill to be withdrawn and another one, in consonance with the wishes of the people, brought before this Council at a latter date.

Now in conclusion I ask: Who has asked for this Bill? Surely it is not the people; it is not forced upon us by Downing Street. It must be of local origin and should not therefore be forced upon the people who are worried over many things. After hearing all the vows that have been, and will be, expressed, when we come to vote upon this important matter, we hope Your Excellency may be pleased to grant the prayers of the petitioners and this Bill withdrawn.

MR. BROWN: I rise to speak in support of the amendment before the Council, and before I say anything, Sir,—

MR. McKAY: Your Excellency, on a point of order, could we have the amendment that was moved as I was not able to hear what it was?

MR. CASELY HAYFORD: The amendment moved by my friend, the Honourable Dr. Quartey-Papafio, was that the second reading of the Bill be not taken, and that it be laid on the table indefinitely.

(To be continued.)

MEMORIAL TO DR. BLYDEN AT LAGOS.

Gold Coast Leader

On the 28th ultimo a portrait of the late Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden, D.L.D., F.R.G.S., was unveiled in Glover Hall, at Lagos, Nigeria. The ceremony of unveiling the portrait was performed by His Excellency Sir Frederick Lugard, Governor-General of Nigeria, who was attended by Lieut.-Col. Moorhouse, D.S.O., Southern Provincial Secretary; the Hon. A. R. O. Pennington, K.C., Attorney General; and Captain C. F. Lawrence, A.D.C.

Cape Coast, W. Africa

8-18-23

The Governor-General was received at the entrance of the Hall by the Hon. Sapara-Williams and the members of the Elyden Memorial Committee, who conducted him to the spot where the portrait had been placed, when the Hon. Sapara-Williams read the following address:—

"Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Committee we thank you for your presence and kind consent to unveil the picture of the late Dr. Elyden, one of Afric's greatest sons. Shortly after the death of Dr. Blyden a meeting was held in this hall to see in what way his memory would be perpetuated in Nigeria, and a Committee was appointed to carry out the object. The object that the Committee had in view was twofold: one, to get a portrait to be hung in this hall, so that future generations might know the man who has written and done so much for the general advancement of his people, the exponent of the true spirit of African nationality and manhood, and who also taught the people how to develop along their own lines of thought and preserve those national customs which are innocent and useful; the other was to establish a scholarship in one of the principal schools of learning in Nigeria, which would give youths of poor parents an opportunity af advancing in the higher plane of knowledge which, by their ability, would make them honourable and useful citizens. The first part of the project we have been able to accomplish in the portrait which Your Excellency is about to unveil, and the second we hope to accomplish in a not distant future. The portrait which you are about to unveil shows Dr. Blyden at the age of seventy.

"Dr. Blyden, Your Excellency, has shown to the world and to every educated and thinking Native, that if we Africans are to play an important role on this world's stage we must not place ourselves in a position uncongenial to our environments or inimical to our interest, but that we must go back to the standpoint of the manhood of our fathers and not cut loose from our ancestral moorings, which unfortunately many of us have done, with the inevitable result that this has driven us into mistakes and errors fatal to our physical and intellectual development and prosperity. Dr. Blyden's writings were rightly understood at one time only by a few, but to-day the world at large feels that his sentiments and opinions must be what should govern every race in its development.

"Dr. Blyden first came to Lagos as Director of Mohammedan Education, and during the time he was with us he was instrumental in getting the Mohammedans of the old school to see that education did not consist in mastering the Koran alone, but that if they have to fill important positions in their own country they must learn English methods. That he has succeeded in his object is testified by the very great number of Mohammedan youths in our schools, and the position some of them are now filling in the Government service and mercantile establishments. European learning is excellent and beneficial to an African's progress in life, but I agree with Dr. Blyden in saying that where that education takes one entirely from the mode of thought of his ancestors in matters inimical to his own interest, that education is imperfect, and in a measure unprofitable, and should be greatly deplored. Every educated African must agree that the surest and safest way towards the development of our fatherland, if we are to attain a creditable manhood, is on the lines laid down by this great African patriot in his speeches and writings. Your Excellency, on behalf of the Committe, I now ask you graciously to unveil the portrait of one whose name will always live in the minds of Africans as a patriot, thinker and an unselfish devotee to Afric's greatest needs."

The Governor-General replied that he was pleased to receive the invitation to unveil the portrait, because Dr. Blyden was not only a personal friend, but because he was full of patriotism of the right kind, that is a love of his native country free from self-seeking, and from hatred and suspicion of other nations of which wrong kind of patriotism a great deal is seen in Africa. He had also learnt much from Dr. Blyden's writings. Dr. Blyden earnestly desired the progress of his country by assimilating what was best in other nations. His Excellency continued that it was now twenty-six years since he first began work in Africa and concluded as follows:—

"In the natural course of things I cannot expect to spend very many more years in this county, but before I leave it is my earnest hope that I shall have achieved something for Nigeria and for Lagos that shall have initiated some lines of progress and reform which the true patriots among you will carry further after I am gone. I wish Dr. Blyden were among us to assist us with his advice. Long may his memory live amongst you as that of a patriot, a student and a man of kind and good thoughts. Pictures and busts tend to keep alive the memory of those we love and honour, and it therefore gives me great pleasure to unveil this portrait to-day. In doing so I cannot do better than urge you to imitate the life and character of Dr. Blyden. I offer my congratulations to Dr. Agbebi and the Committee, more especially in the fact that the subscriptions for this memorial have been raised here in Lagos, and not, as in the case of the Sierra Leone fountain and bust, by people in England. It is your own memorial to a man whom we honour and admire."

His Excellency then unveiled the portrait and the ceremony was brought to a close by the singing of a verse of "God Save the King," and three cheers for the Governor-General.—*African Times And Orient Review.* 2/1/14.

THE PREMIER AND NATIVES.—

Amuo

In the course of a speech to the Transvaal Agricultural Society on the 21st August, the Prime Minister let the cat out of the bag with regard to his feelings towards the Natives. He is thus reported:—

9-4-23

"He noticed that the question of labour for the farmers was prominent on the agenda. Like the mines, the farmers were crying out for more Kaffirs. (Laughter.) It was, however, impossible for them to have a first class farming industry with exclusive native labour—(applause)—but as farming progressed and they used more improved machinery, it was essential that greater use should be made of white labour on the farms. General Smuts emphasised that it was the policy of the Government more and more to employ white labour. He asked the farmers to do the same. It was complained that many farmers had no housing accommodation for white labour on their farms. Well, the Government was prepared to extend the Housing Act scheme so that it applied to small houses for white workers on farms. (Applause)." Comment is needless.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa

"WHAT IS WRONG WITH WEST AFRICA?"

WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIES.—IV. THE EXPENDITURE ON SOLDIERS AND POLICE.

West Africa

(*Continued from page 1433, last week.*)

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—Each of the West African Dependencies maintains a military force. The Gambia has one, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast and Nigeria also. Especially Nigeria. Soldiers are expensive, and there is no reason to doubt that in each case the troops, as troops, are thoroughly good value for the money they cost. In the early days it was necessary to have soldiers; and the records show how gallantly and efficiently our West African soldiers did all that was required of them.

But to-day there are no conditions (other than the provision of guards of honour for Governors and Acting Governors and Lieutenant-Governors and Acting Lieutenant-Governors), no conditions existing or in prospect that can justify the retention of these forces at present strength. Nigeria and the Gold Coast and the rest are settled; there are no more kings to be combated, nor cities to be reduced; internal peace is established and ensured. The German is gone from Africa, and that our French brothers-in-arms intend aggression is unthinkable. If they did entertain any such project our existing West African military establishment would have to be raised to the power of *n*, and our system of a highly-paid, voluntarily-recruited army of Africans would have to give place to conscription; also unthinkable.

12-1-23

The Muhammedan "menace" is a bogey—nothing more, so we do not need a large army in West Africa. If the Imperial authorities have any idea of employing our local troops out of West Africa in the next war—(and I for one am sure they have not)—it should be for the Army Council to provide from Imperial sources the necessary funds for their maintenance, pay and training.

The West African military establishments are to-day vastly in excess of any existing or possible West African requirements, and they should be materially reduced forthwith; and some of us think it would be safe and wise to do away with them altogether.

Alongside the troops we have excellent constabulary and police forces; these would require some little expansion; 20 per cent. of the money saved on the soldiers would cover the cost of it. It should be remembered that the European *personnel* of constabulary and police have their careers, spend their working lives, in West Africa. Their opposite numbers in the soldiers do not, being birds of passage; normally they do two or three tours, five years in all, including leaves, and then depart.

The Public Works Department is popularly known as the Public Waste Department. This is hard on the men who are doing good service, but it is true that the Department does get through an enormous amount of money.

The European *personnel* is large and expensive. Far too much is spent in putting up elaborate quarters in such places as Lagos. It is unnecessary and unseemly to provide quite junior officials with houses at a cost of several thousands of pounds apiece, and such things ought not to be. Up-country, officials are housed much more cheaply, and the conditions generally are such that simple, inexpensive quarters are all that are necessary or should be expected or provided.

There has been ample time now for the Department to have trained large numbers of competent African artizans—carpenters masons, bricklayers, brickmakers, and the like. These people should be able to put up adequate buildings using the minimum of imported materials. Africans and half-castes, far less advanced than the people of West Africa, do this work in South Africa. The French, in their country bordering on Nigeria, have for years had many admirable buildings of this sort. Half-a-dozen of them can be provided for the cost of one small bungalow made with imported roofing and girders and timbers, erected under the supervision of a European foreman.

The European *personnel* could and ought to be greatly reduced. Private enterprise should be encouraged. Contractors, African or other, could do a vast amount of work if they were given the chances. The Department should be organised rather to supervise construction than to undertake it. And the effort generally should be educational, to increase the numbers and improve the efficiency of the Native artizans, and distribute them about the country.

Throughout the West African Dependencies there is far too much Secretariat. In Nigeria alone there are three, separate and distinct, corresponding endlessly with each other, not invariably, it is said, solely in the best interests of the Public Service. All the Secretariats are heavily staffed with Europeans and with the most expensive of the African clerical establishment, and they cost a great deal of money. They commonly use far more elaborate stationery than do the great departments in Whitehall—finest quality paper, in large sheets, mightily embossed—and they use a great deal of it. The Secretary of State for the Colonies is much more modest in this matter. The point is typical.

The tendency all the time is for the Secretariats to regard initiative as their monopoly; to centralise all effective power in their own hands. As the years pass they tend more and more to regard their function as mainly critical. Nobody can do anything without reference to the Secretariat, which examines, criticises, queries, amends, all proposals submitted. This involves delay, and sometimes even irritation; so that there is growing up a feeling of hostility towards the Secretariats in the bosoms of them that have to plan and do things. It was not always so; but the Secretariat powers have increased, are increasing, and ought, in the interests of West Africa, to be diminished. It is high time

The method of recruitment for the Secretariats is probably to blame. The European *personnel* consists of:

(1) Men, the whole of whose experience of the Public Service has been in a West African Secretariat,

(2) men, usually senior, transferred from West Indian or other Secretariats, and,

(3) to a limited extent, men with West African service elsewhere than in a Secretariat.

Such a method does not make for strength.

No man should be appointed to a West African Secretariat unless and until he has done several years' work as a political officer in West Africa. Nothing can take the place of that experience, which means *some* knowledge, at any rate, of the mentality of the people of the country and its conditions, and of African languages.

A good deal of the work done in the Secretariats is made there, and is unnecessary. Much of the interminable criticism, querying and referring back, is not useful. Heads of Departments should be allowed greater freedom generally. If, under responsibility, they prove incompetent, they ought to be got rid of; there are in every Department capable men ready and willing to step up and take their places.

The methodical, meticulous scrutiny of every proposal, the inhibition of any and every activity unless sanction has been previously sought and fought for and obtained, clogs and delays things, is entirely paralysing, and indirectly even more than directly entails avoidable expenditure, alike of time and of money.

Yours faithfully, CIVIS.

WEST AFRICAN PRODUCE REPORTS.

West Africa

Messrs. E. H. Perrin and Co., Ltd., Exchange Buildings, Liverpool, state in the course of their report under date Nov. 28:—

Palm-kernels.—Although business limited buyers to-day of Nov./Jan. shipment at £19 13s. 9d. and Dec./Feb. or Jan./March £19 15s., sellers asking £19 16s. 3d. for either period. Crushers, although following market with interest, not concluded much business, while importers still holding out for £20. Hull shared in prevailing dulness and marked down at one time also to £19 7s. 6d. but on demand springing up for near positions values hardened and buyers of Oct./Nov. at £19 15s. or of Nov./Dec. at £19 13s. 9d. with sellers at 1s. 3d. more. Hamburg again paid £20 2s. 6d. on Liverpool cintract for fines afloat and £19 17s. 6d. for Nov./Dec. shipment. To-day rather buyers than sellers at these prices.

Palm-oil.—Few fluctuations in value. Trading in most descriptions and occasionally small concession (down or up) made by sellers or buyers to bring about business. Lagos and soft regulars turn easier but mediums and Sherbros virtually unchanged, whilst hards and irregulars 5s. to 10s. ton dearer. Forward positions still closely in line with early ones, but oil having first transit option commands big premium over parcels having only quay option. U.S.A. and Continent taking more interest as buyers, but not yet quite up to prices asked by importers. Week's sales estimated as about 1,500 tons, and to-day we are steady market at spot prices, based on quay terms of contract No. 21, which follow: Bonny/Old Calabar, £37 5s.; Opobo, £37 10s.; Cameroons, £37; Benin, £37 12s. 6d.; Port Harcourt, £37 10s.; Niger, Brass, New Calabar, £38; Ivory Coast, £37 5s.; Lagos, £38; French/Lagos, £37 10s.; Sherbro/Sierra Leone, £37 10s.; Accra/Addah, £37 5s.; Congo, £37 15s.; Saltponds, £37 10s.; Grand Bassas, £37 10s.; Clarified, £37; Bleached, £40 5s.

Messrs. Wm. Porter and Co., Rumford Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 26:—

Palm-oil.—Market firm undertone, but little business done. America doing little, and not been so many inquiries from Continent. However, importers offer sparingly, and we open fairly steady.

Palm-kernels (all kinds).—Market in United Kingdom last week rather quieter, and business done not large, although consumers able to buy limited quantities from speculators. Importers only offered sparingly. Good demand to Hamburg for near parcels 5s. to 7s. 6d. premium over United Kingdom market. To-day's opening—Steady.

Cocoa.—United Kingdom: Spot.—Quiet. Sales 2,935 bags at 25s. to 30s. 6d. ex store. New crop f.o.b. "D" Clause—Shade steadier; business done 26s. 6d., further buyers, sellers ask 26s. 9d. Buyers of fine fermented 31s. We quote Spot fine fermented Accra about 31s.; fair fermented about 30s. 6d.; f.a.q. about 28s. To-day's opening: F.o.b. "D" clause better; business done at 26s. 9d.

Ground-nuts.—Firm; undecorticated Rufisque new Jan./Feb. shipment £18; undecorticated Gambia £17 17s. 6d.; Niger decorticated new £23 15s.

Copra.—Fully steady; Lomé c.i.f. North Continent £28 to £28 5s. per ton.

Ebony.—Small parcel sold on quay at £12 ton.

Coffee.—Further sales Liberian elephant berry 59s.

Beeswax.—Quiet; a small business done in Gambia 95s.

Piassava.—At auction about 600 bundles of Grand Bassa offered about 300 sold at £17 to £18 ton.

Messrs. Reimler, Miney and Co., Hamburg, report under date Nov. 24:—

Palm-kernels.—Opened firm, easing later. Business in fine at £20 to £20 2s 6d., Hamburg contract, £19 15s. to £19 17s. 6d., Liverpool contract; Bissaos £19 12s. 6d. Congos £19 7s. 6d. to £19 10s., Hamburg contract

Ground-nuts.—Good demand for near stuff, but nothing offering. Jan./Feb. shipment, new crop offering £23 15s., no buyers.

Palm-oil.—Quiet and no important business done.

Cocoa.—Prices for Accra firmed up a little, Thomé declined. Spot business somewhat lively.

Messrs. Holt and Moore, Fenwick Court, Brunswick Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 26:—

Maize.—Firm, closing values of yellow Plate on spot 8s. 1½d. No. 2 white flat South African 8s. 3d. 100 lbs. A small parcel of 200 bags West African, per "Onitsha," sold at 8s. per 100 lbs. ex quay.

Messrs. J. H. Rayner and Co., 11, Old Hall Street, Liverpool, report under date Nov. 26:—

Cocoa.—Forward market for West African steady, sellers scarce. Spot market dull, sales for week only 2,935 bags at 25s. to 30s. 6d. ex store. A fair business in f.f. to Jan./March shipment at 26s. 6d. f.o.b., further buyers, sellers 26s. 9d. f.o.b. "A" clause fine fermented Accra done at 31s. ex quay Liverpool further buyers. Lagos f.a.q. N.C. sellers 28s. ex quay Liverpool, Nov./Jan. shipment, buyers indifferent, probably 27s. Continental Markets: Rather dull, owing to good fermented offering afloat at 29s. c.i.f. Forward, steadier with little offering. Sellers of g.f. 29s. 6d., and f.f. 29s. c.i.f., buyers 6d. less. Lagos f.a.q. new crop sellers 26s. 6d. c.i.f., without buyers. New York: Market steady, business in f.f., Dec./Feb., 30s. c.i.f., further buyers, sellers 30s. 6d. c.i.f Lagos f.a.q., new neglected because bryers demand 15 per cent. guarantee, which sellers will not so far grant. Sao Thomé: Quoted 37s. c.i.f.

Messrs. Emmanuel Faure, 23, Cours de Verdun, report under date Nov. 24:—

Ground-nuts.—Firm. Shippers of Rufisque off the market, but unwilling to pay high prices asked. Rufisque/similar would still fetch £18 10s. to U.K. for Dec./Jan. shipment and £18 5s. Jan./Feb.

Palm-kernels.—Firm on the whole. Close buyers in Marseilles at 160 frs. for Dahomey, Dec./Jan. shipment.

Palm-oil.—Firm, without much change.

Cocoa.—Dull and weak.

Messrs. De Waal and Van Overzee, Amsterdam, report under date Nov. 22:—

Cocoa.—Accra: Unchanged with good offering at about 29s. c.i.f. for Jan./March shipment. Spot small demand at unchanged prices. Lagos sellers 26s. to 24s., no buyers. Thomé: Too high compared with Bahia. We quote 34s.

Messrs. Feder and Berg, Hamburg, report under date Nov. 24:—

Palm-kernels.—As much as £20 2s. 6d., basis 49 per cent., paid for fines, afloat; then reaction has set in, but market steadied again, and closes at £20, for afloat. Shipment positions neglected, although might be obtainable at discount of 5s. ton.

Palm-oil.—General position unchanged. Lagos £38 buyers, Cameroon and Old Calabar £37, no sellers

The "Raw African" Absurdity.

"Often you hear people saying they would rather have 'the raw heathen' than the 'modern African.' May I ask them to consider that apart from this being a somewhat selfish attitude, the practical point emerges that they *cannot* have the raw heathen any more? With the opening up of the country he has largely gone out of existence, and what remains of him must go too. That seems to me to make a tremendous claim for missionary work. A great part of our job is to see the people through this difficult transition period. The work of the Church is needed to go on along with the development of the country, and it is doing so. The rate at which growth has taken place is marvellous. When I first went out, only about 10 towns in what is now my diocese had churches. Now there are over 800 churches, and they are increasing at a tremendous rate. This growth of the Church is not mainly the result of the European missionaries' work, nor even of that of the African catechists or clergy; it is mainly due to the work of the African converts themselves. They travel about the country now that travel is safe, and they talk with their people in their own language and tell them of their new religion, and the young people are keen to acquire the new learning. The convert begins to teach them. Then they build a little church, and they have public worship in the mornings and evenings and on Sundays, and after a year or two they go to the nearest mission station and ask the European missionary to come and dedicate their church and baptise them. That is perhaps the first the European missionary knows of their existence. This is going on all over the Southern Provinces. But these young converts need a tremendous lot of instruction. They cannot realise all at once what the new life should really involve. The first step of giving up their Paganism and accepting Christianity is a real step forward. It is a real desire for something higher and better. But it does not follow, because they take this first step, that they will, unassisted, go on to learn all that the Christian life really involves. It takes years of training and of teaching before they can imbibe that. And if they fail to 'make good' it is often because of the lack of proper teaching and adequate superintendence. We appoint young African teachers in these villages to try to carry on this work, but these teachers need continual help and guidance and control. Hence our need of more European missionaries and more trained Africans also.

The Transition Stage.

"We are trying to help them through this transition stage, and if we are to succeed I am convinced that both in Church and civil life co-operation between the two races is absolutely essential. If the European is to work happily and successfully with the African he needs three great traits in his character: kindness, firmness, and justice. The absence of any one of the three is fatal. To these the African will respond, and with them everything can be accomplished.

"Perhaps it will be well to speak more fully of the Liquor Traffic. In opposing it, I do not think primarily of the ill effects brought about by it in the past. These may easily be exaggerated, though I have personally seen considerable harm accruing from it, of which I gave evidence before the Royal Commission. But what I think specially about is the future. Drink has been a great curse in Britain itself, and we are now doing our best to check it by reducing the number of licensed houses, by temperance work, and so forth. I do not want West Africa to get the evils which drink has caused in Britain and for the trade to become a sort of vested interest. It is said that the Africans never drink to excess except in semi-religious rites such as at funerals, weddings, etc., and I think this is largely true, but they can acquire, and in many instances have acquired, the habit of regular and systematic drinking to excess. The African is a born and clever imitator, and when he sees the European drinking, if he has an opportunity, he is very ready to do the same; and can we fairly blame him if he does? I have known chiefs who began well but from this cause have become regular drinkers, and the people may soon follow their lead. Distilling is an art unknown to the African. I do not wish to see the educated Africans fall into the same habit, and I think anyone must acknowledge that distilled spirit has a worse effect than the beers and palm wines of the country itself; but if gin is imported the people will drink it, and will learn to drink it to excess. I was thankful that at the end of the war the traffic was practically put a stop to, and for the future of the country I think it would be disastrous to introduce it again.

"With regard to the restrictions on missionary work in Northern Nigeria, it is generally said that the British gave a pledge that they would not interfere with the religion of the Moslems. What the character and wording of that pledge were I do not know, though I and others would greatly like to do so. But I do know that Sir Frederick Lugard soon after the opening up of the North gave the C.M.S. a site in the heart of the Native city of Zaria, where Dr. Miller and lady missionaries have been at work for about 20 years. There has been no serious objection to their presence, and no semblance of a riot. If the pledge of the Government was that missionaries should not be allowed there, was not that pledge broken as soon as it was given? If, on the other hand, we have worked peaceably in one of the Emirates for so long, is there any reason to fear that we should not work in the same spirit in the others?"

Race Problem — 1923.

Arrived

"WHAT IS WRONG WITH BRITISH WEST AFRICA?"

WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIES, II.—THE NIGERIAN NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

(*Continued from page* 1370, *last week.*)

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—A Nigerian Civil Servant has written a letter to WEST AFRICA drawing attention to the waste of public money which arises from the creation and maintenance of a dual Administration in Nigeria.

The Nigerian Government "runs" an administrative service throughout the country. Side by side with this there is a Native Administration. So that you have in the same town a Government gaol and a Native Administration prison; a Government Treasury with Treasurer and a Native Administration ditto; Government Police and Native Administration ditto; a Native Administration Court and a Government Court; a District Commissioner at £960 per annum in charge of the *whole* area, and a Native Administration Emir at £2,000 per annum in charge of a *part* of it, and so on. It sounds unlikely, but it is true. 11-17-23

Out of every pound raised by direct taxation the Nigerian Government takes 10s., and the rest goes to the Native Administration, and is spent in the main unwisely. As the revenue grows so does the horde of paid office-bearers, till every remotest, least, poor relation of an Emir is safely on the pay roll, and the wretched taxpayer sees himself bled more than ever before. The only difference is that to-day the operation is done scientifically: the technique is vastly improved. Government prevents the Native Administration from killing the golden-egg-producing proletariat. The poor man now is not enslaved, nor murdered, nor openly looted by the Chief: he is protected, and he works, is urged to work, and shown how; and he pays taxes and continues to work and to be poor. There are two classes of Natives: (a) those who toil and pay taxes, and (b) those who draw salaries.

Peace and security have been established, communications have been improved, trade has been opened up and fostered by European traders and officials, by their work and courage and devotion at who knows what cost in health and in life itself. Government, seeking a Native ally in its job, joined to itself the local ruler, associated itself with this person, magnified and multiplied his gettings manifold, and now maintains him by its bayonets in the enjoyment of them. Going into partnership with the exploited more than with the exploiter would have been better; but that way would have taken longer to get apparent results. To the making of eye-wash often great injustice goes.

Dual administration, "Indirect Rule," is a fraud and a failure. Whilst Government share in running the country is on the whole done honestly, decently and well, the Native Administration, extensive and sometimes corrupt, functions along its own characteristic line. Daily, as the salary-drawing class better appreciates the machine placed at its disposition by Government, daily this machine moves more and ever—more efficiently in oppressing and exploiting the poor. Justice is denied. Taxes are collected twice over. The *corvée* is in full swing; public works and other works done by the people at command are underpaid or not paid at all, the money provided being intercepted and kept by the Chief. Any of the *plebs* objecting is speedily and effectively dealt with.

In theory any Native, the humblest, has right of access to the European Government official. In practice, this right is being less and less frequently exercised. The Political Officers go up and down the country and ask, "Any complaints?"—and the answer, all but always, is "None!" The Native Administration officials are *constants;* the Political Officer, here to-day, to-morrow gone on leave or dead or transferred to the other end of the country, is a *variable;* and the small cultivator who complains to Government of the Native Administration is an arrant brave fool, set apart for trouble soon.

This old man of the sea of a Native Administration, clamped on to the shoulders of the struggling peasantry, is an abomination, growing daily more abominable. It ought to be scrapped; it will have to be scrapped. The thing can't be mended: it must be ended.

The scrapping of the Native Administration would release funds sufficient to provide for the efficient discharge of its functions by other hands, *and a handsome surplus in addition.*

Increase the number of junior political officers, put them into partnership with the exploited class, *not* with the exploiter class. Let them build, from and with the exploited, upwards towards a democratic State—village councils, then on to councils of groups of villages, and so on. The £5,000 a year Emirs and their droves of paid followers will not be missed, certainly not regretted.

But the Native Administration as it exists to-day is an official fetish. The leading Government men, out of touch with its workings, are committed to it; the junior men who live and work alongside it, see it at closest quarters constantly, know that it is a costly failure, and they dare not say so. A man has his future in the service to consider, and it is ruin and damnation for a Political Officer to tell the truth about the Native Administration.

Lord Cromer in one of his essays lays it down that under a system of Direct Rule it is possible to provide in a Native African community decent, honest, efficient administration; and he denies that this can be done under Indirect Rule Lord Cromer is as good an authority as any of the present-day Nigerian "brass hats."

Retrench the whole Native Administration whilst it is yet possible to do so; put *finis* to tyranny unlimited, give good government in place, and reduce expenditure by 50 per cent. Yours faithfully,

CIVIS.

[We do not wish to interrupt the argument of "Civis" or any other man who has anything to say which is mean for the good of British West Africa; but can the present Government of Nigeria or any individual member of its staff, however high placed, be held responsible for the Indirect Rule system? And—a very much greater matter—is it just to write of Indirect Rule as if it were only a question of the *money* cost of administration? The system may or may not be practicable as a permanent institution. We incline to think—or shall we say fear?—that influences on the side of British (and, generally, Western European) ways of life are so numerous, varied, and continuous that they will prevail. But it seems to us that one states only half the case if one fails to recognise that the men who set up the system, in particular one of the wisest of those who have served Britain and Africa, Sir Frederick Lugard, were actuated by the desire to bring out the best from the people of the Mohammedan States by leaving them to be *themselves,* not founding their life and civilisation upon the life and civilisation of another race. We cannot ourselves see how it will be possible permanently to keep the people within the old system. It seems likely to be a case of new wine and old bottles. It may be that the extraordinarily interesting Ahmadia movement in Islam will provide a bridge from the old to the newer ways and needs. But we can see very clearly that any British Government here or in West Africa must so shape its policy (even though this entails some loss of money) as to give no ground for the charge that it is trying to undermine the religion of the Mohammedan. Islam knows no geographical limits. Has "Civis" considered this? If the change from Mohammedan methods and ideas of Government is to come, it must come very, very gradually, and from the people themselves. In any event, any "Inchcape" Commission would be wise, in our opinion, in refraining from any recommendation which could be ruled out on the ground that its adoption might hurt Mohammedan susceptibilities generally.—ED., "W. A."]

COAST NEWS AND COMMENT.

Secret of a Gold Coaster's Success.

Domestic affairs in Lagos have hitherto kept the Nigerian papers from more than a casual reference to the Calabar election, and it is only now that the secret of a Gold Coaster's success in that town is explained. Prince Ata-Amonu, it seems, made his stand on the policy of law reform, which, besides being an important point in the programme of the National Democrats at Lagos, would be understood locally to promise opposition to the Provincial Courts Ordinance. His principal opponent, Mr. Archibong, whom he overcame by one vote, adopted the slogan of "exclude all foreigners" that is, Africans from outside the Calabar area, which contained no constructive idea and was, moreover, ill-advised in a town where Gold Coast, Yoruba, Ibo, and Ibibio communities are found in strength. Mr. C. W. Clinton's defeat is ascribed in part to the fact that his policy—"The progress of the race"—was too vague, and that he further made the mistake of disregarding opponents other than the ultimate victor. The fourth candidate, Chief Offiong, also suffered from the lack of a definite programme, for the cry of "Efik-land for the Efiks," which he at one time adopted, had already been appropriated. The resemblance between the policy of Prince Ata-Amonu and that of his Lagos colleagues on the Council removes any doubt as to his collaboration with them in their future programme, and had he been better known in Lagos there is no doubt that the news of his election would have been an added reason for the "mafficking" of the Democrats.

The Injurious Pests Ordinance, Gold Coast.

In view of the immense importance to the Gold Coast of its cocoa industry, it is no wonder that the Injurious Pests Ordinance is regarded by the people only as it affects cocoa. The new Bill, which has already been read for the first time in the Legislative Council, gives the

Government wide powers in regulating the purchase and import of economic plants, and in prescribing treatment against the attacks of insect or vegetable pests. It provides for the examination of farms by Government inspectors, who will have power to administer a first treatment to any disease or parasite found, and to prescribe what further action must be taken by the farmer, while no farm will be allowed to fall out of proper cultivation unless every plant covered by the Ordinance has previously been destroyed. The question of compensation, if it should arise, is to be left to the unfettered discretion of the Governor—the wisdom of which course is doubtful. As is usual with legislation of this nature, the provisions are general, and the actual procedure will be more clearly defined from time to time by Orders in Council, when the onslaught of some pest is directly threatened. This vagueness, however, is bound to create suspicion in the minds of the farmers, especially as it places much power of persecution in the hands of inspectors. Moreover, the farmers read the clauses of the Ordinance in their most literal light, and argue that if they cannot grow cocoa just as they wish, a licence will probably soon be necessary for the cultivation of ordinary foodstuffs, and it is but a step from that to the Government control of all timber and minerals, and the alienation of their lands. Of course, to any European accustomed to, say, the regulations regarding wart disease among potatoes, the reasoning appears absurd; but the European does not receive shocks with regard to the ownership of his land, and has not the fear of dispossession influencing his every thought. It is hoped that when the Ordinance is passed, as passed it will be sooner or later, every effort will be made to confine its working to really dangerous outbreaks of plant-disease, and to limit to a minimum the numbers and activities of inspectors until the farmers realise, in the increased yield of their crops, the beneficial effects of such legislation.

Mr. Norman Melland and the Short Tour.

How long must one sojourn in West Africa before the publication of one's impressions are likely to be considered of value? Not so long ago, the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission paid a visit which, considering the area to be covered, might be described as a flying one, with useful results, and it is anticipated that the forthcoming short survey by Mr. Ormsby-Gore will also be of great benefit to the Coast, and yet none of these travellers could be considered as "Old Coasters." Another visit was that of Mr. Norman Melland, Chairman of the African Section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, who made a trip of several months' duration to West Africa to study the prospects of trade generally, and finally wrote in these columns some extremely modest, but useful, impressions, in which he utterly disavows any pretence to the authority to which, in one great department at least, his commercial eminence would entitle him. Yet he is attacked in Sierra Leone, gratuitously charged with posing as an authority, and with uttering parrot-fashion the views of "highly-paid and pampered officialdom." The cause, it appears, why all his views must be considered as worthless is because he expressed himself as not at all sure that one-year tours did not in general give better results than longer ones. From a merchant, constrained to study the best means of obtaining the most economical results, such an opinion should carry additional weight, but it seems that this is not so—he is accused of deliberately aiding in keeping taxation at its high level by obstructing the ideal of the three-year tour for officials. If this alleged motive of his is as traitorous to the interests of commerce as would appear, it is difficult to understand why the African Section of his Chamber of Commerce has not expressed disapprobation, especially as convincing proof of the possibility of lengthening the tour is adduced from the lives of a few "Old Coasters," and from the fact that the Governor's little daughter remained in the Colony for six and a-half months in perfect health! In these days of keen competition, Sierra Leone can rest assured that the commercial houses, at any rate, will lengthen the tour to the utmost extent that is profitable, and that in the light of their experience the Government would soon be forced to follow suit. WEST AFRICA, as its columns show, shares Mr. Melland's doubts as to the wisdom of long tours. If European Civil Servants are not in good condition the interests of Africa and Africans may easily suffer.

The National Congress.

The election of officials for the Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress has resulted in the appointment of the Hon. C. May as President, Mr. W. S. Coles as Secretary, and Mr. B. W. Davies as Treasurer, together with assistant secretaries and auditors, and a new council. The last includes all the principal tribal rulers, the Imams of Fourah Bay and Freetown, and many of the "intelligentsia" class. The "Sierra Leone Echo," one of the principal critics of the organisation, considers that, guided rightly, the Congress may achieve much for West Africa, and expresses the belief that the results of the election as they become more widely known locally will greatly strengthen public opinion in its favour. The old doubt, however, exists as to whether the Congress can be considered as more than representative of the "intelligentsia" class, for even the inclusion of the names of the tribal rulers in its Council gives no stability without the active membership of their more humble followers. The National Congress seems likely to have two early opportunities to establish or strengthen its prestige—the coming of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, and the grant of the franchise to the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. In the former Colony it seems likely to gain strength, and is pursuing an active propaganda policy, particularly among the schools, where the General Secretary has been organising addresses to the children, but in the latter the position appears to be much less satisfactory.

Opening of Gold Coast Hospital.

On October 9th the new hospital at Accra was opened by Sir Gordon Guggisberg in the presence of a considerable assembly. After an optimistic survey of health conditions generally in the Gold Coast, his Excellency announced that the following gentlemen had been invited to become members of the Board of Visitors, under the chairmanship of the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services: The Hon. F. E. Talland (Banks), Capt. A. E. Stickings (Merchants), Rev. A. Wilkie (Missions), Dr. Nanka-Bruce, and Mr. van Hien. The occasion was also made noteworthy by the investiture of Dr. D. Alexander with the insignia of a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and of Dr. Quartey-Papafio with that of an Officer of the Order of the British Empire.

WEST AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TROPICAL MEDICINE.

The first Congress of Tropical Medicine in West Africa was held (reports the "British Medical Journal") from July 16th to 23rd at Loanda, by the invitation of the Government of Angola. Those who know West Africa, and the difficulties of finding accommodation for 120 guests in one town, will appreciate the magnitude of the test put upon Portuguese hospitality. But the hosts rose splendidly to the occasion. Each delegate realised that he was not only a welcome but an exceptionally favoured guest, and this hospitality was extended also to wives and children of the "congressistas." The object of the congress was to discuss the ways and means of attacking the medical and sanitary problems, more particularly with regard to the Native inhabitants, of the Colonies represented. The first session was devoted to sanitary organisation; the following five were given over to practical methods in the prophylaxis and treatment of the prevalent diseases; and at the remaining sessions communications were read on the results of scientific research. At the opening meeting the municipal council formally offered its welcome and its magnificent chambers, and at a later stage the High Commissioner of the Republic in Angola—General José Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos—officially, and in his capacity of honorary president of the congress, opened the proceedings. Eighty-three communications were read and discussed, main interest being centred on sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, leprosy, schistosomiasis, and malaria. Other subjects included blood and intestinal protozoa, pathogenic fungi, climatology, and anthropology. Seventy-six delegates attended the meetings, representative of Angola, Portugal, Belgian Congo, San Thomé, Cameroon, French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Portuguese India, Mozambique, Paris, the Union of South Africa, Nigeria, and the London School of Tropical Medicine. At the final meeting resolutions dealing with inter-colonial public health reports, sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, and other diseases were passed. A full report of the proceedings will be published by the executive committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Damos Mora. Two prizes of 10,000 francs each were offered, one for the paper on the best practical methods of hospital treatment of the Native, and the other for the most outstanding work in the proceedings of the congress. The social side was a series of official receptions, dinners, luncheons, dances, and garden parties. Fireworks, illuminated displays at night, a cinematograph entertainment, an excursion into the interior at Humabo, a hunting expedition at Mossamedes, and visits to local factories and places of interest, including hospitals, contributed to make the delegate's life a very crowded one and full of interest. Not only at Loanda was entertainment provided, but also at Novo Redondo, Lobito, Benguela, and Mossamedes, and two enjoyable days were spent at the beautiful island of San Thomé. The next congress is fixed for 1927, at Dakar.

Abyssinia in the League of Nations.

Reports of the meeting of the League of Nations assembly at Geneva state that by unanimous vote Abyssinia has been admitted to the League. The decision was received with loud applause, in which those in the public galleries freely joined. The Abyssinian delegation, attired in the national costume, mounted the tribune, being received with renewed cheers, and read a statement in their own language to the effect that Ethiopia possessed a civilisation of her own, but would be glad to draw also upon Western ideas of civilisation and to help in the great cause of human solidarity. Abyssinia is the 56th country to become a member of the League. Her admission may mean—every lover of real progress among mankind will hope it will mean—great things for the Africa of the future.

African Progress Union.

The annual meeting of the African Progress Union is to be held on Tuesday next in the Council Chamber, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W., at 2.45. The meeting will open with an address of welcome to the delegates of the Pan-African Congress, and after a speech on some of the Native problems in British East Africa, by the President, Dr. Alcindor, there will be an address by Dr. W. E. B. du Bois. This will be followed by an address by Mr. J. H. Harris on the League of Nations and Native races.

Race Problem—1923
Africa.

Cape Teachers and the Department.

In reply to the Resolutions of the C.N.T.A., the Department of Education has replied to the Sercetary thus:—10-30-23

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of a communication received from you on the 20th August, covering particulars of resolutions of the Cape Native Teachers Association, passed at the Conference held at King William's in July. These resolutions have been fully considered, and the following observations are offered in connection therewith:—

1. At the recent Session of the Provincial Council, an ordinance was passed providing that in mission schools for coloured pupils and natives, remission of the charges for school books and requisites may be granted by the managers to indigent children in any school; provided that the total value of such remissions shall not exceed fifty per cent. of the total value of books and requisites supplied to pupils on the roll of that school up to and including Standard VI, and provided further, that in such cases as the managers may decide, remission of the said charges may be granted in excess of fifty per cent; but the cost of such excess shall be met by local effort and shall not form a charge upon the funds of a Municipal or Divisional Council or upon the Provincial Revenue Fund

2. The Department is fully alive to the necessity for providing specialists to instruct teachers in handicrafts, but the appointment of these has not been possible owing to the lack of funds. At the same time, wherever it could be done with the means at the Department's disposal, arrangements have been made for classes of instruction and at Queenstown an exhibition of handicrafts and demonstrations of the work being done are to be held during the vacation week for the benefit of teachers

It is also expected that teachers will make every effort to collect independently as much information as they can, and use their powers of initiative in developing this side of their work.

3. The question of the authorisation of maintenance grants to teachers returning to training institutions to improve their qualifications will receive consideration when the necessary funds are available, but no hope can be held out that financial assistance will be afforded the families of teachers.

4. In the new courses of training for teachers, great importance is attached to training as apart from the mere passing of an examination. Such training is not to be acquired by private study, and can only be received at an approved training school. For this reason, the Department is unable to agree to the request that acting teachers be allowed to take the Native Primary Higher Course by private study

5. A definite and tabulated scale of salaries for native teachers has been in use for some time, and all initial appointments within recent years have been made on this scale. Unfortunately the stringency which has prevailed since the end of 1920 has prevented the raising to this scale of the salaries of those teachers, who, at the consolidation of teachers' salaries in 1920, were drawing the salaries below the scale because of the inadequacy of the local contribution then required by law. The same cause has prevented the granting of the increments included in the scales. The sum of £30,000, now provided by the Union Government, is being devoted to the removal, as far as possible, of the anomalies thus created. When these are removed, teachers will be paid on the definite scales now in operation. It is the strong desire of the Department that these scales should be substantially increased, but this cannot be done until the Union Government substantially increases its contribution.

When sufficient funds are provided for the adoption of uniform and more liberal scales of salaries, these scales will doubtless be published for general information.

The Department is in entire agreement with the views expressed, that teachers should be paid salaries sufficient to enable them to live up to a standard worthy of their position, and has made unceasing efforts in this direction for the past three years. Teachers will readily understand, however, that since the Provincial Administration is forbidden to tax natives for the purpose, the Department can go

REPATRIATED SLAVES GO BACK TO PRIMITIVE

Commercial

Gibbons Visis Ex-American Blacks in Gambia

HAVE SLAVES OF OWN

Negroes, Deported to Africa by Abolitionists in 1823, Have Not Fared So Well as Those Who Remained in America.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

(Copyright Cable to The Chicago Tribune and The Commercial Appeal.)

BATHURST, Gambia, British West Africa, Sept. 29.—Descendants of liberated American slaves, repatriated to Africa by American abolition societies in 1823, have petitioned the governor of this British possesion to specify the day during the next three months when they may celebrate the centennial of their establishment on the MacCarthy Island in Gambia River.

On this island, 160 miles due west, in the jungles and mangrove swamps of the interior, where monkeys, hippopotamuses and crocodiles are listed as public nuisances. I had the opportunity of meeting and talking with the children and grandchildren of the transplanted American slaves and to note what progress they had made during a century of freedom under the British flag.

Their knowledge of the land that liberated them was practically nil, and only the dimmest memory of slavery days has come down to them in legend and folk lore, but they were well aware of, and grateful for Great Britain's part in their repatriation, which consisted in purchasing MacCarthy Island from native chiefs for bottles of trade gin and in protecting the newcomers from savages.

Landed Back in Africa

Thus their fathers were landed back on the coast from which it is estimated that more than 3,000 were carried away in slave ships. Sir John Hawkins in 1562 was the first Englishman to participate in the slave traffic, which he did under royal permission.

Georgetown on MacCarthy Island is a community of galvanized roofed trading posts and the residence of the English commissioner and his wife, who are the lonesome king and queen of some 30,000 natives.

The natives live in one-story huts of brick, plaster, or stone, but many have returned to native made shelters of mud and bamboo matting. A small proportion dress partially, if not entirely after the European fashion, but the majority find it more comfortable to adopt the prevalent native garb of flowing blue and white cotton gowns, turbans and native slippers.

There is one Protestant and one Catholic church in Georgetown but Mohammedanism undoubtedly is more popular, while the belief in "Juju" or witchcraft, marks the larger number as plain pagans. Most of those professing Christianity send for a voodoo man of death when death approaches and they purchase death oaths, charms and samulates with which to appease the devils and the evil spirit of the beyond.

Speak Pidjin English.

Few of them speak English.

Between the few black gambians who speak pure English and the great majority who speak only the jungle jragons of mandigos, West Jollofs, and Fulahs, is the serving and boat boy class, which makes use of pidjin English in common use between the whites and blacks all down the West African coast.

I do not believe that the American negroes would be much taken with the native food in Gambia, which is mostly rice and fish, relieved in season by bananas and other locally grown tropical fruits. Eggs are rather unpopular, chickens are an untouchable luxury, and the delight of pork chops unknown. But these former American blacks can purchase openly across the bar in either of Bathurst's two saloons, any quantity of English gin or Scotch whisky.

The only restriction imposed by the authorities is that the alcoholic beverages sold be of good quality.

The women are not generally educated, polygamy is practiced, and domestic slavery is recognized, although any commerce in slaves, even between natives, is forbidden.

Agriculture constitutes the only industry and most of the work is done by Senegalese farmers who come into Gambia during the peanut planting season and rent ground from which they harvest crops before returning to their homes in French territory which borders the entire colony on the north, south and east.

Some negro land owners might be called peanut millionaires, with wharves and towns along the river which forms the only source of communication in a country which exists solely by reason of this trade. Last year the colony exported 65,000 tons of peanuts, worth approximately $5,000,000. Cotton and sisal have been almost entirely neglected in favor of peanuts from which English chemists, during the war, extracted the glycerin necessary to feed the guns. The colony imports cotton goods from England, sugar from France and flour, gasoline and timber from America.

11-30-23

THE COLOR LINE IN AFRICA.

The British imperial conference in London has come to an apparent deadlock over the question of granting equal political rights to natives of India resident in South Africa. Gen. Jan Smuts, the South African premier, draws the line and refuses to be budged. The situation affords an interesting sidelight upon the race problem all over the world.

Chicago Daily Tribune

It reveals that it is a problem which is solved or settled, more or less permanently, only by arbitrary decision. It is a problem based upon race consciousness, and perhaps upon race hatred, of such fundamental nature in human character that in the last analysis it always proves itself beyond debate. It is never a question which is decided by abstract justice, but always by the fiat of the dominant factor in each government. That may be sad, but it is so. 11-5-23

Thus Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have no difficulties as to the political status of their residents of Indian blood because those of Indian blood form a negligible minority in those dominions—2,000 in Australia, 6,000 in New Zealand, and 1,200 in Canada. But when the race problem really touches them those same people are implacable. They draw a color line against the Japanese which is more rigid than any other color line we know. Just so the Union of South Africa, with 160,000 Indians, draws the color line against them. As Gen. Smuts says, if these Indians were given political equality, the native blacks would have an equal right to it, and the white man's régime probably would be destroyed. Therefore he enunciates a positive "no."

Americans feel the same way about the Chinese and Japanese in this country. Our action is as arbitrary, and as justifiable, from our standpoint, for similar reasons. Japanese in their own country have the same attitude toward foreigners. The southern states in this country deal similarly with the Negroes, even to the extent of nullifying two amendments to the constitution.

France, which draws no color line in social theory, does so in political practice, allowing only ten deputies to all its colonies and dependencies, including both Africans and Asiatics with a population totaling many millions, as against a deputy for each 75,000 white native Frenchmen. Socially its race consciousness is equally arbitrary in marking the Germans as a race apart.

It is something too deep in human character to be easily analyzed, but it may quite properly be realized, and must be accepted as long as human nature is on its present plane.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

GOVERNMENT CHANGES.

The High Commissioner's Desire for Effective Administration.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LOURENÇO MARQUES, October 29.

As the new High Commissioner has now taken over, in a formal manner, the duties of the chief magistrate for this province, many things are now passing under his review, among them being the manner by which the province is administered. Suggestions have been sent by His Excellency to the Government Council dealing with such matters, and also in connection with the advisability of raising a loan.

These suggestions included the appointment of several secretaries, whose duties would really be those of ministers of State. The proposal included the following:—

First, a Minister of Finance. Among the most important duties that would engage his immediate attention would be that of currency and bringing the value of Portuguese currency on to a par with that of British currency.

Gold Basis Currency.

The proposal, as far as one can learn, is to have a special currency for the Province of Mozambique, with a gold basis, whose value would be the same as that of the British. In other words, there would be no difference in value between the two currencies. Before the war, indeed up to 1917, the Portuguese pound note was taken as equal in value to the British pound note.

In banking monies, British banks made no difference between the notes of Portuguese or British denomination. Both were credited as of equal value, and the same related to the drawing of sterling from the banks. It made no difference in which denomination sterling sums were paid out. The whole difficulty arose when the banks of the Union and the Portuguese bank refused to change its paper into gold. From that time the rate of exchange soared so high that something like 20 per cent. marks the loss in the buying power of Portuguese sterling.

Effect on Cost of Living.

This, it is stated, is the first matter that the Minister of Finance will deal with. It is a question which requires early attention, as almost all purchases made of the commodities of life, and all material for construction, etc., comes from overseas, and has to be paid for in British sterling. If the idea of a gold basis is carried out, then the currency would rise to the value of that of the British, and the cost of living would fall to that existing in the neighbouring colonies.

Besides the question of exchange and currency, the Minister will have to review the whole question of provincial finance. His work will embrace that of auditor-general, as well as the economic questions relating to departmental working. I understand that a political economist of high standing is likely to be nominated to that office.

Another secretary will occupy the position of Minister of Interior. His office will deal with all matters pertaining to domestic legislation, and education, as also the department of justice.

Minister for "Development."

Again, His Excellency desires to appoint a secretary of fomento, which may be translated into that of a Minister of Public Works, having oversight likewise of railways, survey department, post and telegraph, and wireless, roads and bridges, and harbours. In fact, the work of this department will embrace all works of development. The name of Colonel Sá Caneiro is mentioned as most likely to fill the office.

These three Ministers will represent, in the Government Council, matters pertaining to such departments, and they will deal with all suggestions or proposals for works of improvement, likewise be responsible for anything that may come under the cognisance of their several departments.

Another secretary, suggested by His Excellency, who will report direct to him, is the Minister of Military and Naval Affairs. His duties will embrace all matters military and naval, and included therein will be the ports of the provinces and the captains of ports. With other nominated persons, these secretaries will form the Executive Council or Cabinet.

The Government Council has met and deliberated on the proposals put forward by the new High Commissioner, and, after careful study, has resolved to inform His Excellency that, in its opinion, such a change would not have the beneficial results claimed for it, and, besides that, the financial burden put upon the province by such additions to its highly paid staff is not, owing to the financial condition of the province, warranted at present. It is stated that the new regimé will place a heavy drag on the present resources of the province. The High Commissioner will draw £400 per month, and each of the six secretaries £250 per month.

Filming Delagoa Bay.

The Director of the Port and Railway, Engineer Andrade, desiring to bring home to people what has been done in connection with the port and railways of Lourenço Marques, engaged the good offices of the South African Films Trust to film the port and railways of the town.

A set has been prepared for Portugal (which will be also shown in Brazil) with full descriptions in Portuguese, and two other sets have been prepared with details in English. A private view of the film was given the other afternoon. The acting Governor-General, and the heads of departments, members of the Government and Port and Railways Councils, and several merchants were present.

I understand that these films will be shown in the Union, and possibly in England also. They remind one of the fine set of films that were taken of Lourenço Marques and Beira under the supervision of Mr. Weinthal, of THE AFRICAN WORLD, some years ago.

Engineer Andrade's New Appointment.

Among the changes that are taking place is that of Engineer Andrade, who has sent, through the Acting Governor-General, his resignation to the Colonial Minister. But, while sending such resignation, His Excellency pointed out the good work that has been performed by Engineer Andrade, especially during the past two years, wherein he has acted as Director of Port and Railways, and suggested that as a vacancy would take place in a few days, in the office of Inspector of Public Works, Engineer Andrade be appointed to such office. The result is that Engineer Andrade will take over the office of Inspector of Public Works on November 8, but will hold his present position also until a successor has been appointed.

It is just possible that no appointment will be made until the new High Commissioner has decided upon his scheme of administration. Whether the new High Commissioner takes the advice of the Government Council, or not, with reference to the appointment of suggested secretaries, there is no doubt about his reception, as every one is determined to assist His Excellency in the building up of the province, and aiding, in every way, the progress of the country.

X. X. X.

N Y C CALL
JULY 22, 1923

A Black Man's Rebuke

THE Times of Capetown, South Africa, invited a certain Dr. Abdurahman, chairman of the streets committee of the city council and president of the African People's Organization, to express his views on the problems of crime and prostitution. This black man responded with a remarkable statement which appears in the International of Johannesburg. It reveals a keen insight into the white man's "civilization" which is displacing the simple life of the blacks of Africa. Dr. Abdurahman replied:

"In the treatment of disease, whether physical or social, you have to go beyond symptoms to causes if you are to effect a cure. The summary treatment of symptoms may give a momentary show of success; but if causes are left untouched the disease will remain. Complications will set in, and you will have increased the evils you set out to destroy.

"Assaults on women," Dr. Abdurahman went on, "are horrible crimes. They are abhorrent to us all. But let us make no mistake: they are symptoms only.

"We may treat the symptoms summarily, or we may attempt to deal with the causes. We may, that is, hang individual criminals, or we may attempt to get rid of the conditions which breed crime.

"Hang the criminal, be he black or white, who assaults a woman, but hang also the criminal who is responsible for the conditions which inevitably breed crime.

"Hang those who leave little children in their most impressionable years to grow up in daily degradation, in the pestilent atmosphere of the slums, without decent homes or schools, without healthy influences or hope.

"It is these criminals upon whom the fathers and brothers and husbands of outraged girls and women should wreak their vengeance.

"There is one fact which we cannot escape," Dr. Abdurahman continued, "that is the intimate way in which social life and morals depend upon environment. Nothing exerts a greater influence on a man's character than the manner in which he earns his livelihood; nothing contribute more toward the molding of a child's character than the amount of his father's income.

"In the back slums families with incomes below the lines of subsistence and decency are compelled to herd together in one room like animals. Children bred in such surroundings, left to grow up in the streets, denied food and education, abandoned at an early age, as some are, by parents too poor to keep them, cannot be expected to become respectful and respectable citizens.

"Indeed, what type of man do we hope will emerge from such an environment? I go so far as to say that the criminal with whom we are dealing now is largely the direct product of our present economic and social system.

"A magistrate of great experience in the Transkei Territories once told me that he could not recall a single case of assault on a woman during the 30 years he was in the Territories.

"Yesterday I read some remarks of a judge who said that assaults on women were getting common in the Territories. What has brought this change about? Will someone inquire.

"Having hanged our criminals, let us remember that we have only touched the symptoms of a disease inherent in our society. Indeed, we shall not be allowed to forget. Other criminals will spring up to remind us that we are, ourselves, maintaining a social structure which, by its very nature, begets a criminal type.

"This type we may regard as the residuum of society. They have had very little opportunity of friendship; they have never known the decencies and the quiet of family life; their higher faculties are dead; religion does not touch them.

"And we, with our comfortable homes, our arts and sciences, our ethical standards, our religions—we are responsible before God.

"You may hang criminals innumerable, but so long as you leave the unholy, crime-breeding conditions untouched, you will not end sexual or other crime

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

THE LAND QUESTION IN MANDATED TERRITORIES.

West Africa

THE question of the right and authority conferred on a Mandatory by a Mandate is raised by the terms of an arrete issued in the French Cameroon " defining the conditions of application of the decret of August 11th, 1920, upon the domaine privé of the State in the territories of Cameroon." What State is intended to be designated as owning this " domaine privé "? Is it the Mandatory or the mandated territory? The point is important, as it goes to the basis of the principle of mandates. By the covenant of the League of Nations Mandatories were to receive charge of the territories of the backward peoples " as a sacred trust of civilisation " for the purpose of promoting the well-being and development of the inhabitants. The degree of authority to be exercised in each case was to be explicitly defined by the Council of the League, and the Mandatory was to render an annual report on its territories. The idea of annexation by the Mandatory, therefore, appears to be excluded; the territory was not to be a possession or Colony of the Mandatory, but was to be held and administered in trust for the League, to which the Mandatory had to render an account of its stewardship to the League, as the supreme power in that regard. Can, then, a Mandatory acquire " domaine privé " in mandated territory?

The question of the treatment of the lands in mandated territories which formerly belonged to the German Empire, or any of its component States, has been raised in the Commission for Mandates of the League by a representative of Holland, M. van Rees, a report of whose address appeared in "La Depêche Coloniale " of August 22nd. 9-15-23

M. von Rees is reported to have said that the attention of the Permanent Commission on Mandates had been drawn to legislation by Mandatory Powers by which the property formerly belonging to the German Empire has been declared the property of the legislating State. As by the Colonial Mandates the idea of annexation of the former German Colonies by a Mandatory Power is expressly rejected, this legislation transferring property in land to the " State " raises two interesting questions: (a) What State is referred to in the legislation? Most of the Mandatory Powers have frankly stated that it is the Mandatory State. One, however, has stated by its representative that the " State " intended by it in its land legislation is the mandated territory, and another has expressed similar views.

The second question is: (b) Is it legally permissible for a Mandatory Power to take possession of the lands and other property formerly belonging to the German Empire? To answer this question it is necessary to ascertain clearly the exact intention of Articles 120 and 257 of the Treaty of Versailles. By Article 120 all rights over movable and immovable property formerly belonging to these territories (the former German Colonies), the German Empire or any German State, pass to the *Government* exercising authority over such territory under Article 257, by which all the rights formerly belonging to the German State are transferred *at the same time as the territories,* to the Mandatory Power, *in that capacity.* As these rights have passed, under Article 120, not to a State, but to a Government exercising certain authority over some of the German Overseas possessions, it would appear that there has been no cession of full ownership to the Mandatory. This interpretation is confirmed by the terms of Article 257 which relate directly to Article 120. For there is no mention of transfer to a State, but to a Mandatory Power *in that capacity,* from which it would appear that the transfer does not imply any proprietary right in the property transferred. In addition, the enactment that the transfers of property and of territory are to be simultaneous appears to M. van Rees to show that the signatories of the Treaty had no intention of a transfer affecting private rights, which would be equivalent to annexation.

According to this interpretation, whatever passes under Articles 120 and 257 to the Government exercising authority in its capacity of Mandatory has been delivered to it solely in its capacity of a Governor charged to administer certain territory, and in order to facilitate its task. That is to say, it can deal with such property, legislatively or administratively, in favour of the Administration itself or anyone else for the public benefit. It would, therefore, act as an agent and not as an owner.

Another aspect of this question of " domaine privé " is presented by the declaration of some of the Mandatory Powers of vast blocks of land, including lands denominated " vacant lands," as having no owners, and others generally recognised as " native reserves," as " private domain of the State (domaine privé de l'Etat). M. van Rees contends that, however large may be its legislative competence, a Mandatory has no power to proclaim as its own property lands forming part of a territory over which it possesses no sovereign rights, or to exercise its legislative authority in such a way that the mandated territory, or part of it, will become its own property.

It is a matter of course that none of the Powers had any intention of applying to the mandated territories a formula of domain, usual and perfectly comprehensible in reference to Colonies properly so called, for the purpose of appropriating part of the territory. Nevertheless, the mere use of terms implying ownership of land in domain in the mandated territory, although its legal position differs entirely from that of Colonies, is calculated to lead to misunderstanding, and it will be desirable to avoid it as much as possible. These questions, which touch the very principle on which the institution of mandates is based, are of the greatest importance. As it has not been possible to settle them in the present session they are referred to the next session of the Commission on Mandates.

It is interesting to turn from this lucid discussion of principle to the decree referred to above. The decree deals only with " the lands of Cameroon which *do not* form part of the public domain." Category 3 includes " land situate around villages upon which the Natives practise their cultivation and gather that which is necessary for their existence, feed their flocks, etc., but upon which they have only, in fact, a right of usage, and not of property," and category 4 includes " vacant lands without owner." There are two points in these definitions which call for remark. The terms of category 3, by excluding Native right of property, might lead to the expropriation of such lands to French or other concessionnaires on the ground that the Natives, having no rights of ownership therein, are liable to removal on payment of such trifling compensation as will cover the right of user. It raises the question which was decided for Nigeria by the appeal of Chief Oluwa.

LAW AND JUSTICE IN SIERRA LEONE.

The petition from the inhabitants of the colony of Sierra Leone against the Assessors Ordinance has, we are given to understand, been sympathetically received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and will form one of those matters into which the Under-Secretary of State will inquire on his approaching visit to West Africa. This Ordinance provides a substitution for trial by jury by trial with the aid of assessors, and, apparently, according to the terms of the petition, gives the Attorney-General " an uncontrolled right, without stating any reason, to apply to the Court orally for trial by the Court with the aid of assessors, and this process is resorted to in cases where either the person charged is a well-known member of the community, or the Government is interested in the case or is concerned in the prosecution, on the unfounded assumption that a jury will not convict." The petitioners claim that the operation of this right has interfered with the liberty of the subject, and has become tantamount to the abolition of trial by jury, save in capital cases. It is also claimed that its actual working has produced a lack of confidence in the administration of justice in the colony, and the petitioners pray that " the system under which a right to trial by jury in criminal offences was recognised should be restored." There is also the contention that trial by assessors is a slur and reflection on the integrity of the juries of Sierra Leone. The petition is a temperate document, backed by a synopsis of recent cases in which a conflict between assessors and the presiding judge has resulted, with the latter of whom the ultimate decision is vested. Much may be urged on both sides in this very important matter, and at the basis of it is the integrity of juries in the face of cases involving racial differences. The claim of Sierra Leone, that if they are allowed the privilege of exercising the franchise the intelligence of the community is in doubt if the system of trial by jury can be disallowed, has much force and plausibility; but it would be unwise to consider the relative pros and cons here, as, by the undertaking of the Colonial Office that the Under-Secretary of State should examine the position, it may be considered to be *sub judice.* The plea that an English judge is " foreign to the idiosyncracies, manners, customs, and feelings " of the Sierra Leone community is, of course, double-edged, and might be urged in a contrary sense with relation to African juries. It is greatly to be hoped that a consideration on the spot by the Colonial Office representative in the British House of Commons may lead to a satisfactory adjustment of the points raised in this petition. At all events, the sympathetic reception of it by the Secretary of State and the willingness to consider these points on the spot, cannot fail to go a long way towards securing harmony of view.

Sierra Leone
9-22-23

KENYA COLONY (B.E.A.)

OUR KENYA LETTER.

The Settlement—Non-Segregation—Lesson of Rhodesia.

(African World Correspondent.)

NAIROBI, August 9.

The Indian question has, as you may well imagine, been the topic uppermost in our minds during the past month. Looking back it is difficult to say just exactly what we expected from the Home Government, but we certainly received the actual terms of settlement with a sense of surprise and shock. It was very evident that we in Kenya cut no "ice" whatever in the minds of people at home. Our plans, our hopes, our aspirations, are not referred to. India's feelings are regarded with the tenderest anxiety. That, of course, may be to soften the blow to Indians of the disaster to all they had imagined as a possibility.

With regard to non-segregation, it is difficult to see how it will work smoothly. To start with, one sees a fallacy in the Government argument — "Because communal franchise, therefore communal representation in municipal matters." Instead of following this up by saying "communal representation is, of course, useless without communal residence," they say "you can reside where you like in municipal areas, but you can only vote in a communal fashion."

The danger, one may suppose, of non-segregation is that the European will try to put his residence somewhere beyond the reach of the intruding Asiatic. And therefore he will go outside the municipal area altogether. So, gradually, an Asiatic ring will be formed around the commercial centre, and the whole municipal area in townships will be given up to Indians. Anglo-Indians and Durban citizens will be able to recall instances similar to the probabilities we have suggested.

A suggestion has been put forward that Asiatics should be given the opportunity to select areas for their residence, as good as those of the European population. As a concrete instance, a new township might be cut up into five blocks—outside of the commercial core, as one may say—the first chooser to have two contiguous blocks and the second three. Nothing could be fairer than such a selection, and expansion could take place indefinitely by a prolongation of the radial lines of the two areas which, while possessing a common centre, would in other respects remain distinct and separate. In such a case the "communal principle" would be correctly applied to the municipal affairs of the two, or perhaps three (as the native area comes to be included) communes in one township.

Immigration.

It is evident that the immigration laws are to be made stringent enough to safeguard the rights and privileges of the Africans. "Hinc illæ lachrymæ" of the Indians in India, who definitely see their promised land fade into the impossible distances. As against the charms of Kenya, Indians in South Africa are now beginning to examine the possibilities of British Guiana, where, one may imagine, they would have a free hand, and where the experiment of equal status might very well be tried out with less danger than in central tropical Africa.

Result of "Equal Status."

We should be carrying out the last injunction of Queen Isabella of Spain, the patroness of the New World. When Columbus sent over a couple of shiploads of slaves to Seville to be sold, she ordered their release and immediate return to South America, and then ordained that, in her possessions, "all men were to be free and equal."

The result in South America has been a hopeless amalgamation and mixing by intermarriage of all colours and races, in which, towards the tropics, the dark skin of negro and aboriginal predominates.

Memorial Hall.

To turn to a different subject, the foundation-stone of the memorial hall on what is known as the colonists' plot, adjoining the theatre building, has been laid by his Excellency the Acting Governor, Sir Charles Calvert Bowring, K.C.B. He is shortly to leave for Nyasaland, where he will take up his duties as Governor.

The memorial hall will prove a great boon to all who use it. A public library is much wanted in Nairobi, and a worthy hall where the colonists of the country can meet to thrash out their problems and political views will help towards the evolution of that self-government which, though for the moment delayed, we all aspire to in the future.

The Lesson of Rhodesia.

We have been much encouraged by the emergence of Southern Rhodesia from the chrysalis stage into a full developed R.G. butterfly. "What man has done, man can do" is a good old proverb. The "Independent," official organ of the Responsible Government Party in Rhodesia, suggests that that colony is watching with great interest the struggle Kenya has been making for freedom from a grave menace. The offer of the party referred to, to translate sympathy into active help at the first available moment, coming as it does from Rhodesians who never promise and forget, is, as you will imagine, of extraordinary value to us in our political aspirations; and we shall always remember the offer, though we may not need the help at the moment.

French Africa.

CASABLANCA, THE WONDERFUL.

(African World Correspondent.)

PARIS, September 8.

The port of Casablanca is a wonder. At present fifty large steamships can find anchorage in the artificial lake created by the titanic breakwater. Fifteen years ago Casablanca had 20,000 inhabitants, to-day it counts more than 100,000.

Spiro-Meningitis on the Niger.

Spiro-meningitis is claiming a number of victims on the banks of the Niger, both British and French. Coupled with this terrible scourge cattle are hard hit: camels, oxen, sheep, and even poultry dying. Cases of plague are also reported in the Niger region.

Dahomey-Togo Frontier Gone.

A recent French decree abolishes the frontier posts Tokpit, Athieme, Agome, Seva, Vodome, Adjina, Condji, and Nokoue. In other words, the frontier stations between the Dahomey and Togoland are done away with.

Petrol Carriages in French Africa.

THE AFRICAN WORLD repeatedly has called the attention of the British automobile constructor to the possibilities of doing business in French Africa. The following official figures are given:—Foreign-built automobiles sold in French Africa during the semestre ending March 30 last: Algeria, 503; Tunisia, 33; Morocco, 47; Senegal, 11; Madagascar, 22.

Algerian Shipping.

Maybe the following figures may forestall by several months Consular reports dealing with the importance of Algerian seaports. Algiers ranks first, followed closely by Oran. Bone comes third—far behind—and is followed by Philippeville, Bougie and Mostaganem. The small ports of Nemours, Beni-Saf, Arzew, Djidjelli and Collo receive about 150 ships apiece quarterly.

Algerian Coal Mines.

Maybe some of our readers are cognisant of the fact that coal is to be found in Nort Africa. At Kenadsa a coal mine is now in a fair way to development, more than 30 tons reaching the surface daily. The extraction is cheap; as a matter of fact the coal fetches 30 francs a tons at the pit mouth. It is sold to the railway companies at 175 francs a ton. The daily output shortly will reach one hundred tons. When this tonnage is reached, Algeria will need less coal from English pits.

Where to Live Cheaply.

What with the high cost of living, income tax and other distressing direct or indirect results of the great war, hundreds of British families are now living abroad in comfort, whereas in their native land they probably would not be able to eat meat three times a week. Quite a large number of English families are now settled down in Tunisia and are delighted with their new surroundings. Tunis, Sousse, and Sfax. Good hotels, with hot and cold baths, are to be found, also houses.

French African Corn Belt.

Morocco, Algiers and Tunisia could raise sufficient wheat and cattle to make France independent of Europe and of the New World. Superb military roads are being built everywhere, as well as palatial residences and administrative buildings for French officialdom. One sees imposing public buildings, military barracks, post-offices, cafés and schools—not many farming implements! This year France is putting her shoulder to the wheel and fat crop returns are anticipated.

French North African Crops.

Crops in French North Africa are superb indeed, they are so abundant that the shortage of railroad freight cars on French North African railways will result in thousands of sacks of wheat, barley, rye and oats being left to rot. Coupled with the lack of railway transportation must be added the scarcity of labour. As in Europe, the Algerian no longer finds it worth his valuable time to lend his arms to hauling in grain. He prefers banging a typewriter or doing sentry work.

Map for Ethiopia Started.

H.S.H. the Ras Taffari has decreed the immediate issue of an authentic scale map of Ethiopia. The work is entrusted to a noted cartographer, one M. K. P. E. Panarian. This will not prevent visitors to Ethiopia from taking their own maps and cha[illegible]

V. F.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IT fell to the lot of the James Town Manche to open the discussion on the Inauguration of the Eastern Province Section of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. He said that the Omanhin of Juaben had anticipated him in the matter of the history of the Aborigines Society when he dealt with Land legislation, and he would not go further into that. He remarked that political officers were in the habit of addressing the Chiefs as "My good friend." Once upon a time in the good old times, but things were getting very different now. He recalled the story of the cat and the house mouse who, upon striking up a friendship, paid a visit to the bush mouse. The latter in an aside asked the house mouse how he became friends with the cat, then said he significantly to the house mouse, I am afraid of the consequences. Proceeding, he observed that the idea of unity was most essential, and that it could not be better brought about than in a concrete body like the Aborigines Society. Several individual Chiefs of the Eastern Province had joined the parent body at Cape Coast, but, in his view, it was essential that the Eastern Province Chiefs as a whole should formally inaugurate the Eastern Province Section and when that will have been done, were they going to work alone and separately? Of course not. They must unite and co-operate with the parent body at Cape Coast. He would ask the leave of the Paramount Chiefs for Mr. Casely Hayford, who had had considerable experience of the working of the Society, to address them, which he did. His remarks are published elsewhere in this issue. In the result, the Eastern Province Section of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, including the Paramount Chiefs as a body, was formally inaugurated. The officers are: The Gá Manche, President (temporary); Dr. Nanka-Bruce, Vice-President; Mr. Josiah Reindolph, Secretary; The James Town Manche and Mr. J. B. Quashie, Joint Treasurers; Mr. Tamakloe and Mr. O. E. Otoo, Joint Auditors. As we write the report as to the discussion of the Native Jurisdiction Bill is not yet to hand.

Race Problem—1923

Africa

GEN. NORTHEY'S DAUGHTER MARRIED.

African Mored

Baronet's Bride in Open Carriage.

Sir George Arthur Hamilton Beaumont, the sporting baronet, who, at the age of 45, publicly announced last January that he had remained single because he had never found a woman he could love better than his mother, was married on Saturday to Miss Renée Muriel Northey, second daughter of Major-General Sir Edward Northey, G.C.M.G., C.B., and Lady Northey, of Hertford Street, W., and granddaughter of the late Rev. E. W. Northey and of Mrs. Northey, of Woodcote House, Epsom.

While the bride is a member of a very old Surrey family who have lived for generations at Woodcote House, Sir George is a member of a very old Leicestershire family, and has his seat at Coleorton Hall, near Leicester, and is a well-known sportsman and amateur jockey.

11-24-23

The wedding, which was solemnised at the Parish Church, Epsom, was a picturesque ceremony. By the expressed wish of the bride, whose love of horses equals that of the bridegroom, the bridal carriage was an open horse-drawn vehicle, and the bridesmaids, six in number, carried bouquets of Sir George's racing colours—scarlet carnations tied with grey ribbon.



Sir George Beaumont and his Bride driving away from the Parish Church, Epsom.

Among those who assembled at the church were ninety of Sir George's tenants, who made the journey from Leicester by train and motor-coach. Several of them were over seventy years old, including a woman of seventy-eight, who had never visited London before.

The bride wore a mediæval silver wedding dress, with a train of her grandmother's old lace, and her tulle veil was held by a novel bandeau of twisted silver tissue. She was given away by Sir Edward, in whose regiment in France the bridegroom and the best man (Major E. Denison, D.S.O., M.C.) were officers.

The six bridesmaids, who also wore dresses designed on mediæval lines, were Miss Isobel Northey (sister of the bride), the Misses Gwendolen and Doreen Harter and Miss Evangeline Compton (cousins), Miss Catherine Fisher (cousin of the bridegroom), and Miss Nancy Roundell.

The Rev. J. H. Philpott, vicar of Coleorton, and the Rev. W. Bainbridge Bell, vicar of Epsom, were the officiating clergymen.

The honeymoon is being spent in France and Italy.

Sir George Beaumont is a fine horseman. In August, 1921, he rode his four-year-old Husky in a sporting match at Derby against Mr. J. C. Galstaun, who rode his well-known horse, King Sol. Sir George lost by four lengths.

ENGLAND, FRANCE GRAB LANDS OF NEGRO REPUBLIC

Liberia Sinking Into Vice, Debt and Lazy Politics.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

[Copyright: 1923, By The Chicago Tribune.]

MONROVIA, Liberia, Nov. 19.—[Tribune Radio.]—Africa's lone spark of republicanism is burning low. The independent Negro republic of Liberia is again facing a crisis threatening its very existence.

Chicago Daily Tribune

England and France are pressing close against the frontiers with eyes on the rich interior and each on the other. English and German shipping controls the commerce. France controls the cable and wireless and American officers control the finances and military. The external revenues are in the hands of an international receivership.

1-20-23

The government is in debt to British banks for current expenses. The administration has not paid salaries since April. Production is practically at a standstill.

Chicago, Ill.

Reason for Safety.

Liberia's life as a sovereign state is suspended today by two slender threads. The European belief in America's sentimental interest in the Negro republic is one. The other is the European occupation in pressing continental affairs.

Liberian statesmanship has saved the country a number of times during the past century and deserves much credit for its successful diplomatic juggling, by which it has played off one aggressor against another, but the country cannot continue to exist on diplomacy alone. Liberia's greatest trouble today is politics and politicians.

With 350 miles of Atlantic coast line and an area of 43,000 square miles of virgin richness, Liberia constitutes a prize which is frequently the subect of European chancelleries, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The population of 2,000,000 Negroes lives almost entirely without work upon the natural bounty of the country.

Loses Much Territory.

The British colony of Sierra Leone bounds Liberia on the west and the French colony of Ivory Coast on the east. The Negro republic has suffered several territorial amputations on both of these frontiers, as well as the northern boundaries in the interior, which abut into the French Guinea. American surveyors are trying to straighten out the boundary disputes.

Slice after slice has been taken by France and England down through the stormy century since America laid this political waif on the savage and hostile shores of Africa. While American liberal spirits and humanitarian motives marked the original repatriation of these freed American slaves, the action was not entirely without material aspects. Southern slave owners joined the northern abolitionists in establishing the colony. Henry Clay who was a prominent promoter of the experiment, best revealed the motives for his support by the following words:

"Of all classes of our population the most vicious is the free colored. Contaminated themselves, they extend vices all around them, and as a class are most depraved, corrupt, and abandoned."

The fact is that the freed blacks were the drug of the American slave market.

Many Shiploads of Them.

Supported by the American Colonization society and governed by directors, many shiploads of these American Negroes were deposited on the coasts on land purchased from native chiefs. This was the foundation of Monrovia, the present capital of the country. For twenty-five years there was a continuous struggle against diseases, hostile blacks and hostile whites who still engage in slave raiding.

By reason of customs disputes with visiting vessels and America's refusal to acknowledge anything more than beneficent sympathy for the struggling private venture, the black colonists were forced on July 26, 1847, to declare political independence, which they did in a historic document attacking the American race prejudice almost as bitterly as the American declaration of Independence attacked the tyranny ofEngland. Within two years Liberia was recognized by all European nations, but it was not until fifteen years later that America signed a formal treaty.

Since then the British have rushed their frontier to the Mano river on the west, and the French have moved up to the Cavallo river on the east. There has seldom been a year without more frontier disputes, just as there are today. Money frequently figures in these disputes, always with the same result, that Liberia lost, but it was not until 1871 that the directors of that country took a dive in the troubled seas of high finance.

$500,000 Hillstone.

The Liberians borrowed $500,000 from England, part of which was received in the form of a navy—a second hand yacht discarded by Queen Victoria. The navy has long since sunk and dozens of its brightly uniformed admirals buried, but Liberia is still paying interest on the loan.

Today the country owes $1,500,000. England, Holland, and France each hold $400,000 of this, with America and Germany splitting the remaining $300,000.

General Smuts Lionised.

African Mored

11-23-23

From the very day he landed on English shores, the Prime Minister of South Africa has been feted, praised and lionised as the greatest personal figure the British dominions have produced. This country certainly deserves to be proud for producing from its soil a man who is easily the greatest personality in the world of politics. He owes his strength to his power of lucid analysis of the essential factors of European problems, coupled with a detached moral attitude in his appeal to the various countries concerned. He is the most liberal of Liberals, and out—Bannermans Bannerman in his defence of the weak nations of Europe in their discomfiture by the Great War, hence his popularity in Germany, Belgium and among the Pacifist sections of Great Britain.

But like all human beings, he has his vulnerable points; and the most outstanding is his absolute failure to apply his generosity of policy to the weak nations of colour, the Indians and Black Africans. Here, he mysteriously becomes a Jekyll and Hyde and assumes the position of a heartless imperialist who must first guard the interests of white-skinned men, whether they be in Kenya, India, Tanganyika, Dahomey, Swaziland or South Africa. This has been amply proved by hedging tactics of debate at the Imperial Conference, when he was faced with the unanswerable, moderate and logical position put before him by Lord Peel, the Secretary for India, and by that sagacious level-headed Indian statesman, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The two able spokesmen of India

laced the claim for the equality of Indians in the British commonwealth on their sacrificing contributions of 1,400,000 men and £200.000,000 in helping the British Empire during the Great War, plus the 1921 guarantee to grant Indians equality of status everywhere in the Empire.

The reply of General Smuts is one of utter negation and refusal to recognise the services of India, lest he be compromised in his Natal and Kenya policy of Indian repression. His reason is that if he recognises Indians, then he must recognise Africans too, and alter his notorious 1917 Savoy Anti-African Speech. This is the subtlety which has earned him the sobriquet of "Slim Janie" among his Boer countrymen. This is the explanation of the discreditable policy of the Bondelzwarts' Rebellion irregular reports.

Against Kenya, he took justifiable umbrage at the extravagant language of Mr. Sastri, but in the case of Sir Sapru, who employs modest and dignified argumentation, he has suffered a sheer defeat on his own ground. The air is now cleared. The strategy of our Premier's political gyrations is exposed. There need be no misunderstanding of the real General Smuts after the great Imperial Conference Debate on the question of the colour line. In sum, his theory simplified is that the peoples of yellow and black skin must not at any cost be granted equality of political status in the British commonwealth.

This theory is built upon the hoary Victorian ideal of the Dutch Voortrekkers in 1836, who could not tolerate the liberation of Africans from slavery, and who therefore moved from the Cape Northwards to the Transvaal and O. F. S.

Although for the time being the Imperial authorities of Great Britain seem to be ashamed to stand up against the all-conquering general in his Anti-Indian (and *a fortiori* Anti African) policy, we trust that those of our European contemporaries, who are strident in their eulogy of the unique power General Smuts has gained for himself in European political counsels. will not be equally blind to his radical weakness on the question of the political status of deserving Indians and Africans, both now, and when he returns to South Africa.

BOOZY LOAFERS DRIVE LIBERIA TO FUTURE WOE

Patriots Buried Under Cheap Politicians.

BY FLOYD GIBBONS.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

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MONROVIA, Liberia, Nov. 21.—Arriving off Monrovia in a German steamer, my first impression of the Negro republic was not of the best. Before the anchor was dropped eight or ten boats pushed out through the surf and soon the vessel was stormed by Negro officials.

The boats tied up at the gangway and naked, barefooted crews followed their superiors aboard. The official business began in the bar, where the black harbor master, customs officer of the port, physician, chief of police, military inspector and others took places around a table.

Orders began to flow thick and fast. Cocktails were demanded in half dozen lots, while crew boys crowded around the German stewards' window, reaching in for tall beers and glasses of gin.

"No Cold Champagne."

"Well, why in hell ain't you got no cold champagne?" one tall Negro, distinguished by a straw hat, gold watch and chain, and cigar clinched in a political corner of his mouth, demanded angrily from a white steward.

"Waitah, bring us eight more Manhattans and make it quick."

This from a young Negro with a tight fitting white coat, who sprawled in a cane chair at the head of one crowded table.

"Yes, sir," said the steward.

There was a dispute at another table between a white steward and a Negro wearing a derby and white vest. The discussion concerned payment and hinged on whether the cocktail which the Negro in the white vest then held in his hand was his fourth or sixth. Insisting it was his fourth, he swallowed it and choked and spluttered frantically, and in his struggles turned over a glass of beer and knocked two glasses on the floor.

Passengers Shift for Selves.

Through all this clamor the passengers desiring to go ashore sought with little success to attract the attention of the baggage carriers away from the bar. After fifteen minutes the German captain was forced to close the bar, which was accomplished amidst considerable profanity.

There are serious Liberians with love for their country. They have hearts, and these scenes on the country's front door step are greatly deplored by them, but they can do little to correct them.

Ashore, through dirty unpaved alleyways serving as streets, one begins to encounter evidences of the Liberian's backwardness. The streets are full of idlers. Every corner has a group discussing politics. Naked boys and girls play in the water filled gutters. Black women wearing scanty clothes of brightly printed cotton peddle peanuts or kola nuts from calabashes carried on their heads.

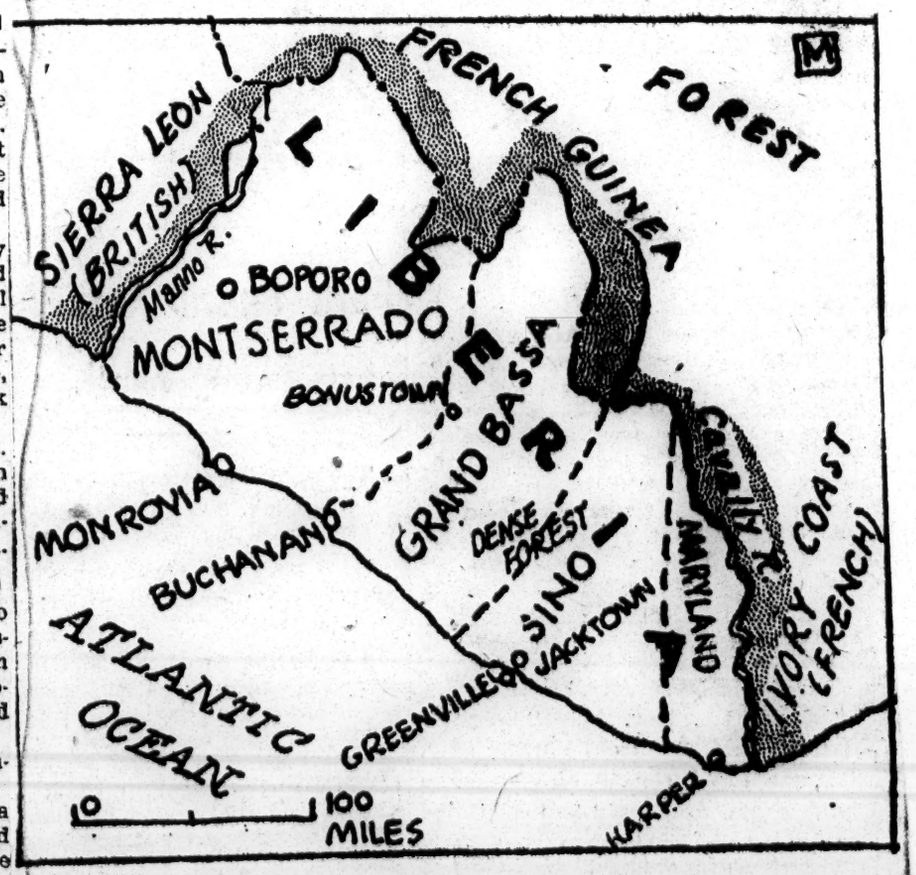
Sugar Factory Waste.

A policeman in an overlarge uniform, with a six inch brass star on the front of his blue helmet, is leaning against a galvanized iron shack eating boiled rice with his fingers. Piles of rust covered machinery betray the neglect of a once ambitious plan for a municipal sugar factory, on which erection never was completed.

In the front of stores of eight or ten European traders are more idle groups gossiping or chewing stalks of sugar cane and expectorating white pulp in a circle around them. Some are dressed in European clothing, some appear in baggy oriental trousers and white undershirts, some are swathed in unsewn shirts of printed cotton, and others were nothing more than loin cloths.

In spite of this mixed costuming and tendency to reversion to native attire there is a higher percentage of dinner jackets, long tailed evening coats and diplomatic Prince Alberts among Liberia's officials than exists in any white colony along the coast.

LOAFING INTO OBLIVION



This map shows the black republic of Liberia. It was founded by freed American slaves. Recent reports indicate that the government there is getting in a bad way from poorly adjusted political and economic causes. In addition England and France are pressing on the boundaries of the little republic and are grabbing land to pay for debts. Most of Liberia is still a forest, with only a fringe of civilization along the sea coast. Large tracts of the interior have never been explored.

THE COLOR LINE IN AFRICA.

(From The Chicago Tribune)

The British imperial conference in London has come to an apparent deadlock over the question of granting equal political rights to natives of India resident in South Africa. Gen. Jan Smuts, the South African premier, draws the line and refuses to be budged. The situation affords an interesting sidelight upon the race problem all over the world.

It reveals that it is a problem which is solved, or settled, more or less permanently, only by arbitrary decision. It is a problem based upon race consciousness, and perhaps upon race hatred, of such fundamental nature in human character that in the last analysis it always proves itself beyond debate. It is never a question which is decided by abstract justice, but always by the fiat of the dominant factor in each government. That may be said, but it is so.

Thus Australia, Canada and New Zealand have no difficulties as to the political status of their residents of Indian blood because those of Indian blood form a negligible minority in those dominions—2,000 in Australia, 6,0000 in New Zealand, and 1,200 in Canada. But when the race problem really touched them those same people are implacable. They draw a color line against the Japanese which is more rigid than any other color line we know. Just so the Union of South Africa, with 160,000 Indians, draws the color line against them. As General Smuts says, if these Indians were given political equality, the native blacks would have an equal right to it, and the white man's regime probably would be destroyed. Therefore, he enunciates a positive "no."

Americans feel the same way about the Chinese and Japanese in this country. Our action is as arbitrary, and as justifiable, from our standpoint, for similar reasons. Japanese in their own country have the same attitude toward foreigners. The southern states in this country deal similarly with the Negroes, even to the extent of nulligying two amendments to the Constitution.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

CAPE TOWN TO THE RAND IN THIRTY HOURS.

ENORMOUS BENEFITS OF ACCELERATED TRAIN SERVICES.

"UNION EXPRESS" AND "UNION LIMITED" ON THE TRACK.

A revolutionary change of enormous benefit to the community has taken place in the train service between the Rand and the Cape. The service has been speeded up to an extraordinary degree, with the result that the long journey is now covered in less than thirty hours. Other big centres will benefit as well. The run between Durban and Bloemfontein has been reduced by eight hours, Kimberley has been brought nearer Durban by thirteen hours, and the Durban - Cape journey has been reduced by no fewer than twenty hours. Trains now leave Johannesburg on Sundays and Thursdays at 8.45 a.m., and arrive at Cape Town at 2.15 p.m. the following day

Business men in Johannesburg particularly welcome the innovation, for under the new scheme they are now enabled to post up till 6 o'clock on Thursday mornings for the English mail, the extra 12 hours providing them with an opportunity to reply by return. The down train has been named the "Union, Limited," and the up train the "Union Express." The train from Johannesburg on Thursdays proceeds direct to the mail boat wharf at Cape Town docks, arriving at 2.30 p.m. on Fridays. Passengers for Cape Town detrain at Monument Station.

The return journey is as under:—

Cape Town depart 10.30 a.m., Mondays and Fridays.

Johannesburg arrive 4.30 p.m., Tuesdays and Saturdays.

The train on Mondays leaves from Cape Town Docks. It stops at Monument Station to pick up through passengers from Cape Town.

The composition of the trains to Cape Town are:—Six first-class saloons from Johannesburg, one first-class saloon from Pretoria, one first-class saloon from Durban (to be attached at Kimberley), one dining car, one baggage van. The saloons, which are of the latest type, are fitted with reading lights in the compartments for the convenience of those occupying the lower berths.

Concurrently with these express services improved services between Durban and Cape Town have been arranged. Fast trains leave Durban at 11.20 a.m. on Wednesday and Saturdays travelling via Bloemfontein (arriving at 1.45 p.m.) and Kimberley (arriving at 5.13 p.m.) on Thursdays and Sundays. These trains link up with the Johannesburg-Cape Town improved service at Kimberley, arriving in Cape Town at 2.15 p.m. on Fridays and Mondays.

12-1-23

Reverse Direction.

In the reverse direction departures from Cape Town are at 10.30 a.m. on Mondays and Fridays. Kimberley and Bloemfontein are reached at 6.46 a.m. and 10.55 a.m. respectively on the following day, and Durban at 10.26 a.m. on Wednesdays and Sundays.

The 11.20 a.m. train from Durban to Kimberley on Wednesdays and Saturdays is known as the "Natal-Cape, Limited," and on the return journey from Kimberley to Durban the "Cape-Natal Express." Each train is shown under these designations in the official Union time-table.

A general acceleration of other train services has also taken place, and additional trains are being run. The present train, via Fourteen Streams, scheduled to leave Johannesburg at 10 p.m. daily except Sundays and Wednesdays, arriving at Cape Town at 1.38 p.m. on Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, and 4.9 p.m. on Mondays and Tuesdays, runs daily, except Sundays and Thursdays, and has been accelerated to arrive at Cape Town at 11.38 a.m., a saving in the existing journey time of two hours on Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, and 4 hours 31 minutes on Mondays and Tuesdays.

The present 9.15 a.m. train from Johannesburg daily, except Tuesdays and Saturdays, via Orange Free State, arriving at Cape Town at 6.24 p.m., runs daily except Saturdays, leaving 15 minutes earlier and arriving at Cape Town at 4.32 p.m., an acceleration of 1 hour 37 minutes.

The present 2.15 p.m. train from Durban, timed to arrive at Johannesburg at 11.5 a.m., has been accelerated to arrive 33 minutes earlier. The timings of the existing 5.40 p.m. train from Durban to Johannesburg remain undisturbed.

The present 8.45 p.m. train from Johannesburg, timed to arrive in Durban at 7.5 p.m., has been accelerated to arrive at 6.23 p.m. The timings of the 9.30 a.m. train from Johannesburg to Durban remain approximately the same.

The train now scheduled to leave Port Elizabeth for Johannesburg at 8.5 p.m. daily, except Saturdays, departs at 8.45 p.m., arriving at Johannesburg at 7.10 a.m., a saving of 1 hour 30 minutes. The train in the reverse direction arrives in Port Elizabeth 10 minutes earlier.

The train which at present leaves East London at 8.35 a.m., daily except Sundays, has been accelerated to reach Johannesburg at 5.5 p.m., a saving of 1 hour 10 minutes.

Additional trains are to be introduced from Johannesburg to East London and Mossel Bay between December 3 and 31. The trains to East London will depart at 9.5 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, arriving at 4 p.m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

Late Mail Posting.

The advantage of the later mail posting is concisely summarised by a Rand contemporary which observes that "the man in the street is now able to get his mail letters at 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, take them home with him in the evening, sit down after dinner and answer them, post them in the letter-box nearest to his house, and as long as they are there to be taken out by 6 o'clock on Thursday morning he knows that they will catch the mail train leaving Johannesburg at 8.45 that morning, and that he has therefore got off his reply 'by return of post.'"

Prior to the new service the mail letters were dealt with on a Wednesday on arrival as follows:—Private boxes, 8.30 a.m.; business delivery, 11.30 a.m.; suburban delivery, 2.30 p.m.

The new arrangement is as follows on the Wednesday:—

Private boxes, 8 o'clock; business and suburban delivery, 8 o'clock.

Only half an hour is saved in the matter of placing the mail into private boxes, while the suburbs score by six and a half hours. The reason is that while the new fast train leaves Cape Town on the Monday and arrives at Johannesburg at 4.30 on Tuesday afternoon, it does not carry the mail for the Rand. That at present is carried by a special train which has been getting into Johannesburg early on Wednesday morning. But that train also has been accelerated, and will now get into Johannesburg at 10.45 on Tuesday night.

But while the official time for the mail to be sorted into boxes will be 8 o'clock, the early bird among the box-holders may be able to get his letters—and probably will—at 6 o'clock, when the box corridor opens.

Registered letters, which, under the old arrangement, were not ready until 10.30 are available also at 8 o'clock. Outside towns benefit considerably by the accelerated service, for the trains leaving Johannesburg early on the Wednesday morning carry the oversea correspondence. In some instances there is an acceleration of 24 hours.

The mail now closes on a Thursday morning at the head post office as follows:—Ordinary, 7 a.m.; late fee, 3d., 7.45 a.m.; late fee, 6d., 8.15 a.m.

At a quarter to nine on the Thursday morning the letters are on their way to Cape Town.

There is, however, no change in the time for posting registered articles and parcels, which still remains at 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

The business man, he can work all Wednesday night, if so disposed, and well on into Thursday morning if he has any special correspondence needing a "per return" reply.

The changes came into operation with the arrival of the mail on Monday, November 26. The first faster mail train from Johannesburg left on the following Thursday, November 29.

While on the subject of passenger train facilities, it is of great interest to note that saloon coaches for natives travelling to and from the gold mines are to be provided as soon as possible. Sir William Hoy, in his bulletin on the question, deals with the complaint of native delegates travelling to the House of Assembly. He declares that it would of course be idle for the Administration to suggest that isolated instances of dirty coaches are not met with. But with a system, including lines operated for other Administrations, of 11,719 miles, it will be appreciated that it is not possible entirely to eliminate such occurrences.

The Administration has no hesitation, however, in definitely stating that coaches and saloons provided for the accommodation of non-European passengers are cleaned, disinfected and fumigated as and when necessary in precisely the same manner as in the case of European passengers.

Reply to Criticism.

With regard to the resolution of the Congregational Union of South Africa that "there is not sufficient discrimination made in favour of those who are fully civilised in habit," it is difficult to see (the report adds) what justification the congress had for this statement, seeing that on practically the whole of the lines four distinct classes of coaches or saloons, with corresponding fares, are at present in use for the accommodation of non-European passengers, viz., coaches without compartments for native labourers travelling to and from the mines, third class, second class, and first class.

The attitude of the Administration is that all sections of the community must be treated alike, irrespective of the class in which they travel. If non-European passengers would, at the time they have reason for complaint, communicate with the assistant general manager or divisional superintendent concerned, it would assist the Administration in making immediate investigations into complaints, and taking remedial action where necessary.

Fifty new vehicles built on up-to-date lines have been ordered and will be in use by July. The number is eventually to be increased to 200.

Facilities for the conveyance of sick natives have been provided by the Administration for many years, coaches having been set aside for the exclusive accommodation of patients returning from the Witwatersrand to the native territories. Recently, certain improvements to the interior arrangements of these vehicles were decided upon, with a view to providing additional comfort and facilitating the supervision given to patients by the accompanying attendants.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

COMMENTS ON COAST TOPICS.

The Gold Coast Hospital.

The Governor's speech at the opening of the new hospital at Accra had a good deal to say about public hygiene that was sound and practical. His division of public health work into six branches covered the whole area of sanitation. These divisions deserve repetition, namely—general hygienic education for the masses; provision of a medical and sanitary staff; maintenance of a Medical Research Department; provision of water supplies; and care of the sick in hospitals, etc. He also showed that the official expenditure on health work now represented one-sixth of the revenue. A vast field of employment for Africans was presented, his Excellency said, by the Medical and Sanitary Department, which employs at present only three African medical men. The progress and development of sanitation work in urban and rural districts was favourably commented upon, and the progress made in the erection of hospitals—eight in the past four years—was very satisfactory. Energy in progressive administration is distinctive of the Gold Coast, and sanitary services are evidently not being left behind in the march forward. Between commercial progress and sanitation the bond is close and intimate.

The Mandate System.

In the current number of the "Edinburgh Review," is an admirable article from the pen of Sir Frederick Lugard on the Mandate system. It is a very enlightening contribution to public knowledge and fully discusses the relative advantages and defects of the system of Mandatory Rule. It brings out, too, the bar to private enterprise in works of development occasioned by the impracticability of pledging the assets of a mandated territory as security for loans. This especial point is up for consideration by the League of Nations Council. The article is of great value, and it would be of much advantage if it could be reprinted and rendered more accessible, as I am sure there are many who are hazy about the full effect of the Mandate system and its advantages and disabilities.

Fluctuating Salaries.

The ups and downs of costs of living—at the moment it is the downs—have led to a further revision of salaries in the West African Civil Service. Class A officers now commence at £400. Class B salaries will be reduced by £40. New appointments, promotions, and transfers will be affected by the change in rates. There is no finality these days in emoluments. They are constantly in a state of ebb and flow, like the tides. Alas!

Watu Wa Miti.

It was certainly a close knowledge of native idiosyncrasies which led Captain St. Barbe Baker to give his Forestry Scouts in Kenya the badge of a secret society, and its success is doubtless due in great part to its admirable adaptation to a side of African nature that is always responsive. This wonderful organisation of forest destroyers, transformed into forest planters, is really very typical of how the innate good sense of the uncivilised African can be easily turned in a beneficent direction if only the guiding hand is sympathetic and understanding, and knows something about his peculiar psychology.

West Africa at Wembley.

The visit of the African Progress Union members to the British Empire Exhibition showed how great an advance had been made towards the construction of the walled city which will contain the exhibits of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. It was a gracious and happy thought of Mr. Goldsmith to extend an invitation to the members of the Union, who are as keenly interested in the British Empire Exhibition as anyone. The visit was a great success.

West African Railways.

At the assembling of the House of Commons Mr. Ormsby-Gore had to answer several questions relating to West African Railways with regard to the private enterprise versus State controversy. The returns of all West Coast railways were tabulated for the years 1921 and 1922, showing a small gain for the former year on the Nigerian Railways, and a heavy loss last year. The Gold Coast had a deficit in 1921 and a large surplus in 1922; while Sierra Leone showed serious deficits in both years.

A further subject of inquiry touched on the construction of railways, with especial reference to the new section on the Nigerian Eastern Railway from Enugu to Kakuri. As to whether this could not be done more economically by public tender. Mr. Ormsby-Gore said "it is not considered that contractors without any knowledge of special local conditions in Nigeria could build a line to the same standard as economically as the experienced Nigerian official who is in charge of this work as chief construction engineer." We who have seen railway construction in operation in Nigeria know there is truth in that.

The Under-Secretary of State.

In view of the hazards of the General Election it is understood that Mr. Ormsby-Gore's projected visit to West Africa is temporarily cancelled. It is hoped it will be only a slight postponement. But, suppose the vagaries of the home electorate prevent its fulfilment, there will be much disappointment, as proposals for the discussion of matters of importance to the native community are being freely debated in the Coast Press.

Limited Scope for Civil Servants.

The higher posts in the West African Civil Service still continue to be given to men from other colonies. West African men have no hope of transfer to other colonies, and it is wicked jobbery to cut them off from the higher posts in their own service. There should really be an outburst somewhere on this matter.

Maize in Sierra Leone.

Great interest attaches to the Government endeavours to foster the cultivation of maize in Sierra Leone. Half a ton of the best seed maize has been procured from South Africa, and is being freely distributed by the Government for experimental cultivation. Maize is more or less a garden crop throughout British West Africa, but on the Bullom shore in Sierra Leone it is grown in some quantities for the Freetown market. If it can be grown for export in appreciable volume the industry may become extremely valuable to, and hasten the progress of the Ancient Colony.

Naval Squadron's Visit.

The West African Colonies are to be included in the itinerary of the British Naval Squadron which is about to commence a tour of the world. The squadron, which will consist of the battle cruisers "Hood" and "Repulse" and the light cruisers "Delhi," "Danae," "Dauntless," "Dragon," and "Dunedin," will arrive at Freetown on December 8 and leave on December 13.

Types of Administration.

Mr. F. W. H. Migeod's interview with a representative of the "Morning Post" was particularly interesting from its comparison of European administrations in Africa. His remarks are worth reproducing. The British were going slowly on the traditional lines; the French balanced unequally between lenience and severity; the Belgians were too easy-going. Recruiting for service in Morocco (apparently) is going on briskly in the French Cameroons.

J. W. G.

NATIVE CONDITIONS.

Allegations of Flogging and Shooting in Kenya.

Mr. John Alcindor presided at the annual meeting of the African Progress Union at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, on Tuesday. The report, which was adopted, stated that the most important problems with which the Union was occupied affected the native population of British East Africa. There was ample evidence, it continued, to show that the flogging and shooting of natives there for trivial, imaginary, and suspected offences had developed into a system.

Mr. W. E. B. du Bois announced that the Pan-African Congress would deal with the need for co-operation among the groups which made up the people of African descent, the situation of the negroes in America, and with the future of the Pan-African movement.

Mr. John Alcindor, who was re-elected president of the union for the ensuing two years, stated that the conditions under which the natives worked in Kenya were tantamount to slavery.

Mr. J. H. Harris spoke on the subject of the League of Nations and the Native Races. The International Labour Congress, he said, which was sitting at that moment, had no representative of the great mass of native labour in South Africa. That situation should be no longer tolerated.

Mr. Ojo Olaribigbe deplored the fact that the meeting had been so sparsely attended, in view of the many representatives of the coloured races that were present in London. It was necessary that all should combine if they were to make the desired progress. The white men were doing their best to help them, and it was essential that the black races should come together to assist in the work.

"Scientifically and biologically there is no difference between black and white, but negroes have to take into account the fact that a psychological effect is created in the minds of certain whites against negroes."

This declaration was made by Dr. Du Bois when he presided on Wednesday at the third biennial Pan-African Congress at Westminster.

Mr. B. F. Seldon said he was impelled to leave the Y.M.C.A. in America because of the differentiation made between blacks and whites. The coloured races were losing faith in Christianity because it did not live in the neighbourhood in which it talked. Coloured folk would not always stand where they were, and if religion was not unalloyed they would become a group of infidels.

Gold Coast.

Presentation of Medals.

A special parade of the Service Company of the Gold Coast Volunteers was held at the Polo Ground, Accra, on October 26, on which occasion a presentation of war medals was made by H.E. the Governor.

Material for Central Province Railway.

The Crown Agents for the Colonies have placed an order with the Workington Iron Works, of Cumberland, for railway material required for the new Central Province Railway. The total amount involved is stated to be nearly £250,000.

Novel Feature for the Exhibition.

Lady Guggisberg, on behalf of the London Gold Coast Committee of the British Empire Exhibition, visited the studio of Mr. E. Whitney-Smith, the well-known sculptor, to see his beautiful busts in dark stone and bronze of "A Lady from the Gold Coast," "My Child," etc. These beautiful works excited much interest at the Royal Academy, and Mr. Whitney-Smith has offered to lend them for exhibition in the Gold Coast Building at Wembley, 1924. They will form a handsome addition to the many interesting objects that will be displayed in this section.

The construction of the Gold Coast Building is well advanced, and its position—east of the Stadium—is quite one of the finest in the grounds.

Communal Oil-Palm Planting.

The following, from the "Gold Coast News," will be read with interest:—

"In connection with the recent propaganda directed against the destruction of palm trees probably no one in the Eastern Province has done more to further this movement than the Omanhene of New Juaben. This Chief has already passed drastic by-laws, and much good work has been done, both by himself and his chiefs, in impressing upon their people the wealth that they are day after day destroying simply through the wasteful methods adopted by them to procure palm wine.

"As a start, to encourage the movement, he has set aside two large areas of land, and, further, a day is periodically set aside by the Omanhene for a general planting. On these occasions his subjects meet at the Omanhene's palace at about 7 o'clock in the morning, each and everyone bringing with him a number of young palm trees; then, headed by the Omanhene, his chiefs, and elders, and accompanied by the beating of many drums, the whole party sets forth for the reserve. About a mile or so out the party is met by the District Commissioner who, after the usual salutations, proceeds with them to the appointed rendezvous. After a few photographs have been taken, the drums are violently beaten, when the eager crowd disperses quickly carrying their trees and businesslike machets into the bush. Digging operations are immediately commenced and expeditiously carried out under the personal supervision of the Omanhene and his elders, and close attention is paid to spacing. An hour's hard work is thoroughly enjoyed, in which each one has vied with the other in a good-natured way. . . .

"Some 2,000 palm trees have already been planted and if, at the moment, no apparent results are noticeable, a year's time will without doubht show the good work that has been accomplished."

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

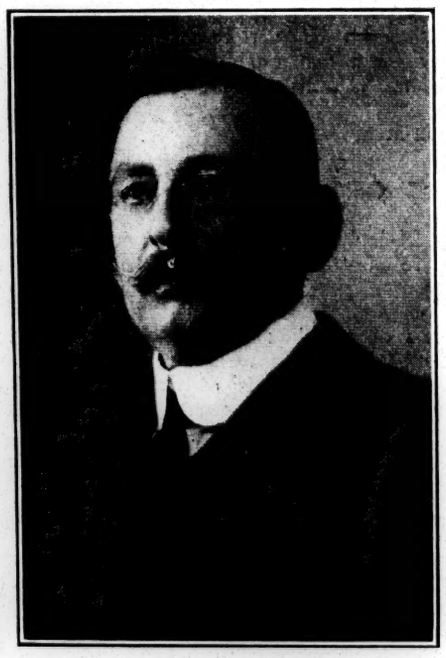
COTTON GROWING IN THE SUDAN.

MR. ECKSTEIN'S GREAT IMPERIAL ENTERPRISE.

(Special to "THE AFRICAN WORLD.")

Mr. F. Eckstein, chairman of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, Ltd., whose annual meeting on the 8th inst., was duly reported in THE AFRICAN WORLD, is engaged on a work than which there is none bigger in the Empire to-day. That work consists in bringing to fruition the aims and ambitions of his company and its subsidiary, or sister, concern, the Kassala Cotton Co. Together they are achieving in the Sudan the most gigantic cotton-growing proposition the world has ever known.

The stay-at-home individual, or even the Lancashire cotton spinner, does not realise the immensity of the proposition. Measurements of fields are not in acres or thousands



Mr. F. ECKSTEIN.

of acres, but in hundreds of thousands; localities are not restricted, but extend to the north, south, and east of Khartoum—along the Nile and, in the Kassala region, in the delta of the Gash river, whose waters never reach the sea but spread out inundating fertile fields. When the Gezira and Kassala plains are in their first stage fully planted the acreage under cotton will be over 500,000 acres—to increase as time creeps on and irrigation works stride forward. The control over practically all this stupendous territory will be, under the auspices of the Sudan Government, in the hands of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, whose leading spirit is beyond doubt Mr. F. Eckstein himself. Compare these figures, a modest estimate ten years hence, with America, where the biggest single cotton operation held in one hand is only 15,000 acres!

So much for the size of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate's operations in the Sudan. The real significance, however, of the work they have undertaken does not lie in the colossal acreage under their control, but in the cotton they produce. Reckoning at a rough estimate three to four (no doubt more) bales of cotton to the feddan an acre, you obtain an output of Empire-grown cotton that commands respect. Add to it the fact that this cotton is of the best quality available, the sort of cotton that Lancashire is most anxious to purchase for her mills, and your Sudan proposition acquires immediately a new aspect.

Moreover, economic phases of even greater import are, or will be, affected by the Gezira and Kassala undertakings. It is notorious that cotton-growing in the States is on the decline, and has been in the memory of the past ten years. Labour is expensive or unobtainable, so much so that certain spraying operations have now already to be undertaken by aeroplanes, thus greatly enhancing the cost of production per acre and the selling price of cotton per bale. These questions do not arise in the Sudan. At first it was thought by some that the question of labour would kill any cotton-growing proposition on a big scale. The Mahdi's wars, they argued, had decimated the native population, and Egyptian fellaheen, frightened by and hating the Sudanese, could not, even if such had been the intention of the authorities, be coaxed south of Wadi Halfa. But what has happened? An era of peace and prosperity having settled on the Sudan under the British flag, the population is increasing within the country, whilst from without there is a continual influx of "Hansa, Fellata, and other tribes from Nigeria and other places." Obviously, therefore, the labour question may be regarded as by no means so dangerous as small-minded or short-sighted little owners in the Khartoum area originally thought.

This being so, one can assume that, at no very distant date, the Sudan Plantations Syndicate will be able to market a fine quality cotton on a big and ever bigger scale at a lower cost of production than that marketed by the Americans. The effect, at first, will be small, but it will gather and grow like an avalanche, and in the end it can have but one economic result, namely, the freeing of Lancashire from serfdom to the cotton speculators of New York and the Mississippi, whose refined cotton operations cost in Lancashire industry a loss of £1,000,000 per week!

That is the meaning, the real meaning of the work now being undertaken and rapidly pushed by the Sudan Government in happy conjunction with the Plantations Syndicate. It is Imperial and not local in nature; in aspect it is vast, and the possibilities attached thereto are so immeasurable that to analyse them, or to picture an Empire freed from dependence on America for one of the world's most valuable raw products, is utterly impossible. But, at any rate, viewed from this commanding angle, the digging and sowing and planting and building now being hurried on in Kassala, Makwar, Zeidab, Tokar, and elsewhere will convince us that the vision of the men who conceived this plan years ago was not that of ordinary individuals intent merely on floating hum-drum concerns. They looked ahead.

Nevertheless, it must not be presumed from the foregoing that these men, these Empire-builders—in the same sense, though not along the same path as Cecil Rhodes—were casting bread on the waters for an idea only.

One of the happiest features of the work of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate is that, whilst planning the great scheme, its board of directors, always in close touch with the Government at Khartoum, were able, long before the big work was put in hand, to lay the foundations of a solid business paying very acceptable dividends. Starting in a relatively small way on a purely experimental scale in various parts of the country, they made these experiments pay, thus proving that cotton-growing in the Sudan could be made exceedingly profitable, and that, if any one syndicate or group could by private enterprise, daring, and ability help the Government to exploit such potential territories as the Gezira, that group was the Sudan Plantations Syndicate itself. Having proved which, they *ipso facto* reaped the natural reward. To-day, if we may say so, they are still on the threshold of their career; ten years hence they will be amongst the most powerful and influential organisations in Africa, and certainly the largest cotton-growing and marketing organisation in the world.

We have not dealt here with figures and statistics, or with the various farms and fields owned or exploited by the company in the Sudan for the reason that our readers will already have read the highly interesting and withal modest speech of the chairman last week. Suffice it that the experimental stage is over, that by next July the minor irrigation canals for 300,000 acres will have had to be dug, that ploughing will begin by next October, and that in 1925 the Makkar Dam, being constructed by the Sudan Government, will have been completed and water begin to flow down the new channels into the prepared fields. This latter work is itself stupendous, and were it not for the ceaseless energy of the company's staff on the spot, it would be nigh impossible. But we can rely on it being done to time, and then will begin the real career of the syndicate. *It cannot be other than successful.* For, as stated, the foundations have been too well built for failure.

In conclusion, we must frankly admit that for the men at the head of the Plantations Syndicate, who nursed it from its infancy sixteen years ago, and are now looking ahead into a land of waving cotton fields, we have the very greatest admiration. Imaginative and undaunted, diplomatic and able business men, organisers and men of tireless activity, they have created, or assisted in creating, a new Sudan beside which the fields of Georgia and Alabama pale. They are carrying out, or assisting thereat, the dreams of Cromer, who, according to Mr. Eckstein, dreamed that one day railways would be constructed from Suakim to Atbara, from Khartoum to El Obeid, from Atbara to Kassala; that one or two dams would be built on the Blue Nile; and that the Gezira Plain would be developed. So it is, and, if we except the keen interest always displayed by the Governor-Generals and "that very efficient Government in Khartoum," no man has taken a more persistent, though modest, part in making these dreams come true than Mr. Frederick Eckstein, who was, with his lamented distinguished brother, Herman, amongst the chief constructive pioneers of the Rand and chairman, among his other vast undertakings, of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, which, in the words of Lord Lovat, is his "pet child."

Tanganyika Territory.

THE PROPOSED UNION.

("African World" Correspondent.)

DAR-ES-SALAAM, October 15.

The proposed Union of East African territories is once more in the public eye in Tanganyika, especially where the success of Kenya in obtaining loans and the neglect of Tanganyika in this respect has aroused some jealousy.

One result of the federation of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland would be, it is considered, the establishment of an East Africa House in London, economy in administration and its costs, the abolition of plurality of Governors, introduction of equable Customs tariffs and the encouragement of industry.

The formation of a Tanganyika Settlers' Association to join hands with the Joint East African Board, and thus obtain a hearing in Downing Street, is also on the tapis, and federation is suggested as part of its policy.

Another recommendation introduced is change of the seat of Government from Dar-es-Salaam to the Kilimanjaro area so as to be more closely in touch with Kenya and Uganda through the Voi-Kahe line with Zanzibar through Tanga.

END OF THE "RIJPERKERK."

Valuable East African Cargo Lost by Fire at Sea: Mails Saved.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BASTIA (Corsica), November 19.

The Holland-East Africa liner "Rijperkerk," from Port Natal and Mombasa for Marseilles and London, with a valuable cargo of copra and East India produce, is now submerged at the entrance of this port, where, indeed, she constitutes a serious menace for outgoing and incoming vessels.

On Saturday she was seen in the offing flying distress signals, and reported her cargo on fire. Her messages were picked up by the Dutch war vessel "Tromp." Tugs from Bastia also put out to her assistance. Before the "Tromp" was able to reach the burning vessel the "Rijperkerk" was already ablaze and had reached the quays. Here the local fire brigade poured torrents of water into her, but with little success.

The "Tromp" a few hours later reached Bastia port, and, with the aid of French troops hurried from various points of the island, attempted to extinguish the fire. The conflagration (for conflagration it was) had now reached the fore hold.

After hasty consultation her captain was informed by the local port authorities that his vessel constituted so serious a menace to shipping in port that she would have to be sunk by shellfire. Five 75-mm. shells crashed below the water-line of the burning vessel.

The captain and crew deserve the heartiest congratulations for their plucky attempt to save the "Rijperkerk," whose mail bags happily were got safely ashore.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

LOURENCO MARQUES, November 4.

No More Casinos.

Since I last wrote to you much has been done preparatory to the arrival of the High Commissioner. Our acting Governor-General, Dr. Moreira Fonseca, is showing a firm hand towards evildoers, and a kind and benevolent attitude towards those who may transgress under the influence of the moment. Last week noted such action in the closing of all haunts of the gambler—no more casinos.

During the office of the late High Commissioner, seeing the prevalence of gambling was beyond legislation, His Excellency—although against the criminal code—granted what is termed a "tolerance" to a number of persons who were thus licensed. The money obtained from such licences—which ran from £100 to £150 per month—went to the funds of the Turismo Council, for the purpose of developing attractive places for tourists.

The Whirl of the Wheel.

Just lately several young men have been frequenting these houses, and, with "luck" against them, have risked money which did not belong to them in the hope of a "turn in luck" which never eventuated. As the temptation was too strong to be resisted, the only effectual plan was to take away the temptation. Hence, towards the close of the month an order was issued that none of the "tolerance licences" would be renewed. Naturally the holders were much perturbed, as they had gone to much expense in fitting up and making attractive such places. But on application to the Governor-General they found him adamant—he would not give even one week's extension. And so it came to pass that on Wednesday, October 31, at the hour of midnight, all play ceased in Lourenco Marques.

To prevent clandestine gambling there has been attached pains and penalties which should retard the most audacious. For instance, police instructions have been issued to arrest—without distinction—all found in such places, visitors and proprietors, and, without bail, to lodge them in the house of detention, from which they must be taken before the judge, who will, if such persons are found guilty, have no option but to send them to prison—the ordinance abolishing these licences making no provision for a fine.

The action of the Governor-General in this matter is well received, and the feeling here is that it will tend to do away with much of the "high life" that has been going on for some time. For with regret it must be stated that a certain section of our society have since the war copied such fast life as is taking place in Paris and London, making night into a merry round of life, with all its attendant pitfalls.

New System of Government.

In many other ways our Governor-General is doing good and useful work. His long residence in the province, and his advance in its public departments—from an advocate rising step by step, embracing in his ascent such positions as Secretary-General and Attorney-General, until he has reached his zenith (as far as the province is concerned) as Judge of the Court of Appeal—has given him a close insight into all matters pertaining to the province and a knowledge of its personal affairs far in advance of that attained by a Governor-General appointed from home.

His Excellency the High Commissioner has notified the appointments made in connection with his system of government. All of them are men with local knowledge of the departments over which they have been appointed to preside. Each of them, I understand, has been contracted for, and will receive the sum of £250 per month. They will be endowed with the powers held by a governor-general; that is, all that is necessary to make their decisions effective is to obtain the consent of the High Commissioner in the same way as a governor-general had to obtain the consent of the Minister of Colonies. It is a big responsibility, and it is well that the men who have been chosen are men who can take upon themselves such responsibility. If we take them according to their work, we find the appointment of the present acting Governor-General, Dr. Moreira Fonseca, to that of Minister of the Interior a most appropriate one. There is no one in Lisbon, nor here, who possesses a more profound and up-to-date knowledge of the province. The personnel of all departments is well known to him, and owing to his long residence in the provinces there is not a Civil servant of whom he does not possess a knowledge. Besides, in legislation his long experience—he has previously, for a period of two years, acted as Governor-General—places him in the unique position of having no peer in the province.

Coming to the appointment of Minister of Fomento (this section embraces public works, railways, harbours, post and telegraph department, survey and lands department, etc.), in the selection of Colonel Sá Caneiro, his Excellency has made a wise choice. He is a distinguished engineer, and is well acquainted with the working of the railways of the Province of Mozambique, especially those running on the international service. Twice he has been chosen as an adviser in the conversations that are, and have been, held in connection with a treaty between the Union of South Africa and the Province of Mozambique. At present he is in London on that important mission. The reorganisation of the staffs of the various sections of his department will need the best intelligence and local knowledge—faculties which Engineer Sá Caneiro possess in a high degree. Possibly he will alter the present system of having engineers connected with the different departments, and make one central engineering department from which all surveys may be made, plans and estimates drawn, and tenders called for. Such will tend both to efficiency and economy, and will leave the direction, say, of railways, not to engineers, but to business men—as is done in most countries.

To Solve Financial Difficulties.

Then the selection of Dr. Gomes Rebeiro brings into the province, as Minister of Finance, one who, as Auditor-General, has been here for some time studying the system of finance and audit of accounts. He will be, I hear, entrusted with the important and difficult problem of solving the question of high exchange and the many financial difficulties that surround commerce and greatly increase the cost of living. I understand that the first work pertaining to that office will be the study of, and the bringing into operation of, a new coinage for the Province of Mozambique based on a gold standard. Such a change would be most beneficial, and all with whom I have spoken on the subject are in accord in expressing it as the most essential matter than can engage the attention of the Government, and one of the most beneficial measures that could be promulgated for the benefit of the people. If such is brought into operation then the law prohibiting the use of British sterling will be abolished, and the escudo note will disappear. The first benefit would be that Portuguese and British sterling would be of equal value. The foreign banks, as before the war, would take either denomination and place it to the credit of the depositor—in sterling—as the sterling of both countries would be equal. Apart from the matter of currency, the budget and other matters of finance would come under the close supervision and direction of the Minister, and also Customs, and the collection of all moneys for licences and native taxation, etc.

These three Ministers would make up the executive of the Province, and would be open to the criticism of the Government Council, the Press, and public bodies. The other two offices would be under the direct control of the High Commissioner—that of military and naval affairs.

The Minister for Military Affairs chosen by the High Commissioner, Colonel Cabrita, has for several years occupied the position of Chief of Staff, or Military Secretary to the High Commissioner, and is, therefore, well able to deal with all military matters that may arise. Not only is his appointment highly approved by the military staff, but by the general public, with whom he is very popular.

The other appointment, that of Minister of Marine, has fallen to Commander Joao Belo, D.S.O., who has been engaged in the marine service in this province for more than twenty years. He has seen service on all parts of the coast, and during the late war rendered important service as superintendent of transports; and for the gallant way he performed these services the British Government, with the consent of the Portuguese Government, conferred upon him the Distinguished Service Order. And, although he holds no decoration from his own Government—apart from his medals for valour—yet he is known to the people of the province as a man of tremendous activity, always working in a patriotic manner for the good of the province, wherein he has spent the best part of his life and to which he is deeply attached.

These, then, are the men who will become the first Ministers of the province, and by a strange chance all of them, with the exception of the Minister of the Interior, are at present in Lisbon. I understand the method proposed by His Excellency has already been tried with great success in Angola, and there is no reason why its adoption should not prove beneficial to this province.

Nigeria.

Death of Captain Shearing.

A popular officer is lost to the Nigeria Regiment in Captain M. Shearing, of the 3rd Battalion, who died at Calabar on October 5.

Lady Clifford.

Lady Clifford, like the Governor, has lost no time in resuming those many charitable and other activities which have made her so deservedly popular. Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford attended the C.M.S. Grammar School annual sports on October 13, when her Ladyship presented the prizes. On October 16 Lady Clifford inspected the 1st and 2nd (Lagos) Companies of the Girl Guides in the grounds of Government House.

Nigeria's New Judge.

The High Court, Lagos, was crowded on October 9, when Mr. Justice Tew, the former Solicitor-General, took his seat on the Bench for the first time. His Honour the Chief Justice having entered the Court, the customary oaths were administered to the new Judge, and Mr. Egerton Shyngle, on behalf of the members of the Bar, congratulated his Honour on his appointment. Those present also included Lady Combe, Mr. A. D. A. Macgregor, Acting Solicitor-General, and Mr. H. S. Berkley, Station Magistrate.

Mr. John Scott's Farewell.

Mr. John Scott, C.M.G., Deputy Chief Secretary to the Government, who has been appointed to Tanganyika Territory as Chief Secretary, arrived in this country by the "Elmina" last week with Mrs. Scott. Prior to their departure from Lagos a farewell dinner to Mr. and Mrs. Scott was given at Government House by Their Excellencies Sir Hugh and Lady Clifford, the guests including Sir Donald and Lady Cameron, Lieut.-Col. Moorhouse, Mr. and Mrs. Hughes, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Mr. and Mrs. Jardine, Mr. and Mrs. Nugent, Mr. T. St. C. Harrison, and Mr. E. A. Weston. Mr. and Mrs. Scott had a very cordial send-off when the "Elmina" sailed.

Trade Statistics.

According to the Trade Supplement to the "Nigeria Gazette," the import trade of Lagos during the month of August totalled £461,081 in value, of which £329,146 was from the United Kingdom, £18,343 from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, and £113,662 from foreign countries. The export trade reached a total value of £387,425, of which £302,484 went to the United Kingdom, £15,240 to other British West African Possessions, and £69,701 to foreign countries.

Exports of produce during August consisted of 6,750 tons of palm oil, 23,721 tons of palm kernels, 510 tons of cocoa, 366 tons of ground nuts, 869 tons of shea products, and 1,080 cwt. of cotton lint. These figures show satisfactory increases over the corresponding period of last year, with the exception of ground nuts and shea products.

During the first half of the current year Nigeria imported commodities to the value of £5,092,900 from the United Kingdom, £291,722 from British Possessions, and £876,297 from foreign countries, making a total of £6,260,928. She exported to the value of £6,581,558 during the same period, of which total £4,581,091 went to the United Kingdom, £128,753 to other British Possessions, and £1,926,714 to foreign countries.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

The Native Question Conference

(Article No. 5.)

The next paper was that on the "The Administration and Content of Native Education" by D. D. T. Jabavu B.A. (Lond.). The conference decided that this also should be reduced to print and it is due to appear in the Johannesburg "Star" and the "South African Quarterly." Its main thesis has been incorporated in the five clauses of the Conference resolutions which, in amalgamation with those of Prof. du Plessis' paper ran thus:—

That this Conference recommends that the Government should as soon as possible consider the advisability of introducing a Native Education Act, the objects of which will be:—

(1) To place Native education under the direct control of the Union Government;

(2) To provide funds to place the salaries of Native teachers on a uniform and equitable basis;

(3) To remodel our system of Native education so that it shall be characterised by the greater adaptation of subjects and methods to practical needs and that a larger place shall be given to industrial and agricultural training, domestic economy and hygiene;

(4) To provide a special place in the curricula for biblical and simple doctrinal knowledge, which should form a subject of examination, as the conference records its opinion that there is no force like religion for raising the Native, and greatly deplores the tendency towards the neglect of religious and moral training in Native schools due to its not being a subject of examination.

(5) To arrange for the administration of Native education under Government control by advisory councils on which the Government, the missionary societies and the Natives will be represented.

In the course of the paper details of direct Native taxation were given, Province by Province, showing the small return the Natives were receiving towards their education as compared with the lavish grants towards Europeans education, the aggregate being £1,300,000 of direct taxation out of which only £264,000 was allotted to education, and yet the Government was proposing to inflict a further education upon Natives and Natives alone.

On the resumption of the debate at 4.30 Rev. Z. R. Mahabane urged the Conference to have done with the hackneyed talk of teaching the Natives "the dignity of labour" for the Natives knew the dignity of labour better than the Europeans (laughter), sweating in honest toil for all their lives. Mr. R. Setlogelo supported the idea of training both the hands and the eyes. Mr J. D R. Jones in reply to the question raised by the Bishop of Pretoria said the Conference must begin by subscribing to the educability of the Native, as the intelligence test had not yet disproved that. Prof. Edgar Brookes affirmed that the "bookish" education which was so generally disparaged, was after all the only test by which we could get to know the Native and his mental capability, and as such, could not safely be banished, although he believed that an agricultural training was the best generally if the Government could be induced to help the Native by suitable marketing arrangements in disposing of his produce. He welcomed the projected initiation of Ethnological studies in the Fort Hare College as part of the Higher Education Course. After Rev. A. Mtimkulu and Chief Zibi had made some observations, Prof. Alexander Kerr said that there was no case for the theory of Native mental saturation. He attached no importance to the so called intellectual tests, especially as in Europe the Scotchman was actually placed only third in the list. (Laughter).

In the evening session the subject of the Urban Areas Act was introduced by the

REV. F. B. BRIDGMAN, D.D.

who in the course of a lengthy plea for the sympathetic consideration of Native urban conditions mentioned that in the Rees the Native population had reached the colossal figure of 303,000 souls including 170,000 in the compounds, 9,000 boys and children attending school and 4,000 not attending school. He was followed by.

MR. R. V. SELOPE-THEMA

who supplemented the speech with an excellent paper on the same subject from a Native point of view. After Rev. A. Lea, Mr. Selby Msimang made a plea for long leases in the tenure of property inasmuch as absolute ownership had been rejected in Parliament. After a few remarks by Mr. W. W. Ndhlovu, the Thursday sessions came to a close at 10 p.m.

Notes.

FORT HARE NATIVE CHOIR.

The Daily Dispatch says:—The City Hall was fairly well attended on Saturday night 13th inst. when the Fort Hare Native Male Voice Choir gave their entertainment. Vocal music seems to be at a discount in East London, and indeed in many parts of South Africa, to-day. Whether it is the cheaper form of entertainment the bioscope affords, whether it is the superior and far more popular entertainment given to-day, that rejoices in the name of Jazz dancing, or whether it is apathy, a twentieth century vice that, like charity, covers a multitude of sins, one cannot exactly say; but the fact remains that it is hard to draw a house for purely vocal items in East London in 1923. It is not necessary to stress the excellence of Native singing—As far back as the Jubilee Singers in the Old Country some 25 years ago their excellence was known to the musical world, and of course ceased to be a novelty. On Saturday night Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu—who is a son of the late Tengo Jabavu and incidentally a Bachelor of Arts of London University—again conducted a very fine performance of good but wholly popular music. There are 30 voices in the choir, very evenly divided, eight first tenors, seven second tenors, eight first basses and seven second basses. Thus balance is numerically as well as vocally preserved from the start.

There were eighteen items on the programme, and fully two hours pure enjoyment of singing that was always good—seldom varied in pitch as regards intonation—singing that was so clear in its expression and distinct enunciation, that no book of words was required; in short, a great vocal feast of excellent music was given They began with Adam's "Brothers in Arms," which amply gave us evidence of what we were going to get ere they finished. Their choral numbers are beyond any carping criticism; we simply don't get part singing of this calibre from Europeans in Africa to-day. Several East London residents who know part singing when they hear it, were present on Saturday evening—and at the interval there was a general consensus of opinion that none of them had heard anything approaching this class of singing for many years past. Now this is high praise—it may even border on extravagant laudation, but these Natives sing as if their heart was in their work; they have not yet learnt that it is fashionable to be lethargic and icily reserved in musical expression. This, of course, may come with more civilisation; but from this may Heaven preserve them! Two Native songs appeared on the programme; one a Zulu item, "Isangoma, Umtakati," by Reuben Caluzza, a native of Natal, who the programme tells us, is noted for his choir in Natal and on the Rand; and a Xosa song, "Ama-Gora e Mendi," by Albert Jonas, a King Williamstown native. These were naturally sung with a verve and tone that is entirely an attribute of the South African Native in his singing—and there was ample proof of the nationality in music theory in both numbers. Elgar's "Land of Hope and Glory," two Negro spirituals, "Sweet and Low" (ever popular number of Sir J. Barnby's inspiration), Sergeant's "Watchman, what of the Night" (beautifully harmonised in four parts), and that travesty of Italian opera, "Italian Salad" of Genee, excellently burlesqued—all were given by the Choir as a choir.

As soloists and in a duet or two, several members gave individual turns. May one be allowed to say that they do not shine yet as soloists—choral singing is an art apart, just as solo singing is, the same with orchestral playing and solo instrumental playing. That the Native is not yet a Sims Reeves or Peter Dawson is to be expected, at the same time they gave several very acceptable songs. The piano accompaniments were an education; they were played by Mr. M. Radebe and Professor Jabavu himself. Even the wretched City Hall piano—the Casabianca of Pianos—was not bad enough to be covered up by these two Natives' exquisite accompanying.

Altogether, the concert was a great musical and artistic success, and was appreciatively followed by a keenly interested audience from start to finish. A short resume of what Fort Hare stands for was supplied with the programme. If some of these points are debatable politics, there is no argument as to the musical ability of the Fort Hare Male Voice Choir.

The Land Bank.

It is common knowledge that the Union Government has a fund of over six million pounds to which both Europeans and Natives contribute in the form of general revenue. The purpose of the fund is to assist buyers of land in securing land by means of easy loans, but the regulations restrict the right to benefit from the fund to Europeans only, who must be white men with white wives. A white man married to a coloured or black woman would *ipso facto* be disqualified from getting a loan. A black man need not trouble to apply. The Minister of Finance not long ago told the Native Farmers' Association that that was the position.

One of our contemporaries has, with a romantic touch, described the Land Bank as the "Fairy Godmother of the farmers of the Union"—the white farmers, of course. This is true for it issues mortgages on land, assists in the provision of dipping tanks, fences, boundaries and roads, befriends cooperative societies, and so on, so long as the applicant's skin is white. Last year, it advanced a million pounds to 2,700 such applicants, and refused the poor Native Farmers' Association.

We would like to know how long the Government intends to uphold this unfair policy towards the Natives, whom it so often takes to task for backwardness in agricultural methods. It is so much easier to blame than to encourage. And yet with all this help the South African white farmers are admittedly classed behind all those of Canada, New Zealand and Australia in progress, enterprise and methods.

On the contrary we must confess that the Natives had been asleep for many years and had failed to knock often enough at

the door of the Land Bank "fairy godmother." The time has come for them to ask for their due right therefrom, and we have at least three cases where they deserve attention. The first is that of the Native Farmers Association, which after an existence of over five years has given birth to over twenty associations which have now united in a South African Native Farmers' Union. The second is that of the scheme of Chief Zibi, who is purchasing a farm in the Transvaal for £22,000 to be shared by 600 individual title owners in order to reduce the terrible congestion of Newazi location and other Natives. The scheme has the approval of the Native Affairs Department in all its details, and we think the Minister for Native Affairs might well arrange that some help from the Land Bank fund be afforded such a well conceived scheme. The third is that of the erection of Native dipping tanks, the continued 5/- levy of which is a heart-sore to our people. Fortunately Mr. F. S. Malan promised at King Williamstown that he would endeavour to induce the Land Bank authorities to help Natives in respect of dipping tanks. It is unlikely that he would make such a far reaching promise without knowing there is a possibility of its achievement. We hope and pray that he shall succeed and help the Zibi—Rusterburg—Farm scheme also.

We trust that these modest requests may receive the sympathy they deserve, and pave the way towards the abolition of a colour-line clause in the Land Bank regulations, a stigma that stands as a blot on the good name of a Union Government which boasts the most powerful individual statesman and premier in the world.

The Native Question Conference

(Article No. 6.)

The sessions of Friday 28 Sept. opened with the passing of an unopposed resolution by Mr. M. Pelem thanking the D.R.C. for arranging the conference. Then the resolution on "The Teachings of Christianity as a basis for a Native Policy" were adopted thus:—

(a) "This conference of Christian leaders among the European and Native sections of the population, desires to declare its most emphatic conviction that the only sound and safe Native policy for our country is one based on the teachings of Christianity, and would, therefore, impress upon the churches and other responsible bodies and persons, the urgent need of employing every means for educating public opinion with reference to this subject of supreme importance. (b) The conference calls upon the churches to stir up interest in missionary effort to quicken the sense of responsibility towards the Native and his conditions and aspirations, and heartily recommends the establishment of Welfare Societies for the training of the young to take an interest in their fellow citizens of another colour. (c) The conference resolves to appoint a committee to cooperate with the standing committee of the South African General Missionary Conference and the Native Welfare Associations in order to influence public opinion, *inter alia*, through Municipal and Divisional Council Congresses, and to watch proposed legislative measures, and if necessary, to bring influence to bear on the Government in order to safeguard the rights of the Natives."

The committee was eventually elected to be as follows:—The Archbishop of Cape Town, Prof. du Plessis, Mr. Geo. Louw M.L.A. Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu and A. Rev. Mtimkulu, with the Secretaries Rev. P. G. J. Meiring B.A., Rev. D. Theron; Mr. H. Pim, Mr. J. R. Jones, Rev. Z. Mahabane and Mr. H. S. Msimang. Others who spoke on the subject were Rev. W. Eveleigh, Rev. A. Les, Rev. St. George Stead, Rev. J. Gray, Rev. A. C. Murray and the Archbishop. Then the discussion on the Urban Areas Act was resumed and Revs. J. Hlabangana, B. S. Dlepu, Mr. T. Mapikela, Dr. Roberts, Rev. A. Jennings spoke and Mr. Howard Pim suggested that the Government be asked to sketch out specimen leases showing the nature, length and conditions of lease for public criticism, and consultation on regulations to secure the rights of the Native people affected. In the afternoon the discussion was brought to a close with the following resolution:—

(1) That this conference approach the Government through the board of officers with a view to ensuring that no regulations either by Government or by urban local authorities shall be gazetted until they have first been published and time has been allowed for the full expression of public opinion thereon, both Native and Europeans; that the minimum period of seven days provided in Section 23 sub-section 3 is inadequate; and further, that in the framing of regulations by the Governor-General the Minister or the local urban authority, the spirit of consultation should be observed.

(2) That this Conference urge upon the Government and local urban authorities that the system of leasehold tenure in native villages established under the Act be generally adopted and generously administered, so as to meet the legitimate aspirations of the Native for security of homestead tenure. To this end the Conference urges that the Government prepare and submit to urban local authorities model leases.

(3) The Conference also commends to the Native Welfare Societies the working out of a common policy as to the terms and conditions of such leases, especially with reference to period of tenure and fairness of conditions.

(4) The Conference urges that in the construction of Native villages facilities may be given whereby, Natives may be encouraged to build their own homes.

(5) This Conference urges upon local urban authorities the exercise of the greatest care in the selection of location superintendents, as the successful working of the Act will depend in large measure upon the securing of suitable men of broad human sympathy for these posts.

(6) That to make possible the carrying out of Section 17, subsection 2 of the Act, which provides for the commitment of habitually idle or disorderly Natives to reformatory institutions, the attention of Government be called to the urgent necessity of establishing such institutions which must provide for both sexes.

Notes.

ACT 23 OF 1920.

At a meeting of Native public men drawn from the districts of Stutterheim, Keiskama Hoek and King Williamstown locations held on the 2nd November 1923, it was decided that a communication be addressed to T. W. C. Norton Esq. Ciskei Commissioner; to the Native Affairs Commission; and to the Minister for Native Affairs embodying the following resolution:—Resolved:

(1) That the Government be humbly asked to introduce the Council System in the districts of Stutterheim, Kieskama Hoek and King Williamstown without delay in accordance with the provisions of Act 23 of 1920.

(2) That these districts named do not wish for the newly suggested scheme of Advisory Councils, but desire the Council System outright as embodied in Act 23 of 1920.

(3) That the Government be respectfully informed that there is an overwhelming majority in favour of the Council system in the districts named, and that it is contrary to the principles of the British Constitution, as we understand it, to deny such overwhelming majorities their due privileges.

—:o:—

NEW BOOKS.

We have received the following new books recently printed at the Lovedale Mission Press: "NOZIPO," a Xosa novel of 41 pages by Stephen, V. Mlotywa, (price 1/- post free) and "UBOMI BUKA YESU KRISTU" of Dr. Stalker, translated into Xosa by Rev. J. W. W. Owen H.C.F. (price 3/- or 3/3 post free.) We hope to review them in due course, along with the "HISTORICAL RECORDS of the TRANSKEIAN NATIVE TERRITOTIES" by Frank Brownlee.

The Sudan.

GEZIRA IRRIGATION SCHEME.

Interesting Annual Report.

The annual report of the Director, Commercial Intelligence Branch, Central Economic Board, for 1922-23 has just been issued. The following extracts are of interest:—

After a temporary stoppage owing to insufficiency of funds, work has resumed last autumn on the Makwar Dam on the Blue Nile near Sennar and the Gezira Canalisation Scheme. The resumption of work on this project, which is of such vital importance to the Sudan, was rendered possible by an undertaking by the Imperial Government to guarantee the principal and interest of a further loan sufficient to raise a sum of £E3,500,000 to meet expenditure on these developments. A contract for the carrying out of these works was placed in September, 1922, with Messrs. S. Pearson and Son, Ltd., and the contractors are under obligation to complete in time for the irrigation of the 1925-26 crop.

The canalisation is designed for the annual cultivation (by free flow irrigation) of an initial area of 100,000 feddans of cotton, estimated to give a yield of 80,000 to 100,000 bales of lint. Sufficient water can be held up by the dam to command a much larger area than 100,000 feddans. It may be recalled that this great cotton-growing scheme is to be carried on in co-partnership on a profit-sharing basis between the Sudan Government, the native cultivator, and the Sudan Plantation Syndicate.

In order to accustom the native to cotton cultivation by up-to-date methods, large areas have already been developed under cotton by means of pump irrigation in the district comprised in the scheme, and have produced most successful results. When the new pumping installation at Wad El Nau comes into operation this summer, it is expected that some 20,000 feddans will be cultivated with cotton this season in the area to be irrigated by the dam. On the completion and successful operation of the Gezira Irrigation Scheme a new chapter will open in the economic history of the Sudan.

The substitution of an assured water supply for the vagaries of an unreliable rainfall and the steady production year by year of large quantities of a valuable and readily saleable commodity such as cotton will revolutionise conditions in the Gezira, and will profoundly affect the whole of the northern and central parts of the country, and in many ways the scheme will make its influence felt in regions much further afield. The rise which may be expected in the general standard of living will not only lead to an increase in imports of articles manufactured abroad, but will also mean a large additional demand in the Gezira area for native products from other districts in the Sudan. Both internal and external trade will benefit greatly from this vast productive enterprise. Moreover, the annual migration of labour to and from other parts of the Sudan into the Gezira for the seasonal occupation of hoeing and picking cotton will tend to distribute the proceeds of the sale of the cotton amongst the population generally, and will stimulate trade in many districts far removed from the cotton area.

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

BRILLIANT ATTACK UPON SEGREGATION.

AN ENGLISH WORKER FOR NIGERIA EXPOSES THE ESSENTIAL FALLACY OF THE SYSTEM.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—It is a delicate venture, and dangerous, to write about segregation, because its champions are so influential, so popular and well-thought-of in high places. West Africa

For this reason there is real danger of this foolishness becoming more than a vous hope, and of infinite harm being done to helpless individuals who have put their trust in us, who will not know what has harmed them or, knowing, will be more likely to become malcontents against all government than self-governing reformers. 11-3-23

It is a matter for scientists, but not medical scientists. Government is a science. One vaguely grasps that in government, in dealing with problems affecting so many individual cases that it is impossible to deal with each by itself on its merits, one must follow certain leading principles. It is obviously wise to try to do something the result of which will be good; but it is a good principle not to try to do something obviously impossible.

You can no more hope to segregate the Europeans in Africa than to eliminate the mosquito in its swamps. Effort after such an impossibility may waste a lot of money and inflict harm on many without reaching any good.

The argument for segregation is that if Europeans do not go near Africans mosquitoes will not transfer disease germs from the blood of the African to the blood of the European. The logical conclusion is that we ought to get to the Tropics in glass cases, taking our own air and food, or, better still, stay at home and direct them by wireless: then we should perhaps think it possible our mistakes in government rose from ignorance of local conditions.

It is all nonsense. You might as well try to segregate the rich and the poor in England. These two classes here, broadly speaking, keep apart, but intermingle. There is no area for rich alone, yet each keeps much to itself. There are differences. Scientific laboratories are not built in the vibration of Fleet Street. Children in velvet do not play on the pavement with children in rags, but they play in much the same way; they do not sit in the same schools but they learn much the same knowledge. It may be that the rich keep cleaner; it may be that the poor keep themselves and the rich clean, for servants are of the poor, and the rich rely much on their servants for their cleanliness. If a rich man went to live as a poor man does, and did not attend to his cleanliness himself more than he has to do at home, he would soon be in a much more dirty condition than the poor are. Under the protected conditions under which the rich live it may not be necessary to do much individually towards keeping clean. On the other hand, to brush teeth, to rinse the hands with soap and water often, may not be necessary or possible in a poor street: but there is much to be done, there is filth to be avoided, and the poor learn how to avoid it.

To separate the two classes would breed class prejudice. It would keep the poor poor and deprive them of their chances of rising among the rich. It would be false economy to separate the rich from their servants.—and it is impossible.

For ages Europeans have lived in the temperate zone and have, by the section of heredity and by other sections of evolution, adapted themselves to its conditions under which their skin has become white. So also Africans have lived in the Tropics and one of the results is a dark skin. The delicate and mysterious machinery of the body—eyes, nose, heart, liver, skin, glands, and other parts we know nothing about—has by heredity become adapted to its work.

When a European moves his body to the Tropics all this delicate machinery is strained. The eye is charmed by new sights, and distracts the mind from other duties, the nose wastes time on perfumes which the African nose would take as a matter of course, and neglects the warning of odours which would turn an African nose up, the skin is irritated beyond reason and gets furiously busy, putting up a fight against real and imaginary evils, the heart draws joyfully upon its reserve of energy, which up to now it has found inexhaustible, the liver feels that at last its important functions are understood, and the whole body works at high pressure, willingly, with delight. The European finds the climate exhilarating!

After a while, the delicate machinery begins to feel the strain. There is no rest from emergency work such as there always has been at home. A man soon wears himself out in the Tropics!

The machinery of the body, finding unusual and protracted strain, scents trouble, and expects help and guidance. None comes. The Intelligence Department is ignorant, and is busy enjoying new experiences! After a pause, finding no intelligence available to help it, the machinery, in despair, attacks its arrears of trouble bald-headed, and drives harder and harder, getting more and more choked as it drives, until there is a smash and—another little corner in the White Man's Grave.

Every man does not die, but practically every man goes down with an early attack of malarial fever. Most of them survive, and emerge, chastened in spirit, weak in body, and now willing to listen to experience, to learn from others, and to follow advice, whether it be to sleep during the heat of the day, to stay indoors all day, to change all clothes twice a day, never to wear anything that has not been thoroughly aired, to eat little, to drink less, never to sit in a draught, never to act in a hurry, never to get into a temper, never to sit or lie on the ground, never to indulge even moderately in any excess (if I may so phrase it), and so on, and so on—all the lore of the Tropics just to *go slow*.

There is a kind of man, clever, ambitious, who in all this sees only the malarial fever, singles it out as the enemy, and goes for it. Mal. Fev. is the obvious cause. He sees no further. He is almost like a man who, seeing a dead mule covered with maggots, thinks the trouble is that they are eating the mule, whereas that particular operation is a blessing—natural scavenging.

Other men may be able to imagine that in the great scheme of which the evolution of European and African from the same thing is a puny detail, malarial fever may be just a danger signal, a warning, or even a cure. How do we know that these mysterous wiggly things *attacking* red corpuscles are not really a blessing in disguise performing some beneficial function in the blood of the African?

Sausages go bad and give out an unpleasant smell, as a warning. The smell may be counteracted with disinfectants but the danger remains. Further, there are microscopic living things which breed in bad sausages and whose presence is proof of badness. These are kept away if the sausages are well dusted with the right powder, but the danger remains and the sausages are still poison.

It may be that if there were no malarial fever to pull him up almost every European would just wear himself out with delight in the Tropics and that those who survive do so because the wiggly things find them fit subjects for their work, fit subjects for the Tropics. European man lived and lived long in the Tropics before these wiggly things were discovered.

Quinine kills them and cures the European of malarial fever, but blackwater fever is more deadly than that, and many think quinine causes blackwater. Ask them!

There is a kind of medical man who sees no further than his microscope and is as bad as an astronomer (if any) who would burn you if you suggested there may be stars beyond the field of his greatest telescope. This particular kind of medical man is quite a different person from the one who takes his coat off and gets down to it, cutting out the African's tumours, healing his sores, and making himself loved. He is really not a doctor at all, he is a chemist, and a poor one at that, for he generalises on experiments which a chemist would reject as speculation.

He dopes us with serum, instead of examining our dead bodies, for ever itching for a short cut to knowledge and a knighthood, for ever anxious to wrest secrets from Nature to enable man to commit error and avoid its natural results for a time.

He sets up expensive, secret, haphazard, research departments to do simple scavenging work. He glibly discusses moving populations instead of building drains. He finds Lokoja, grown gradually, naturally, as London did, at the mouth of the valleys at the gate of trade, dirty

and crowded, cannot grasp the problem of keeping it clean, so proposes to move it a few miles down stream, quite forgetting, if he ever understood, that the life, the whole life of the inhabitants, the ordinary citizens content perforce with their daily rounds and common tasks, is made up of little details which moving a population smashes as a boot smashes an anthill. He does not consider what he will do with the site, whether he will live on it or leave it to the flies and dogs and gypsies, or dig it up and throw it into the river.

He will in the end be relegated to the limbo of his forefathers who let blood for every ill, with his forerunners who sacrificed white kids on the altars of the Mediterranean to drive away a pestilence, with his more distant ancestors who rattled a dried newt, a dog's ear, a widow's bone, a periwinkle shell in a gourd outside the hut in which the surfeit's victim writhed.

He is a useful little man in his way, but he must not be allowed to push us about. There is no place for him in the councils of Government. There, he is as dangerous as the priest. All this lore of the mosquito is useful; but it is not enough, it is not the last word, and of all the things Europeans must practice in the Tropics the rites of the mosquito really loom very little in importance.

Quinine in moderation, just a little of it, and all the gadgets to help us avoid being bitten by flies, are useful, just as morphia is useful when a man's body has been badly smashed, just as a stimulant is useful. Morphia does not set a shattered limb, stimulants do not restore strength, each in its way, so to speak, enables us to repel the enemy's mosquito craft and gain time for planning and carrying out serious operations against what we really have to overcome. What we have to do is to learn the Tropics and how to live there!

We cannot eliminate the mosquito, we cannot eliminate malarial fever; we can only get used to both, and they will, perhaps, help us more than we think. We have to learn the Tropics. There is no short cut. We cannot seize them from unwilling Nature and remould them nearer to our hearts' desire. We shall not learn the Tropics, learn haw to live and work and be useful in the Tropics, by segregating ourselves from the men who have learned the Tropics by the slow process of heredity in evolution. We shall learn most about them and their ways by living amongst them as much as possible.

By all means let us have air and space round our dwellings; we have learned the use of that at home; by all means let us scout about and rout out dirt and decay on the ground round our dwellings, as we do at home; by all means let us construct good, simple drains and introduce sanitation as we know it; fresh air, cleanliness, sanitation will help us live amongst the Africans and will make their own lives happier. Do not let us try for short cuts which are not in the course of nature. There is no hurry. After we have passed away others will follow in our footsteps. There is no need to do everything in our generation,—and it is impossible.

It is not how long we can live, it is what we can do!

I am, etc.,

FESTINA LENTE.

[This communication, the author of which is an Englishman who has to his credit years of work in Nigeria in the Civil Service, is referred to in an editorial article elsewhere, in which also attention is called to surprising features of recent official statistics bearing upon the effects of segregation.—ED., "W.A."]

BISHOP MELVILLE JONES ON WEST AFRICAN LIFE AND PROGRESS.

Dr. Melville Jones, the Anglican Bishop of Lagos, is paying England a health visit, and WEST AFRICA took advantage of the occasion to ask him if he would give its readers some of his impressions on British West Africa. The Bishop courteously agreed, and spoke as follows:

"Speaking after 30 years of life in the country, I should like to say that my first impression relates to the extraordinary development of Nigeria in that time.

"Dealing with the Government point of view first, when I began my life there the hinterland was nearly unknown. Only a few pioneer explorers and missionaries had been into the interior. The tribes were at war, and that prevented trade from coming down to the coast. Sir Gilbert Carter was, I think, the first Governor to go into the interior, and he most skilfully made peace between the Ibadans and Ilorins. Thanks to him they broke up their war camps. He placed a Resident at Ibadan, and by a continuance of his policy there has practically been unbroken peace in the interior since that time." (The interviewer interposed that the Bishop's remarks on this head threw a useful light upon the contention of several correspondents of WEST AFRICA to the effect that too much public money is spent on soldiery and quasi-military police, both in the Gold Coast and Nigeria.)

The Bishop proceeded:

"Inter-tribal wars have ceased. The slave trade has been done away with. Human sacrifice and other barbarous practices have been put down. Let me give one illustration to show how great the change has been. The Rev. J. B. Wood, a missionary who spent over 40 years in the country, speaking about that time, mentioned that he had seen the 'extraordinary sight' of a woman and her children coming into Abeokuta from the farm several miles out. He said that had that taken place a little earlier, the whole party would not have ventured to do that lest they should be kidnapped into slavery. Compare, or rather contrast, that with the state of the country to-day, when anybody can travel anywhere without danger. That gives in a sentence a measure of the change.

The Engineer and the Doctor.

"Then the engineer has been busy, and has made railways and roads which have opened up the country tremendously. When I first went out it took me a week of hard travel from Lagos to Oyo, about 150 miles. I was 24 hours in a dug-out canoe and the remainder of the time marched along narrow, winding bush paths, all the luggage being carried by porters. Now I make the journey in a day, 120 miles by rail and 30 in a motor-car over a good road.

"Then the doctor has been at work. When I first went out, the country was known not unjustly as the White Man's Grave. Neither the name Nigeria nor the country was really known in Europe. In my first two tours I had a great deal of fever, and ended up with two attacks of blackwater. The last of them was in 1900. I have been fairly fit ever since. I put this down a great deal to the work of the doctors; by their research work they have found out how the malaria germ is carried and have taught us how to escape danger by avoiding the mosquito and by taking quinine regularly. The conditions of life have been enormously improved. In my early days scarcely anyone was fortunate enough to be able to have his wife with him as I am thankful to say I was to have mine. She has been longer in the country than I have, over 34 years, and, had it not been for her skilful nursing, I doubt if I should have been here at all. The majority, however, in those days could get no skilled and sympathetic attention. The African servant was frequently both loyal and kind, yet he lacked the proper skill. To-day we have good hospitals, good doctors and British nursing sisters, and even if a man is taken ill far away in the bush the means of communication existing usually allow of his being got, within reasonable time, to a hospital, and so the chances of retention of life are increased. There is no longer any excuse for calling it the White Man's Grave.

The Part played by Commerce.

"The traders and commercial men have also been at work. They have done their share, and are doing it, a great share, in development. Palm-oil was almost the only article of trade in the old days. Cotton is now largely grown, and mahogany and other valuable woods and rubber are found in the forests. The mineral wealth, e.g., the tin mines, is being discovered. The commercial value of the country has been enormously enhanced. One really can hardly speak with sufficient wonder and admiration of the way in which the country has been opened up. I do not say it has been done perfectly, of course. There are flaws in every human system. Personally, I think the liquor traffic has been wrong, and that the restrictions on missionary work in the Northern Provinces are no longer defensible. I consider that in proportion to total revenue the amount spent on education is insufficient. There may have been instances of unkind treatment of Africans by Europeans, but, on the whole, I hold it true to say that the work of opening up the country under British protection has been done justly, and has been a tremendous boon to the people.

"But this civilising development of the country carries tremendous responsibilities with it. It is bound to uproot the old Pagan beliefs and superstitions. If there were not a missionary in West Africa, Paganism would still be doomed, and we who take away the old system are morally obliged to put something better in its place. Consider an example. A man in a heathen village in the old days who planted a field with yams put a fetish in the corner. That was quite sufficient to protect his property. To-day in a village, even if only one of the young men has been to Lagos or another seaport and even if he has been to no school at all, he knows perfectly well and he tells others that, if the yams are taken, the fetish has no power of punishment. Therefore, I say, unless you give something to take the place of the old system, you have, even in a civil sense, leaving moral and spiritual matters aside for the moment, made the people's position worse than it was before. Government in effect recognises that by insisting on moral and religious teaching in the schools.

Race Problem — 1923
Africa.

Registration And Protection Act.

Below we are giving publicity to the Recommendations of the Commission, which the Union Government by the Natives Registration measure wanted to give effect to. It has been decided not to pass that Bill through Parliament before native opinion was thoroughly sounded, and we therefore publish these recommendations for the interests of our readers, and we expect them to say whether a law for the natives along those lines would not be a good measure. Whether it would be a greater loss for the whole Union natives to lose this measure than what the Cape Colony natives would lose by its acceptance:—

(a) That all existing pass laws be repealed and a Union measure substituted entitled "Native Registration and Protection Act."

(b) That each male native be registered in his district of domicile at the age of eighteen years or earlier if he leaves his home before reaching that age.

(c) That every native be furnished with a life-long document to be called a registration certificate; that it be on parchment; that it contain full particulars of domicile and personal identity; that it bear the district serial number; that it be either signed by or impressed with a thumb print of the holder; and that it be preserved in a receptable to be provided by the Government free of cost.

(d) That the registration certificate be carried whenever a native goes beyond the ward in which he is ordinarily resident.

(e) That only an authorised officer have the right to demand the production of a registration certificate and that an "authorised officer" shal mean a European police officer, not below the rank of sergeant or post commander, justice of the peace registrering officer, or such other public officer authorised thereto by the Minister of Native Affairs.

(f) That it be an offence for any person to engage a native not in possession of a registration certificate.

(g) That employers be required to report within seven days the engagement of a native—other than a casual labourer—to the local registering officer.

(h) That a central bureau be established to record the movements of natives absent from their homes.

(i) That owners or occupiers of land and of kraals be required to report the presence of strange natives other than passing travellers.

(j) That employers in rural areas shall furnish particulars of the conditions of contract to the local registering officer and keep labour registers in which such information shall be recorded—the said registers to be open to inspection.

(k) Employers in rurul areas shall report desertions and terminations of contracts to the local registering officer.

(l) That the registration of all contracts of service in proclaimed industrial and urban areas be compulsory be effected within three days; and be made out in triplicate, one copy to be filed of record and one to be handed to each of the contracting parties.

(m) That a native excluding an indentured native, shall report within forty-eihght hours after arrival in proclaimed industrial or urban areas to the registering officer and that he be furnished with a document available for one month certifying that he has reported.

(n) That an employer in proclaimed and industrial and urban areas shal report desertions and terminations o contracts to the local registering officer by surrendering his copy of the service contract duly signed and dated and when discharging a native shall similarly sign and date the copy held by the latter.

(o) That each contract of service be registered on a separate form.

(p) That only an "authorised officer" shall have the right to demand the production of a contract of service.

(q) That montnly passes be abolished.

(r) That special courts, composed of an experienced official with two native assessors as advisors be established in proclaimed industrial and urban areas to deal with undesirables.

(s) That females and juveniles be subject to the jurisdiction of the special courts.

(t) That curfew regulations be retained, but that the hours for the whole Union be fixed at from 11 p.m to 4. a. m. unless the local authority can show good cause that the hours be altered.

(u) That all permits issued under the curfew regulations be on a prescribed form and facilities provided at police and railway stations for the issue in cases of emergency.

(v) That curfew regulations shall not apply within properly constituted and regulated townships and locations set apart for native occupation unless at the request of a majority of the residents thereof The principle under which unauthorised Europeans are excluded from such townships and locations during certain prescribed hours supported.

(w) That native women be excluded from registration for identification purposes, the curfew regulations and the compulsory registration of contracts of service.

(x) That natives of good character falling within the following classes be exempt from the measures recommended in the report.

(1) All natives at present holding letters of exemption under any existing law.

(2) Natives who have passed the Fifth Standard of education.

(3) Natives registered as parliamentary voters.

(4) Chiefs recognised by the Government.

(5) Skilled artisans certified as such and persons exercising approved businesses or trades.

(6) Respectable and intelligent natives certified as having rendered faithful and continuous service for a period of not less than ten years.

(y) That certificate be liable to cancellation in the event of conviction for the crimes set out in the third schedule of Act 31 of 1917 provided that the Governor General-in-Council shall have the right to cancel for misconduct; and that all certificates other than those under class (1) be granted on probation for one year.

(z) That the following amendments be made to Act 15 of 1911.

(1) A "native labourer) to be defined as any native engaged for employed except such specified classes to which it is not desired to apply the provisions of the Act relating to native labourers.

(2) The defination of "employer" in section 2 and the analagous section 28 be deleted.

(1) Section twelve (2) be altered to read "no native labourer, save with the "written consent of the Director shall be registered to a person other than to him on whose behalf he is to be employed or was recruited."

(4) Section twelve be amended so as to debar the recruitment of native lads for prescribed employment and that the present discrepancy in the English and Dutch versions be removed.

Our Secretary.

3-27-23

We understand that Mr E. J. Barrett is being retrenched from the position of Secretary for Native Affairs to make room for a man called Major J.F. Herbst, coming from the notorious South West.

As under Secretary Mr Barrett had done quite well for many years but through no fault of his

he lacked the qualities of a personality with initiative and independence of thought so necessary in the higher position of Secretary. His sympathetic view of things in the administration will certainly be missed. His ancestry, his familiarity with Native conditions, and his antecedents were at any rate well known before he was appointed to the office.

Quite the reverse is the case of the mysterious new name (which sounds Dutch) now before us.

How and why Major Herbst has been appointed we are in absolute darkness. Once more the Government have taken a great step without even pretending to ascertain the feeling of the leaders of Native opinion, with regard to a post vitally affecting Native interests. This procedure is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Native Affairs Act 1920 and of the Premier's speech that introduced its Second Reading wherein we were promised consultation on such matters. If this is not a policy of drift then we do not know what is. We do not wish to be merely destructive in our criticism but we pray for more honesty in the powers that be. We are not alone in this desire. Responsible organs of Native opinion like *Abantu-Batho* and *Pretoria News* share this view.

Also we do not wish to prejudice Major Herbst before he starts his work but we earnestly desire to direct the attention of the Government to certain principles that should guide their Native policy (if they have any), principles enunciated with unusual lucidity in the famous speech of General Smuts on the Native Affairs Bill in 1920.

On this subject the *Abantu Batho* says:—It is only right to state that Major Herbst is unknown to us, and we have no doubt that the majority of the Native people, whose affairs he is called upon to administer, do not know him and have not heard of him All we know about this gentleman is that he was, a few days ago, Private Secretary to the Administrator of South West Protectorate. We have been informed, however, that he was once a Magistrate at Cofimvaba in the [illegible] Cofimvaba is only a country station, and it is doubtful if the experience which he gained there would fit him for the position to which he has been appointed. Of course, he might have had some other experience of Native Affairs, but this we do not know. We understand that immediately after the war he went to South West Protectorate to fill in the position he has just relinquished. The history of Native administration in South West Protectorate does not provide a pleasant reading it is full of cruelties and barbarities which have necessitated severe criticisms even by the League of Nations as the result of a protest by a Haitian delegate. The shooting, bombing, and machinegunning of a helpless and defenceless people was an act which was bound to rouse human indignation and passion. While we recognise the fact Major Herbst cannot be blamed for these cruelties, at the same time we must be frank and say. "We have no faith and confidence in any man connected with South West administration. So far as we are concerned (and we think this is the view of the Natives of Damaraland to day) the position of Natives in that protectorate is not better than under the German Regime. There is certainly no difference between the masscre of the Hereros by the German military caste, and masscre of the Bondelswartz by the present rulers of that unhappy country. The rule of the sjambok which obtained under the German Eagle was severe as ever under the British Lion. The position in a nutshell is this: The Natives of South-west have only been taken out of the fire into the frying pan. This is what we know of Native administration in the protectorate. And when a gentleman, who has been connected with such administration is appointed to administer our affairs, it is only natural that we should become apprehensive and suspicious.

We strongly protest against the Government not consulting our wishes with regard to the appointment of the Secretary for Native Affairs. We do not, and cannot question the Government's right to appoint its own servants, but we are firmly convinced that we are entitled to a say in the administration of our affairs; and we think we have a right to say what white men should be entrusted with destinies of our race. The principle of consultation in matters affecting the welfare of our race was laid down in the Native Affairs Act 1920. Under this Act, therefore, we claim that Native Opinion should have been consulted before Major Herbst was entrusted with the lives of our people.

Then the *Pretoria News* says:—

We have heard it said that Mr Barrett is not an ideal head of the Native Affairs Department, but he has been in the Department for a very long time and wielded Secretarial powers for about three years. Leading men think the country is losing a really able administrative officer. There is nothing to be said against the chase of the ideal, but the chase of the ideal by those who take years to find they are on the wrong track—if they have got on the wrong track—is a venture that is not likely to beget the confidence of the public. If they speak truth who mention Major Herbst's name in connection with Mr Barrett's post, then we should imagine that the begetting of the public confidence is farther off than ever. We believe that Major Herbst, who is fifty years of age and who originally joined the Census Department and then the Department of Justice, has a few years, a very few years, experience of Natives in the Transkei and, doubtless, a little more experience of Native administration if not of Native psychology in the Protectorate. Perhaps an enthusiastic advocate of his appointment to this very high and very onerous post might argue that this experience from the Transkei and the South West was of greater value than the experience of officials gained after long and continuous service in the Department—officials whose names are what might be termed household words both in European and Native circles, and who look upon promotion as a more or less just reward for the experience they have so industriously gained. The premature departure of Mr Barrett is not liked in many quarters but we should imagine that that feeling will be as nothing compared with the feeling which will be aroused if Major Herbst, a charming man, a conscientious and hardworking official, and the possessor of that priceless qualification, the language qualification is chosen to fill the vacancy.

FRANCE LEAVES PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

DuBois Admits French President and Secretary Have Both Resigned

THIRD SESSION IS PLANNED

Meeting Scheduled for Next Month in England and Portugal

New York.—Dr. Dubois telegraphed the Afro today:

"I expect the co-operation of French, English, Portuguese, Americans and others, although French are hampered by lack of funds."

France has deserted the Pan-African Congress.

Dr. DuBois admits that M. Gratien Candez, deputy from Gaudeloupe in the French Parliament, president of the Congress and M. Isaac Beton, assistant professor of a lycee in Paris, secretary, have both resigned.

This means that the third Pan-African Congress, which had planned to hold some of its sessions in Paris, will be moved instead to London, England and Lisbon, Portugal. Whether or not the session in this latter place will be successful is not known, because Santo Pinto, of mixed parentage, who headed the African League there died last winter, leaving the movement at a standstill.

French Africans Satisfied

Defection of the French delegates, it is said, is due to the fact that the natives are satisfied with the manner in which France is governing her colonies.

The first and second Pan-African movement was financed by the N. A. A. C. P. Recently the Association withdrew part of its support because it is interested primarily in local American race problems. This gap was filled in part by the interest taken by the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, who promised to help and will send a representative to the third congress.

10-26-13

In an appeal sent out to Europeans to aid in the success of the third Congress, Dr. DuBois says:

700,000,000 Negroes

"For six years now we have been trying to organize the movement. It is still an idea, but it is a great idea. Here there are in the world several hundred millions of Negro descent divided into tribes and groups and distributed among the nations, speaking different languages representing wide differences in grades of culture and yet having certain definite and pressing problems in common.

"These questions all centre centre around the question: 'Are Negroes to be regarded as human beings, or are they to form a permanently inferior class?"

"For the good of the whole world it is necessary that this fundamental question and other questions arising from it should be settled at the earliest possible moment. The economic and educational problems of the world, the problems of peace, war, government and nationhood depend upon the future status of black men and other coloured people in the world.

Europeans Should Help

"It has seemed, therefore, to many thinking Negroes in this part of the universe that something should be done to bring the Negro world into common understanding and acquaintanceship in order that in conjunction with the advancing thought of the rest of the world they should work for the uplift and emancipation of black folk. This is the thot underlying the Pan-African movement. It has, of course, aroused widespread curosity and suspicion.

Colour Prejudice.

There is an exceedingly interesting article in the current number of the "Contemporary Review," by Sir Sydney Olivier, on colour prejudice, which is well worth reading. A passage worth noting and pondering over is the following: "While white men are doubtless intellectually and morally capable of the most exalted equity, as a race they have not always such a well generalised sense of justice as has the Chinaman or the Negro; whilst the Semite, against whom the Nordic has prejudices as strong as any colour prejudice, has repeatedly been his teacher in justice, mercy, medicine, mathematics, and religious and artistic inspiration."

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

The Forest Department.

The grazing area in the Keiskama Hoek area has been made the centre of a policy of encroachment and unnecessary land grabbing at the expense of a congested Native population by the Department of Forests acting under the authority of Sir Thomas Smartt the Minister of Ariculture. Interested Natives have during the last two years undertaken an enquiry into the fairness of the policy through the medium of the Native Affairs Commission at the tribunal of the Departments of Forest and Agriculture and also directly to the Prime Minister who has promised to consider the whole situation. These authorities seem unable to come to a decision one way or the other. Meanwhile the grasping Forest officers continue their procedure of iniquitous taxation and dispossession.

Anent this the current number of the *S. A. Outlook* says :—

The Minister for Agriculture has, during last month, published a statement explaining his policy with regard to the great need for extended afforestation in order to safeguard the sources of the rivers of this country. The policy is quite sound and necessary. But it is the application of it that does not always give satisfaction. In our last issue we referred to the methods by which it was being applied at the sources of the Keiskama River, where the Forest Department, which is controlled by the Department of Agriculture, is exacting heavy taxes from Natives who were originally granted free grazing under a treaty with the British Government. This ordinance still holds good legally, but the Department of Forests has gradually fenced off the land and instituted taxes for grazing at the expense of the helpless and inarticulate Natives. Here the plea of seeking to preserve the sources of the Keiskama River cannot be entertained for it rises from under a great rock in the Mtwaku forest where there is no access for stock to trample on the springs; its other main source is at Gwiligwili in the depths of a thicket never approached by cattle. Another tributary, the Wolf River, rises also from forest where *cattle are warded off by nature*. The Natives in all the adjoining districts feed their cattle on the uplands and plateau where they cannot possibly do injury to river sponges. These plains have now been forcibly confiscated and fenced off; some portions have been ploughed under the Forestry Department and taxes charged to the Natives for grazing! What is the policy of the Government here? Is it to use the Native as a revenue raising instrument? It must be so, for we happen to have information that these impositions yield a considerable sum yearly. If the Government were fair they would either abandon these taxes or grant the Gwiligwili and Cata Natives fresh pasturage, for example by purchasing a farm on the Isidenge side of Dontsa plateau. The Government must do something more than make vague speeches to justify their action in these specific cases of real injustice and hardship to a helpless people.

The Bond Izwarts Report

The Report of the Native Affairs Commission upon the Rebellion of the Bondelzwarts was issued last month. The treatment which this little African aboriginal race had to undergo at the hands of a set of stouthearted Dutch administrators representing the Union Government provides melancholy reading to a Native. All along we had always suspected something amiss, on perusing the laconic Reuter telegrams indicating events in the South West ever since that territory was "mandated," or to be more specific, annexed to the Union. This same Union is hungering to incorporate Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, Swaziland and Basutoland. If this is the sort of administration it can spek the truth even when it is against their own colour, and possess a true vision and a practicable panacea for the solution of our ills if only their recommendations could be heeded General Lemmer has definitely forfeited the confidence of the Natives of the Union by adopting the role of white washing all the evil and mistakes of an administration whose incompetence with its disastrous results has been exposed. He will have to do something mighty to regain our faith.

Incidentally, the Commission comes out as a characteristic body of South African Europeanism. Dr Roberts, the British born Chairman, typifies the true British spirit of fairplay to all races without distinction of colour. Dr Loram, a Native of Natal, personifies the highest English colonial ideas of justice and hard commonsense without philanthropic pampering of the aborigines. General Lemmer is the embodiment of the Transvaal military Dutch farmer, with all that the [illegible] stands for.

[illegible] methods will [illegible] never turn in its report might have served the purpose of the dictatorial defunct Boer Republics but are distinctly antiquated to-day and behind the stage of development attained by the Natives of to-day who must be handled only by officials with sympathy and knowledge of their psychology as well as the modern democratic theory. All these types make up our House of Assembly and their leader, General Smuts, is in the uncomfortable and unenviable position of having to satisfy them all, so as to keep in power. He must be and is an agile politician and we all look up to him for our political salvation and pray that he will not sell our cause in order to buy the favour of his back-veld countrymen for political advantage.

[illegible] intelligent native policy with an all time Minister to set its own house in order before going out of its spacious borders without justification to claim other territories with additional problems.

Another great fact is the Natives will now know their own minds about the Native Affairs Commission. Dr Loram and Dr Roberts have emerged with credit as fearless statesmen who

Centenary.

The Conference of the Wesleyan Church is celebrating this year the centenary of the establishment of Wesleyan missions among the Native tribes of South Africa. An important part of the celebrations will consist of the official opening of the Wesleyan hostel for students of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, on Wednesday the 25th April. At the request of the Conference permission is given to teachers of Wesleyan mission schools to attend this function, provided that they can do this without being absent from their schools for more than a day, or, where a qualified substitute approved by the manager can be got, for more than two days. In every case teachers will be expected to make previous arrangements with their managers for their absence.

E. L. Native Teachers

On Saturday the 24th ult, the East London Native Teachers had very interesting inteview with the Chief Inspector for Native Education. The meeting was held in the School Board Offices, and among those present were Inspector Spurrway, Queenstown district, and Inspector Freeman, East London district. The deputation from the Native Teachers comprised Messrs Xabanisa, Dlanga and Mahlangeni. Mr Xabanisa briefly introduced the deputation and submitted the resolutions held on the 25th January. The resolution stated "that this Association of Native Teachers views with deep regret the continued keeping in abeyance the important question of Native Teachers' Salaries." The Chief Inspector stated that he deeply regretted that this question had not yet been satisfactorily settled owing to the government being unable to help on account of the present financial depression. He also stated that the government had reduced its subsidy to the Provincial Council. The Provincial Council had no power to tax the Natives for educational purposes, but a Bill was now being introduced into Parliament which would provide for the payments of the Native Teachers' Salaries. At present the Native Affairs Commission was very busy holding meetings in order to enable Natives to understand the real meaning of this Bill. The

Chief Inspector stated further, that he was sure the time would come when the Native Teachers would be adequately paid and then be able to live in comfortable circumstances. Mr Mahabane asked whether provision was made for Teachers who had passed the T.3 Senior Examination with regard to increase of salaries? The Chief Inspector replied that at present no money was available for increasing the salaries of Teachers. He however, advised all Natives who were eligible to take the New Native Primary Higher Certificate to arrange to go to a Training College, as they would not be allowed to write for the examination as Private Candidates.

The second resolution was in favour of the Mission Schools in the leading towns of the Cape Province coming under the control of the local School Boards. In Port Elizabeth where the Natives paid School Board rates, yet their schools were not allowed to come under the control of the local School Boards. Mr Xabanisa referred to the Kimberley School Board and to the Native School placed under its care, and asked why this Native School was placed under the School Board. Inspector Spurrway stated that the Native School in Kimberley was not purely a Native School, as it comprised Chinese, Indians, Coloured, as well as, Native children, and as it was situated in the Malay Camp in Kimberley it could not be compared with the Native Schools here. The Chief Inspector expressed himself in favour of a School Committee composed of the managers of the Native Schools, and of men interested in Native education, Mr Xabanisa asked if there was any likelihood of Native teachers being retranched The Chief Inspector stated that at present there was no intention of retrenchment, but if the occasion did arise then the interests of teachers would be safeguerded where amalgamation of Schools had taken place. Mr Xabanisa also asked what provisions had been made with regard to handiwork for schools located in Urban areas and would the Department provide free the necessary requirements for the subjects of Cookery and Woodwork. Inspector Bennie stated that at present the Department was unable to do this, but wherever possible it would be good for teachers to teach the radimentary parts of these courses. He quite understood that the teachers in many cases were at a disadvantage in teaching the subject of handiwork, but the teachers, should try to do what they could for the present, pending the Department being able to assist them later on.

Mr Xabanisa, on behalf of the deputation, thanked the Chief Inspectors present for the patient hearing given them, and Inspector Bennie in reply stated how glad the Inspectors were to meet them, and trusted the Native teachers would render them every assistance in the work of amalgamating the school in Urban areas.

An Historical Conference.

TO MORROW there opens at King Williamstown the forty-first Conference of Wesleyan Methodists. The venue has been designedly appointed at the capital of Xosaland because it is exactly a hundred years since Methodists introduced their missions in this land and the centenary conference is thus being held in a neighbourhood whose [illegible] ground is reminiscent of some of its most historic exploits, Mount Coke, Annshaw, Grahamstown and so on. The diary of proceedings which we have in hand is full of interest from the Native point of view for it includes a centenary lecture on "A Wonderfull Century" by the eloquent Rev. W. Wilkinson Rider in the Town Hall and another in Xosa by Mr D. D. T. Jabavu (on "what Methodism has done for Natives") who will also be responsible for two concerts in the Town Hall with a massed choir of children from local Methodist Mission Schools. Our readers will be interested also to learn that on Saturday afternoon 21st a tablet to the memory of the late Mr J. Tengo Jabavu will be unveiled by the President of the Conference in the local church when the eulogium will be delivered by a notable and intimate friend of the late distinguished Methodist, Mr Patrick Xabanisa.

On the twenty fifth the conference goes *en bloc* by special train to Alice where a programme of festivities has been arranged for the opening of the Fort Hare Wesleyan Hostel and where the Fort Hare choir will entertain the visitors with a suitable programme of music.

In point of numbers of adherents the Wesleyan Methodists constitute the largest religious organisation in this country, being incidentally the most aggressive missionary body, having opened up many hitherto dark districts. Even non-Methodists therefore are interested in the doings of this conference and we wish all concerned real success and a time of profitable discussion.

East Griqualand.

A virgin territory of extreme beauty of scenery attractive to an artist, alluring to a student of anthropological research ideal for a fruit grower and rancher, resourceful to the agriculturist, with an unrivalled reservoir of cheap labour for the speculator and capitalist and vast possibilities for commercial development—that is the first impression an observant tourist would have of the environs of the country in and around Kokstad on a first visit. (Thus writes Mr D. D. T. Jabavu in the *Kokstad Advertiser* of last month).

As East Griqualand is an expansive territory, I propose to confine my remarks to the districts with which I have made actual personal acquaintance, that is, Umzimkulu, Lourdes, Riverside, Franklin, Kokstad, Dundee, Mount Frere, Qumbu, Tsolo, West Pondoland and downwards to Umtata. These I have toured at different times between the seven years 1915 22.

Primitive Bantu Conditions.

What attracted me to these regions was, inter alia, the fact that the life led by the aborigines here more truly represents primitive conditions than that of others elsewhere in the Cape Province. The great tribal communities here vaguely known as the Aba-Mbo are numerically equalled only by the Pondos in population as compared with the Tembus in Tembuland, the Gcalekas in Transkei, the Gaikas (Ama-Ngqika) who inhabit the stretch of land between KingWilliamstown division to the Midlands and the Amahlubi in Herschel.

It is among them that a student of Native history, customs, poetry, dancing festivals, law, and so forth can collect the most reliable information as far as that is possible to day. The people here have been least affected by European civilising influences. They are the furtherest from the railway main lines of all the blacks in the province. Their land is a matter of envy to the average Um-Xosa because it is not yet fenced off by the ubiquitous encroaching land-grabbers who are the bane of the Eastern Province with us; it is not yet dispossessed by sharp grasping traders; it teems in cattle and mountain springs and big rivers.

Antediluvian Agricultural Methods.

Among the things I have observed one may mention the following:—The authority of the Native chiefs here is still effective. The cheif in turn is governed by precedent and tradition to a timid, unreasoning and old fashioned degree. Any departure from the beaten track of custom even if it be obviously advantageous is not likely to make headway Education is mostly a mere name. Illiteracy is the rule, education the exception Loyalty to the cheif and to the Resident Magistrate is almost absolute. In fact the regard they have for the magistrate is one of awe and reverence. For example in a public Native meeting I held on the Malenge Valley someone during my address happened to catch sight of the local magistrate a mile away riding innocently on his errands. He got up and created quite a consternation among the listeners who for the moment all stood up for a while and anxiously followed the movements of the official until he disappeared beyond the hill, utterly oblivious to the proceedings of the meeting. This provoked the curious question "is this a black or white meeting"? (meaning, Is this meeting being held without or with the consent and knowledge of the magistrate?). Someone answered that it was white. Then my address was suffered to continue. This slavishness of the chiefs to their magistrates is consistent right up to the Bunga at Umtata. It is in some respects a laudable trait in these chiefs because it makes for easy and stable government and for the effective control of the vast masses in that territory. But it has its corresponding drawbacks, for in their loyalty to tradition and authority these chiefs and their people are not willing to learn and embrace new things and methods that are necessary to their present condition under European civilisation and industry. For instance they will not abandon their antediluvian methods of cultivating the soil in favour of the newer Dry Farming system taught by the Demonstrators from the Tsolo School of Agriculture.

An African Internationale

IN THE coast towns of southwest Africa pamphlets have been scattered about by the Universal Negro Improvement Association. An article signed by Marcus Garvey, pleads for an organizaton of all the colored peoples throughout the world, which is to be discussed in detail at the meeting of the association in New York in August of 1923. It is feared there that the movement is to be a Colored Internationale, and is but another manifestation of the self determination principle, which in turn is being felt in mission development, as well as in purely political spheres. This movement will, for the present, have a purely harmful effect upon the native. If the United States Government has no means of influencing this "Africa for Africans" movement, it will soon have free hand in southwest Africa.—*Barmen Missionsblatt.*

Race Problem — 1923
Africa

Dr E. C. Long C. M. G.

Basutoland

An Appreciation And Historical Sketch.

1-19-23

The following pithy tribute to Dr and Mrs Long, appeared in the "*Friend*" of the 11th intant:

The close of the year saw the departure from the official life of the Basutoland Government of the most remarkable and powerful personality which that service has ever known in the resignation of its Principal Medical Officer, Dr E. C. Long, C.M.G., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. For 33 years he has lived in Basutoland, during which period he has served its community, White and Black, with that thoroughness and energy that only a man of his unique ability and conscientiousness could give to a life's work. The affection and regard in which he is held by the whole community is remarkable for its depth and sincerity, and since the time of Moshesh founder of the Basuto nation, no man has commanded the respect and obedience of the Natives so completely as he has done. Probably no other man has ever exercised so profound and wide a moral and social influence in Basutoland.

How far Dr Long's personality may have affected the politics of the country it is impossible to say for his official position brought him very near to the heart of things and the peculiar nature of his work bore a close relationship to many reforms that have from time to been made for the betterment of the Basuto people Moreover, he was in length of service senior to all other Government officials.

Personal Characteristics.

Dr Long has been a valuable friend to all the Resident Commissioners under whom he has served and his charming personality, generosity, kindness of heart and exceptional courtesy have endeared him to the whole community and to all with whom he came in contact.

Perhaps the doctor's most notable characteristic is his strengt of will and determination. He possesses the typical British bulldog tenacity of purpose in an unusual degree, to which trait his success in life is undoubtedly largely due, and which to a great extent has gained for him many clinical and surgical victories.

His ability as a medical man is too well and widely known to require comment, as patients have come to him for surgical treatment from all parts of the Union. Of the technical side of his work, however, a layman cannot write; a professional pen will doubtless offer that tribute which is so deserving of his life's work amongst a primitive people. His medical pioneer work in Basutoland, resulting in the splendid organised to be found in the territory to-day is a thing of which any man may be justly proud, and the Leper Settlement at Bots'abelo alone is an achievement that may well perpetuate the memory of his valuable term of office.

Record Of Activities.

Edward Charles Long was born at Kingston, Hants., in 1860, and received his early education at the Diocesan Grammar School, Portsmouth. From the age of 15 to 25 he was engaged in earning his living, the earlier years being spent in various commercial concerns including three years in the Capital and Counties Bank. When 20 years old he developed tubercular trouble, and came out to South Africa, obtaining a post as dispenser to a medical man then practising in Wepener. It was there in 1881, during the Gun War, that Dr Long, by helping unofficially in the base hospital, may be said to have started his professional career. Having entirely recovered his health, Mr Long remained for five years with the same practitioner, acting as his unqualified assistant and pupil. In 1882 he matriculated at the Cape University (private study), and passed out eighte on the list of his year.

In 1885 he proceeded to England and joined the Middlesex Hospital whence after a brilliant career as a student, during which he won nearly every prize and scholarship the school offered, he qualified as M.R.C.S. (Eng.) and L.R.C.P. (Lond.) in July 1889. After a short period as house surgeon at the Salisbury Infirmary, he returned to South Africa the same year. He acted as locum tenens in the Transvaal and the Free State for some months, and was then appointed district surgeon of Mafeking (1890), but relinquished that appointment to take up the post of medical officer in Basutoland in May, 1890. The Resident Commissioner at that time was Sir Marshall Clarke.

Basutoland s First Hospitals.

Those were comparatively early days in Basutoland, and undoubtedly pioneer days as regards the medical department of the service for the doctor's suggestion to provide a hospital for Natives met with no encouragement, the opinion being held that the Natives would not come in. The doctor, however, was of a different opinion, and in 1890 the first "hospital" in the territory was opened, being merely a stable borrowed from a trader at Mafeteng. The Natives were at first shy of the White doctor, but the results of his treatment speedily gained their confidence, and it was not long before the "hospital" was full, and, pending its renovation, the patients were lodged in the Assistant Commissioner's court room.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Gold Coast Leader
Gold Coast Nation

1-20-23

OUR attention has been drawn to the difficulty which the Stool of Lower Wassaw is experiencing in getting the Lower Wassaw Stool Trust cancelled by Government and the funds released to the rightful owners. Our readers will remember that during the minority of the present Omanhin the affairs of the Stool had been first administered by two Regents, namely, the late Mr. Quanson and a man called Wonchey. It is known that about that time by reason of certain Stool debts that had been incurred, a Trust, on the recommendation of Government, was instituted on the distinct understanding that so soon as the debts were cleared out of the rents accruing from the Stool lands, the Trust would be cancelled and the rents would revert to the Stool.

It is also well known that Messrs. Quansah and Wonchey having proved unsatisfactory, by the will of the *Oman* or the Wassaw State, they were removed and a fresh regency appointed, including the Queen-Mother, Princess Amba Saab. Under this administration confidence was restored, the people brought together, and the financial and internal affairs generally began to improve. Since then, we learn, the Stool debts have been liquidated, and the Stool is calling for the cancellation of the Trust according to the original understanding. It has been recorded in these columns also how the young Omanhin completed his studies at the Scottish Mission School at Manpong, and, having attained his majority, has been installed and formally taken over the administration, assisted by the guardians and councillors of the immediate regency.

And now comes the trouble. The Omanhin having applied to Government for cancellation of the Trust has, we learn, been met with a refusal and the Trustee, that is the Government, insists upon running the show for another seven years. In ordinary life this would be considered an extraordinary position to take up. It will be noticed

that this was a voluntary Trust created for a specific purpose, the paying off of the Stool debts, and that, that purpose having been fulfilled, there is, and can be, no justification for keeping up the Trust against the will of the owners of the Fund. And if a point be stretched that the Trustee is clothing himself with greater powers in the interest and for the protection of the owners of the Fund, it raises a position of doubt, suspicion and distrust, which is in every way desirable to avoid.

This is not the first time the "LEADER" has taken up the position of these Trusts. And we have done so because it is immediately connected with the ownership of our lands. Some years ago we had occasion to call public attention to the Apinto Stool Trust and the attempt to create a similar Trust for the Himan Division, all within the Lower Wassaw State. These Lower Wassaw Divisions are the gold-yielding areas, and the Companies operating there pay yearly rents for their concessions. And it is obvious that it becomes a source of grave danger to the rights in the land if Government can assume the right to contro the rents against the wishes of the payees.

We have recently had cause to consider th Government assumptions as regards the jurisdic tion of our Kings and Chiefs and the incidenta question of eventual land control. We then pointe out that the defeat of the new Native Jurisdictio Bill did not end the dangers to our ancestral right and inherent jurisdiction. And it must be clear t our Kings and Chiefs that no stone must be le unturned until we have removed every vestig of Crown assumptions in that regard. The fact the case is that under the guise of "protection, we are liable to political and economical exploita tion, and we must well see to it that we are n only nominally free but really so. Nor are w unaware of the insidious propaganda which at tempts to set class against class, and subordinat Stools against paramount Stools, and *vice versa* where it suits a particular policy, and where particular Chief is not a *persona grata*, is not favourite at Court.

To return to the immediate subject, we hav only recently drawn attention to the arbitrary ac of Government in attempting to impose a Chi upon the Apinto Division contrary to custon which was resisted by the Omanhin. The cor respondence relating to the matter was, at th time, published in these columns, and, we under stand, Government eventually yielded the poin It is obvious that the present Natural Ruler Lower Wassaw and his Councillors are not of th tame order which says, "Yes Sir" to every an any proposition, and, as such, cannot be pleasing t the Executive. And that may be the reason wh there is this trouble in getting Gover ment to kee their word, cancel the Trust, and release the fund to the rightful owners. But whatever be th object, the people want their rights back, and w cannot see that Government can have any right t withhold them.

Besides, we do not want the present Administra tion to add to an already bad record in the eyes o the people. For, look at the matter from any poin of view, under any excuse whatsoever, it will be regarded as a breach of trust and will shake terribly public confidence. We have seen it de-

plored in the English papers how England's word is getting distrusted among Eastern peoples by reason of the tactics and antics of some of England's servants at home and abroad. The particular article before us is headed: "England's Word used to be her Bond." There is a whole sermon in that headline alone. Of course, the implication is that it is doubtful whether it can be shown that England is at the present day entitled to that proud moral position. Indeed, it even goes beyond that. It indicates directly a lost position. If that is so, it is an unfortunate thing for England, and much blame to those of her servants who have made such a reproach possible. The indictment is by Mr. A. L. Kennedy, M.C., in his recent work, "Old Diplomacy and New" (London, John Murray), in which the author says: England's word used to be her bond. The words of her official spokesman are not now so considered on the Continent of Europe, or in the Middle East, where our diplomacy, in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol has cost us our reputation for good faith which has been hitherto our greatest asset throughout the East. Our diplomatic credit has been shaken.' Later he continues: "Every disregarded undertaking impairs the power of our diplomacy unaided to obtain results".

Be these things as they may, we are not going to pretend that the confidence of the people of this country in the present Administration has not been terribly shaken. We cannot recall a similar instance in any past Administration. By a series of tactless acts, one after the other, the people are being driven to despair; and we trust it will be possible to save British prestige before it is too late.

We learn that a new Judge, hailing from British Guiana, has been appointed to fill the vacancy created by the promotion of his Honour Mr. Justice King-Farlow Nettleton. We would point out to Government that this is not the concession we have been advocating and to which the public are entitled in the interests of justice. Before Mr. Nettleton's transfer we drew attention to the necessity of appointing at the least two extra Judges to bring the judicial strength up to six and allow continuity in view of leave-taking. We even advocated the appointment of a third Judge, and suggested that one of the three should be an African local practitioner. That would have made it possible to have a Judge throughout the legal year in each Province with a spare Judge for Court B., Accra. That is certainly not too much to have asked for in the interest of the proper administration of justice. Now it is possible we may revert to Executive supineness by the simple process of shifting one Judge and replacing him. What the people are asking for, and entitled to, is for at least two extra Judges to be immediately appointed, as the congestion of the lists in the several Provinces is getting well-nigh scandalous, notwithstanding the hard work that is being put in by the Judges.

There is a judicial reform that has been advocated in the Nigerian Legislature by the Hon. Mr. Moore, which we should like taken notice of by the National Congress and pressed home at its 1923 session in Sierra Leone. We allude to the importance of appeal being allowed in criminal cases as to facts. We believe this engaged the attention of the last session of the Congress and only requires further consideration. Mr. Moore points out that at present an appeal can only lie on a question of law, whereas at present in England an appeal does lie on matters of fact upon a Judge's certificate that it is a fit case for appeal against his conviction upon a question of fact alone, or upon a question of mixed law and fact. He adds: "It cannot be denied that a Judge of the first instance sometimes fails to give due consideration to the weight of evidence in a criminal case". There is also the matter of a West African Appellate Court which must not be lost sight of by the Congress.

Dissatisfaction in Jamaica with the administration of Sir Leslie Probyn, the Governor, appears to have gathered momentum until it found vent in a vote of censure upon the Governor, which was unanimously supported by the elected members. The principal spokesman for the elected side of the House stated that the country desired a change in the management of its affairs, and that the Governor should go with his principal officers and make room for progress. Since then, we understand, the Governor has tendered his resignation which the Secretary of State had refused to accept. We sympathise with our Jamaican brethren and congratulate them upon the firm attitude they assumed in a situation which appeared unbearable.

There is interest for the Gold Coast in the appointment of Mr. Tim Healy as Ireland's first Governor-General. It may not be generally known that in the year 1912 Mr. Tim Healy was a practising K.C. in the King's Courts in London and an active member of Parliament, who carried great weight with both the House of Commons and the Colonial Office. In the Forest Bill Deputation of that year he was the Counsel retained to settle the case of the country, and subsequently led the Deputation to Downing Street, where he most ably argued the case against the Bill, followed by Messrs Casely Hayford, E. J. P. Brown, T. F. E. Jones and Dr. Benjamin Quartey-Papafio, each of whom acquitted himself well and received the congratulations of Lord Harcourt. It is a pity the speeches of Mr. Tim Healy and the members of the Deputation were never published; and it is to be hoped some day they will see the light. In the name of the country we congratulate the veteran K.C. and publicist, a keen fighter who has always stood up for Ireland's rights, and wish him long life in the discharge of the honourable and onerous responsibility with which he has been charged by our Sovereign Lord the King-Emperor.

KING KHAMA DIES AT 95; CALLED GREAT AFRICAN

London, Feb. 17.—(Crusader Service.)—The London Missionary Society has received a cablegram announcing at 2 o'clock this morning at the age of 95 years, of King Khama, chief of the Damagwato in Bechuanaland.

Khama was described by Sir Frederick Lugard as the greatest living African. He ruled over 35,000 subjects.

"Khama was a great prohibitionist. He fought the manufacture of Kaffir beer by his tribe because he saw its demoralizing influence, and was so furious with the white settlers who, after repeated warnings, refused to stop selling spirits that he exiled them from his territory."

CONGO NEGROES ILL-TREATED

Investigation Of Alleged Belgian Outrages Asked

Brussels, Nov. 5.—Charges of the ill-treatment of Negroes in the Belgian Congo are published in a bulletin of the League for Protection and Evangelization of the Blacks which the newspapers reproduced today with a demand for investigation.

It is alleged in the bulletin that some unwilling natives were taken to vaccination centers with ropes around their necks, sometimes five or six days' journey, and that 27 were known to have died of hardships.

WEST COAST NATIONAL CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION OPENS.

(SPECIAL CABLE TO "THE AFRICAN WORLD.")

Freetown, Sierra Leone,
Feb. 6, 1923.

"To the Editor of 'The African World,' London.

"The National Congress of British West Africa, now in session in Freetown, presents its compliments to the Editor of 'THE AFRICAN WORLD,' and begs to notify him of the opening of the Second Session.

"S. R. WOOD, Secretary."

Race Problem — 1923.
Africa.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF WEST AFRICA.

[By Norman Melland, C.B.E., of Messrs. Norman Melland & Co., Ltd., Manchester.]

(*Continued from page 461, last week.*)

Administration.

The task of administration during the past three years has been anything but an enviable one. The authorities responsible have been charged with being slow to recognise the slump and the necessity of immediate drastic retrenchment. However that may be, Administrations found themselves at the close of the war seriously depleted in personnel, equipment and material of all kinds. They hastened to make these good, and then the boom came along, necessitating further increases—at higher pay, to meet the extra cost of living—and higher cost of all materials. Then the slump came, like a bolt from the blue and upset all their calculations.

Against all this increased expenditure they found themselves suddenly faced by an enormous loss of revenue, from diminished trade, from smaller traffics on railways, from the prohibition of "trade spirits"—in fact from practically all the usual sources of revenue, making the balancing of budgets a problem of extreme difficulty. In some cases duties were increased. Export duties, originally imposed as a war measure only, were retained, although since reduced in some instances. Expenditure had to be cut down generally, and all public works—to which they were not already actually committed—were postponed. And that is the position to-day. Imagine how galling must this state of affairs be to the several Governors concerned, full of excellent schemes for the betterment of their respective territories, yet without the means to carry them out and no choice but the absolute need of postponing many of them until a return to better times.

Add to this the urgent demands of Chambers of Commerce for ruthless economy and reduction of duties, and the woeful picture is complete The increase of personnel that coincided with the boom is more than enough to cope with the situation in the stagnation of to-day, and measures have been taken to reduce it. This, however, cannot be achieved in a moment. Whether when policies are finally carried out the complaint of overstaffing will still be justified, it is difficult to say. Definite evidence of overstaffing did not come to my knowledge, and although one heard that some officials were not unduly overworked this may very well be due to the necessity of having deputies for all officers who happen to be at Home on leave, which causes a certain amount of overlapping—difficult to avoid when both principal and understudy are in Africa. That such overstaffing is not universal, however, is clear from the fact that the administration of justice in the Gold Coast, for instance, cannot keep pace with the cases to be tried, and at least one other judge is urgently needed. Besides that, personnel is added to from time to time by the demand, for example, for more produce inspectors, for botanical or other special experts to protect the Colonies' industries, and so on, very often at the desire of the merchants.

An excellent class of Civil Servant has been drawn to West Africa by the improving conditions of service, and this will eventually prove to be for the benefit of the country. The pay is good and less subject to severe taxation than at Home, while the prospects of a pension, free housing and medical attention, good leave, etc., make it look distinctly attractive. Against this we have to remember the climate, the risk to health and life, the general lack of comfort and other amenities of life (except in one or two of the more civilised places), and, for married men, frequent separation. Cost of living is still high, and engagements made on promises of definite rates of pay are not easily terminable, but certain allowances have been rather stringently cut down, proving determination on the part of the authorities to effect economies. The Political Officers I met were all capable men, and appear to have immense tracts of territory under their jurisdiction. It seems, unlikely, therefore, that their numbers are more than enough for efficient administration—probably the reverse.

Recognition of the ability of the African to take a share in the Government has resulted in the recent passing of Ordinances in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, entitling a certain number of representatives to enter the Legislative Council by election. But the principle has not yet been extended to the Gold Coast.

Finance and Taxation.

Reference has already been made to the sorry state of the Colonies' financial position, although the Gold Coast has not been anything like so seriously affected as its nearest British neighbours; indeed, shows a return to flourishing circumstances. This is clear from the bold step Sir Gordon Guggisberg took a few months ago in reducing the cocoa duty by half. As this season's crop is about the best on record, the loss of revenue thereby will amount to something like £350,000. Probably, however, this big concession will prove to have been amply justified by the stimulus given to trade generally in the Colony, and very likely the Treasury will recoup itself accordingly in other ways, indirectly. Unfortunately, since the reduction of duty, the world-price has fallen by about three times the extent of the reduction, though it is to be hoped this is only temporary. What I should rather like to emphasise here, however, is that there is no connection between the reduction of the duty and the world-price. And that—contrary to the view of some officials—the Native producer, whether of cocoa or any other product, undoubtedly benefits ultimately to the extent of the whole of the reduction, which certainly does not go into the pocket of the merchant. Competition will take care of that.

The report of the Committee on Trade and Taxation refers (Paragraph 187) to the practice of charging to current expenditure a good deal of capital expenditure, of various kinds, that ought properly to be defrayed from loan monies. Since this expenditure increases the value of the assets of the Colonies, it is to be hoped the Colonial Office will sanction its correct allocation instead of trespassing on revenues already suffering from one cause or another. One of the chief causes of the latter, is, of course, the big fall in receipts due to the prohibition of "trade spirits," quite apart from the diminished volume of trade generally. This necessitated the retention of export duties, although, when originally imposed, they were stated to be a war measure only, and merchants would like to see their total abolition.

Practically all the Chambers of Commerce have expressed themselves against export duties in any form, regarding them as wrong in principle, and have demanded their repeal. The reply has always been that no substantial alleviation in this direction is to be expected until the advent of a world-revival once more puts revenues in a sounder position. But why not try taking the bull by the horns, as with cocoa on the Gold Coast? It is quite a debatable point as to whether an excessive duty does or does not defeat its own object—that of raising revenue—by decreasing consumption. There is always a limit of duty that an article can stand, and it might well be that a big reduction in existing duties would increase the volume of trade to such an extent that directly and indirectly the revenues did not suffer. I suggest that, if successful, the example set by the Gold Coast in the reduction of the cocoa duty be followed elsewhere. Import duties, moreover, were increased during the war, and taxation generally now presses relatively heavily on the inhabitants. The differential duty on palm-kernels has very properly been abolished, whilst in Nigeria a reduction on hides and skins has coincided with a slight improvement in market prices that has resuscitated that particular trade. But against that, the Nigerian import duty has been raised to 15 per cent., and articles previously free transferred from that list to the dutiable one So that, apart from the Gold Coast cocoa cut, the position is not much improved.

Railway rates are also very high, but revenue, of course, must be obtained from somewhere Nevertheless, the fall in cost of most stores and materials, coupled with the effort by Administrations to economise in all possible directions must result before long in the practicability of mitigating the many existing obstacles by which commerce is just now so seriously hampered. Probably removal first of export duties, then reduction of railway charges, and, lastly, reduction of import duties would meet the view of the mercantile community.

NATIVE TROOPS.

[*To the Editor of the* Spectator.]

Sir,—In Africa South of the Equator we have the Union, South-West Africa, several Protectorates, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Portuguese Colonies, Belgian and French Colonies, and Crown Colonies. If a census was taken of all people south of the Equator it would probably be found that the natives outnumber the whites by about thirty to one. With this in view, it seems to me vitally necessary that there should be a conference of the heads of the Native Affairs Departments of each of the Powers or Governments concerned, so as to be able to devise a uniform Native Policy throughout the whole of Southern Africa.

To us here in the Union, the most serious matter seems to be the recruiting of natives as soldiers by the Belgians and French. It is essential that this policy should be very drastically curtailed. The Bolshevik propaganda amongst the natives in the Union, as brought to light by the Martial Law Commission's findings in the recent Rand revolt, has certainly opened our eyes. Now, as the Union has a few Bolshevists, France and Belgium will also have some; hence we say that the making of native soldiers has to be limited and governed by certain rules which will safeguard the white population of Southern Africa. At present the natives are recruited for three years' service, whereas it should be for twenty years' service. Owing to climatic conditions it is essential that there should be native troops in parts of Africa. These forces should, however, be cut down to the irreducible minimum, and should only be used in the Colonies where they were recruited.—I am, Sir, &c.,

W. B. Collins.

Goedgedacht, Postmasburg, C.P., March 1st.

Gold Coast.

NATIVE EDUCATION.

The Governor and the Intelligentsia: "Power of the Oman."

(Special to the "African World.")

We wonder if the educated section of the African community of the Gold Coast, who dub themselves "intelligentsia"—it is entirely their own description of themselves—could appreciate the subtlety of the witty saying recently of our new Prime Minister (when he was referring to an entirely different set of people) to the effect that the difference between intelligentsia and intelligence was similar to the difference between gent. and gentleman. Like Sir Hugh Clifford in the matter of the Eleko of Lagos, Sir Gordon Guggisberg finds himself severely taken to task by the Gold Coast local Press for his condemnatory reference to the actively-critical educated portion of the Gold Coast community. "I cannot help feeling from time to time," said His Excellency, "that the power of the Oman of this country is very seriously threatened by the thoughtless, selfish acts of the so-called intelligentsia, young Africans who have been educated in England, and who come out to earn their living on the Gold Coast."

The Irreconcilable.

General Guggisberg is, like many an administrator before him, out to reconcile the irreconcilable. The educated classes of West Africa are our own creation. Their agile minds have been trained and turned by our own system of education to be restless, critical, and inclined towards opposition. They have got beyond the simple despotism of their own tribal life, where there was a good deal of authority and very little law, and have imbibed the Western spirit of representative government. The problem is to bring from the educated African co-operation with "the power of the Oman"—to use the phrase employed by the Governor. Representative government in itself must be irreconcilable with the power of the Oman. It implies a radical interference with ancient institutions where it was natural and proper to have a governing class and a governed. The educated class would like to govern. Is the time ripe for putting the destinies of the large illiterate inarticulate crowd into their hands? General Guggisberg does not think so, and if he sins thereby he sins in good company.

Co-operation or Conflict.

How to exercise the functions of a trustee to the native races and give at the same time the full measure of a citizen's rights to the educated classes offers, to our mind, only one line of administrative policy, that is, to so administer as to secure *vis-à-vis* official policy co-operation, not conflict from the intelligentsia of Africa. If under such conditions it is to end in conflict, there is only one solution—a little honest brutality. If it is to be co-operation, the prospects of peaceful advancement, increased material prosperity, wider and higher facilities for education will be more rapidly fulfilled. No good purpose is to be served by abuse or exhibitions of self-conceit. That is spurious intelligence—the Prime Minister's difference between gent. and gentleman. The keynote of public activity is service for the country's good. To realise that power brings a sense of responsibility, not a personal advantage, is the prime virtue of public service. The position of a trustee cannot be abandoned yet, and as the intelligentsia cry out to be allowed to work out their own salvation it can only be done by co-operation with the trustees' representatives, and that is what, we believe, informs General Guggisberg's animadversions on the activities of the intelligentsia of the Gold Coast.

Education.

All of us who have lived in West Africa and studied its social and economic conditions have very decided views on the subject of education—a very controversial subject, and one that is now exciting a good deal of attention. If the end of education is to fit people to be useful members of the community in which they live, we have hitherto certainly gone the wrong way to achieve it. We have thought only of the head and neglected the heart and hand. We borrow this admirable simile from the Archdeacon of Sierra Leone, who has recently conveyed to the world his impressions of the fine institutions in America for the education of coloured peoples. We have produced large numbers of partially educated clerks who have no facilities for bettering their intellectual aptitudes. Those who have benefited by education in England have for the most part swollen the class who satisfy the African's innate love for litigation—a training that is essentially a questioning of authority. All our past methods end ultimately in discontent. They cannot be reconciled with the "power of Oman," and the whole system of education calls for reform. We believe this matter has General Guggisberg's serious attention.

J. W.-G.

CANNIBALISM REFERRED TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Man-eating in French Cameroons Placed on Docket.

GENEVA, Switzerland, June 21.—The question of repressing cannibalism in the African Cameroons has been referred to the League of Nations by the French government which received a mandate over this district from the league. This matter of a human menu will be set on the league table in the secret report of M. Carde, governor of equatorial Africa, which has just been sent to Geneva. The report asserts that there is widespread cannibalism amongst the African tribes, and it demands severe repressive measures.

It is probable, however, that the report will not be published unless the question is brought up in connection with the league's debate on the slave trade at the September meeting of the league assembly since the same organization dealing in slaves is said to be engaged in supplying the victims for the cannibals.

Cannibalism, according to the report, still exists to a considerable extent in southeastern Africa. The tribes chiefly addicted to this practice include the Makas, Kakas, Djemes and Dzimos, inhabiting regions 100 to 200 miles in the interior of the Kamerun, in equatorial Africa on the Ivory coast.

It is believed that in most instances the cannibalism is indulged in in connection with religious rites rather than for hunger motives. Certain native individuals known as "panther men," are said to undertake man hunts under the belief that their own body has been possessed by a panther. Decking themselves in panther skins they lie in wait on deserted paths, attacking lone victims and devouring them at their leisure.

Courts for the repression of cannibalism in this section have been established, but no authorized legal punishments have been recognized. A recent French decree inflicts the death penalty and heavy fines, but this action is up to the League of Nations for sanction.

Mafeteng Becoming A Den Of Thieves & Etc.

This camp which was once so famous in the whole of Basutoland for its beauty orderliness and progressive Basuto inhabitants is rapidly losing its good name and good appearance It has, of late become an asylum of all classes of evil. There are found in it people of mental defects, running lose in every corner of it, uncontrollable hordes of whore men and women, who only goodness knows how they manage to earn their living and clothing at these unprecedented hard times with the present generation, and branded thieves who have been driven from other places as undesirables, and have been registered as high class theives under different governments All these classes have come to find a den in this camp. The position being as it is, it is impossible to estimate the rate of thieving that there is per every night on these recent days, as it is only known to us theft committed at the houses of respectable residents—mostly Europeans. But it is a fact that about two or more houses are visited in the night and the houses are opened and articles taken, in some places so accurately, as to leave suspicion that some one, a member of the family got up in the night and went and removed them. It is a mysterious outrage, which only explains itself in one way. That someone who knows the ins and outs of these houses was a party to this theft. In some of these places the theft is committed by men who know what rooms are locked and what rooms are not locked, and also what rooms are not occupied by peon's during the night. This [illegible] the position explains itself. We have not been in the institution of C.I.D's but commonsense will lead every man to this conclusion.

There are these other classes also who are presumably playing their own part in the perpetration of this alarming crime. There are reports of stolen fowls. The writer lost twenty-one fowls during last month in one week's time. They could not be traced, but while in search, lot of feathers were found in one of the yard of a house where the recruits sleep before proceeding to the mines. In this yard there lives two of mentally defective persons who must be leaving together with the recruits in the night; and this very compound is visited in the night by whore men and women. From what one could see, their diet is composed of mealies and meat. There is no doubt that this place is where most fowls and mealies go. We do not know why the owner of this compound does not keep it exclusively for his recruits instead of making it a home of thieves and mad men.

This same house where the recruits are accommodated is no less a danger to the health of the inhabitants of Mafeteng. It is a sure nursery for typhus fever.

We mentioned that this camp has lost its good appearance. The streets are full of dongas and they are an imminent danger to the lives of the people and to traffic vehicles, besides ash-heaps that are seen nearly everywhere. The air is absolutely unhealthy because of these filthy dongas in the streets which are used by these night raiders for sanitary purposes. For these streets, we do not remember how many times the villagers were deceived. We wonder if an unfulfilled promise does not tantamount to a lie? And if it does how many times our officials in their parental station must have debased themselves before those under their tutelage?

We would be unfair with Mr. Cole if we did not mention that he had issued orders for the repairing of these streets in pursuant of his promises, but unfortunately for his untimely death, his orders were not carried out although a start was already made. We do not know what explanation would be given for dishonouring his orders by those who were to carry them out? Now for all these inaccuracies and crimes of theft the blame is mostly

Race Problem — 1923.
Aerica.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Mozambique Co.'s Territory.

GENERAL ROCADAS.

Mozambique Governor Proceeding to Lisbon: Resignation Rumours.

General Rocadas, C.B., the Governor of the Mozambique Company's Territory, arrived in Europe by the "Arundel Castle." His Excellency, who was accompanied by his private secretary (Mr. Eadames T. Sampaio) and Lieut. L. Portugal, A.D.C., part of the way to Cape Town, and to the frontier of the Territory at Macequece by officials from Beira, has, it is understood, intimated a desire to resign his post, but in the meantime he goes to Lisbon to confer with the Council of Administration.

General Roçadas has had a distinguished career. He is a General in the Portuguese Army, and since 1902 has occupied several responsible positions in Portuguese India and in the Provinces of Angola and Macau (China). In India he was Chief Staff Officer from 1902 to 1905; from 1905 to 1907 he was Governor of the district of Huila; from 1908 to 1909 he was Governor of the Province of Macau; and from 1909 to 1910 he was Governor-General of the Province of Angola.

General Roçadas organised and commanded military operations in the south of Angola, namely, the Mulonda Campaign in 1905, the war operations in 1906, and the Cuamato Expedition in 1907. When the Great War commenced he commanded most successfully the operations against the Germans in the south of Angola, and in 1918 he took command of the Portuguese Army in France and rendered conspicuous and continuous service from the commencement until the finish of the Great War. He has numerous decorations, amongst these being the Cross of War, the medals for Valour, Distinguished Services in the Colonies, Good Services, Exemplary Conduct, and Victory.

On September 12, 1919, General Roçadas was engaged by the Companhia de Moçambique as Secretary-General, and when he arrived in Beira on October 19, 1919, he acted as Governor of the Territory in the absence of H.E. the Governor, Senhor J. Pery de Lind, until August 26, 1920. On July 7, 1921, he again took over the position of Acting Governor, and was later definitely appointed Governor of the Territories of the Companhia de Mocambique, such position being confirmed by the State Government at Lisbon on April 16, 1922.

NEW MAIZE CROP.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BEIRA, April 22.

New season's maize is now being freely offered, and the price at the moment is 10s. per bag of 203 lb. on rail at station or siding. For June-July-August deliveries the price will probably not be more than about 8s. 6d. to 9s. On these figures the growing of maize is not a particularly lucrative proposition, unless our farmers are prepared to bring their land to a higher state of cultivation and aim at a much bigger output.

Big Blaze at Beira.

An outbreak of fire in an Indian tailor's shop in the Rue Valsassina, Beira, in mail week, at one time threatened to engulf the town, and before it was finally subdued damage to the amount of £15,000 had been caused. Scenes of intense excitement occurred, groups of townspeople working feverishly to break down some of the wooden buildings to make gaps over which the fire could not pass. Unfortunately, there are no fire appliances worthy of the name at Beira; in fact, had it not been that the wind was blowing away from other highly inflammable buildings in the vicinity the results would have been more disastrous. At one time the electric power station was threatened.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FARMER.

Better Mozambique Prospects.

In a colony like this, says a writer in the "Beira News," dependent to a great extent for the comfort of its settlers on the condition of its crops, and chiefly on its maize return, an abnormal season has been responsible for the second time in succession in causing considerable losses to the farmer. Owing to the protraction of the heavier summer rains beyond their usual period a portion of the maize crop has been lost by flooding on the lower lands and by regrowth or fungus disease in districts where the continuous rains made it impossible for the grain to harden in the usual way.

We are now glad to learn that the all-over loss from these causes is unlikely to be so extensive as was generally supposed. It is believed, for instance, that the shortfall in the Chimoio area will not be much more than 15 per cent., and although it is calculated that other districts may have as much as between 20 and 30 per cent. of a shortfall the average loss on the whole crop will not be nearly so marked as appeared to be certain a fortnight ago.

This is due to the improved weather, and to the fact that a succession of sunny days is bound to make a material difference to the harvesting, while if the weather continues good quick progress will be made with harvesting in the crop. The farmers of this territory have now had three more or less unfavourable seasons in succession. Three years ago came the slump in produce in the overseas markets, hitting them badly in common with producers everywhere.

Last season hardly more than half of the estimated yield was returned owing to drought at the precise period when the maize required all the moisture it could get, while this season the prospective loss has been occasioned from an exactly opposite cause—too much continuous rain while the maize was ripening. An effort will now be made to get the crop overseas at the earliest possible moment, and the decision of the railways to place a temporary bridge, at considerable expense, and before the flood water had run off, over the break in the line at the Pungue was hastened by the necessity for transport being available for the maize crop of the territory, which matures much sooner than the Rhodesian crop.

The trading community, no less than the farmers themselves, are affected by the returns from the land, and there is some satisfaction in knowing that the crops will now probably be harvested in much better trim than was thought to be possible a fortnight ago.

Johannesburg-Delagoa by Road.

It is good to hear that road inspectors have been going into the possibility of constructing a highway from Machadodorp to the Portuguese border. At present the main road to Lourenço Marques goes via Lake Chrissie and Swaziland, linking up with the exceptionally good highways in Portuguese East Africa. The villages between Machadodorp and the border are at present isolated as far as roads are concerned. To get to Barberton, writes a South African correspondent, one has to go round via Lydenburg and Pilgrim's Rest, and then over most difficult mountain tracks only usable in the dry season. There are supposed to be wagon ways through from Machadodorp to Waterval Boven and the border, but I have never heard of any motorist getting through. Motorists have been through from Carolina to Barberton, and this is another road which it is understood, is to be fixed up shortly. A road direct from Witbank through Machadodorp to Barberton would make a great difference to that town, for there are many motorists who would then visit the De Kaap valley—one of the most beautiful spots in South Africa.

Delagoa Bay.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LOURENCO MARQUES, April 23.

Fire, Life, and Marine Insurance.

A meeting of those interested in fire, life, and marine insurance was held last week. It was stated that £75,000 left this town every year in the payment of premiums, and it was resolved to form a local company to deal with such business. The result was that a proposal to form such a company was unanimously agreed to. The capital of £500,000 was immediately taken up, all shareholders with but two exceptions being Portuguese. Ten per cent. of the capital is to be paid on application and another 10 per cent. on allotment, and the balance when required. The name of the company is the Umbeluzi Marine, Fire, and Life Assurance Company. The name is taken after one of the rivers entering the bay, just as in Lisbon the Tagus Insurance Company is named after the river Tagus. The promotion of such a company has been very favourably received, and there is not the slightest doubt but that it will acquire plenty of business. One of the directors informed me that it was intended to add a postal insurance to the activities of the company. All connected with it are good business men, and they have the confidence of the public.

Incentive to Small Cotton Growers.

Cotton cultivation is on the increase, and many small farmers are setting aside land for this crop. To enable them to overcome the difficulties of ginning and baling their cotton, the Delagoa Bay Plantations, Ltd., is now erecting a ginning mill in town, where the small grower can send his cotton to be ginned, baled, and shipped. This work will be performed on a percentage basis, and should the producer desire it will be shipped and sold in Europe on a fixed commission. Such an installation should be an incentive to farmers to grow cotton, as it is easy of cultivation, and ripens in time for planting other crops, enabling the farmer to reap two crops in one season.

NEW LOCAL ENTERPRISE.

An important deal recently took place at Delagoa Bay, when Messrs. P. Santos Gil, Ltd., bought over the yard of the late firm of Messrs. S. A. Hardwood Co., Ltd., of Johannesburg, says the Lourenço Marques paper.

It deserves special mention, not only because, as far as we are aware, it is the first instance in which a Portuguese firm is taking over a yard at Kilo 1 to carry on forwarding business to and from the Transvaal, but more particularly because Messrs. P. Santos Gil, Ltd., have just completed there the erection of a most up-to-date plant of sawing mill and furniture factory, where furniture and joinery work, such as frames, doors, windows, flooring, etc., will be carried out mostly from the timber obtained in the Mozambique Province, which, in spite of its excellent quality, has not been so far properly utilised. It is gratifying to say this enterprise represents a new economic factor in this province.

Most of these timbers are obtained from the large forests they own alongside the Xinavane line, at Kilos 100 to 125, and they have cut and railed over 15,000 tons of chamfuta, which, owing to its fine quality and grain, is an excellent substitute for mahogany and teak.

In addition to the sawing mill and furniture factory, the yard contains large bonded stores and other storage accommodation for transit goods and local products which can be handled there on a very economical basis. We are informed that the capital involved in this case exceeds £25,000.

The Coaling Plant.

Sir Guy Wrightson has returned to this country from Delagoa Bay, after being present at the starting-up of a very large shipbuilding plant which has been installed by Messrs. Head, Wrightson, and Co., Ltd., of Thornaby-on-Tees, to deal with the shipment of coal at the rate of 600 tons per hour. It is reported that the plant worked very satisfactorily.

KENYA COLONY (B.E.A.)

INDIANS IN THE EMPIRE.

THE KENYA TEST CASE.

Reuter's Agency learns that the greatest importance is attached in authoritative circles to the approaching conferences between the Imperial Government representatives of the white settlers in Kenya, and Indian delegates on the subject of the status of Indians. The conversations will begin almost immediately at the Colonial Office, under the presidency of the Duke of Devonshire. Although the present discussions are limited to Kenya, no secret is made of the fact that in the event of success of the Indian claims in respect of this colony, the question will be raised with regard to Indians in all parts of the Empire.

In addition to the Duke of Devonshire and his advisers, there will also attend officials of the India Office, probably including the Secretary of State himself. Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya, has come to England specially in connection with the matter. He has been received by the King, and it may be assumed that the question under discussion formed a subject of conversation. His task as representative of the King is to maintain a detached attitude and studiously to avoid taking sides.

In addition to the officials already named, the "conversations," as they are officially called, will be between four European delegates from Kenya, namely Lord Delamere, leader of the unofficial political section, Mr. K. Archer, the leading settler, Mr. T. A. Wood, the principal commercial representative, and Dr. Arthur, of the Scottish Mission. Another settler of long standing, Major Newland is also on the way and is expected to reach England in about a fortnight. On the Indian side there are altogether seven delegates. Of these four are official, Mr. M. A. Desai, president of the East African National Congress and Indian political leader in Kenya, Mr. Varma, pleader in the Kenya courts, and two others, who will be either barristers or business men. The other unofficial Indian section consists of the Rt. Hon. S. V. Sastri, Mr. Dwarkadas, Rev. C. F. Andrews, and Mr. Kamat. The Aga Khan will also attend later.

Nothing has yet been settled regarding procedure, but it is likely that the conversations will last for several weeks unless the views of the British settlers are accepted, in which case the proceedings will probably be short; but if, on the other hand, the Indian standpoint is agreed to with modifications, the discussions may be prolonged.

It is thoroughly understood on all sides that the question, though now confined to one colony, vitally affects the Empire as a whole, and everyone concerned is fully alive to the fact that the problem is one of the greatest to be solved in the Empire.

Mr. Sastri's Views.

Interviewed by a Reuter representative with regard to his mission, Mr. Sastri declared that India felt very strongly on the subject of her emigration. Alluding to recent Indian legislation in restriction of emigration to the Dominions and Colonies, Mr. Sastri said they could not go any further in that direction.

In the case of Kenya, interest began long before the British appeared on the scene, and India was entitled on all the considerations of the case to preferential treatment. "This, however," Mr. Sastri continued, "she does not ask for out of regard for the susceptibilities of the British, to whom for various reasons a position of inferiority would be inconceivable. The natural life of the Indian community of East Africa requires that future emigration from the Mother Country should suffer no artificial check. The skilled artisan, the small clerk, the trader, and in future the professional man, must be allowed, as in the past, without let or hindrance."

In conclusion, Mr. Sastri said: "The dispute that now awaits settlement is of more than ordinary interest. It is being openly discussed as a dispute between the white and coloured person in the Empire. Britain stands pledged before the world to the doctrine of equality and brotherhood, pre-eminently within he borders of her Com-mon-wealth. This Commonwealth is not a white Commonwealth, and it no longer stands for the domination of the white man or the subjection of the coloured. It is to be hoped that the solution, which may be reached in the course of a few weeks under the auspices of the Duke of Devonshire, will keep India where she wishes to be—a contented and a proud, because an equal, partner in the British Commonwealth."

A New Suggestion.

With the arrival of Mr. Sastri and Mr. Andrews from India the Kenya controversy enters on the active stage, says the London correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian." At the moment there is something like a deadlock between the extreme Indian demand for full equal status with the white settlers and the stubborn refusal of the latter to allow it, this refusal even going so far as the threat of armed resistance in the colony. A solution which I have not seen suggested is beginning to be discussed. The British Cabinet is clearly in a serious quandary between the parties—threatened by the Indian leaders with India cutting the Imperial connections on the one hand and by the settlers with rebellion on the other. It is being asked why advantage should not be taken of the meeting of the Imperial Conference in October to refer the decision to them. The chief reason for doing so would be that the Indians base their claim upon a resolution passed by the last Imperial Conference, which laid it down that Indians within the British Empire should have the rights of British citizens. The Cabinet, it is argued, might well take the line that they cannot make a fresh decision upsetting the Imperial Conference without again consulting the representatives of the Empire. Further, this is not a question for Kenya alone. It is a test question which vitally concerns every part of the Empire where there is or may be Indian immigration.

General Smuts and the Problem.

General Smuts is coming over to attend the Conference. His Government is, of course, closely concerned in any solution arrived at. The underlying principle of the controversy has just been brought in a striking manner to the notice of the General. The coloured people of South Africa—that is, those who are coloured but not of native origin—Malays, half-castes, and others, who are said to number nearly 1,000,000, have made a formal request that they be heard at the bar of the House of Parliament in Capetown. The object of this move is to demand from the Parliament of South Africa what the Indian is demanding in East Africa—namely, a citizenship which is not prejudiced because of colour. Dr. Abduraham, a coloured man who has devoted himself for nearly 25 years to medical work amongst coloured people, has taken up the leadership of the coloured races, and has organised them into a compact body, of which much more will be heard between now and the meeting of the Imperial Conference.

"The Dominant Guiding Hand."

The Rev. W. P. Low, Archdeacon of Nairobi, writes to the "Times" as follows:

"There seems to be a growing idea that the Indian question in Kenya is a matter of race hatred, an idea fostered by such letters as that of Mr. McGregor Ross in your issue of April 19. This is not altogether true. I may be very good friends with a schoolmaster and yet not willing to entrust my boys to his care. We may see much to admire in Indian civilisation, and yet refuse to think it the best as applied to Africa. We have something better to offer.

"As to the question of Indian domination in Kenya and other dependencies, neither Mr. McGregor Ross nor many a wiser man can have any idea what their ultimate aims may be. It is not a question of what the Indian in Kenya is demanding, though that is serious enough, but of what India herself is asking. And I defy anyone to know how far these demands may go. Not many people twenty years ago would have imagined it likely that to-day there should be possibly a majority in Ireland in favour of a Republic.

"The broad fact remains. We dare not take the risk of there being any doubt that until the African can take over for himself the administration of his own country, ours must be the dominant guiding hand."

King N. T. Association

PAPER READ BY MISS M. MKOSANA.

What women can do for the upliftment of their Nation.

According to the mistaken belief of our ancestors, the women folk among the native people is looked upon as too inferior to accomplish anything that may be beneficial for the upliftment of its race. This is indeed a vain idea, which only exists among ignorant nations. All civilised nations have realised the unmistakeable importance of womens" dexterous effors in all that pertains to a nations upliftment and development. Many of our people see no necessity of educating women, because they say girls soon [illegible] a heavy loss. To them women's education should be a means to make the fathers wealthier, they fail to realise that the aim of education is neither cattle nor money making, but a means to acquire and attain a higher mode of life and a better understanding of things. Women are undoubtedly more influential than man and this was proved when Eve induced Adam to disobey the Lord's commandment; if their influence be so great for the wrong, as this story illustrates it most evidently be equally strong for the good. In civilised countries women are highly educated, because the people have discovered that the mother is the real ruler of the home, as she has to train the children from their earliest childhood, and a wise mother will naturally bring up wise children. If you read biographies of all great men you will notice that their greatness was due to their mothers' good training and influence. It is not an uncommon thing for a woman to do a heroic deed which may bring honour and respect to all her nation like Deborah did in her days. During the reign of Queen Victoria the country was much quieter than it is nowadays; these constant wars and strikes were unknown then, and this shows what a woman can do in preserving order and peace in her country and thus making opportunity for improvement in all directions. Why is there no progress made in this country one may ask? It is because our people are attempting an impossibility; they try to put the cart in front of the horse. Men wish to rise higher than their women, yet we are told that no nation has ever risen higher than its women. Our women have been for many centuries regarded as nobodies, but now it is time they ought to realise that they play an important part in the upliftment of the race. During the recent great war, when all the men had gone to the battle fields, their vacant places were filled by ladies, because education has raised them to the same standard. Let us understand therefore that education is the only means by which women can gain respect and dignity.

Race Problem—1923
Africa.

THE COLONIAL OFFICE AND CRIMINAL TRIALS IN WEST AFRICA.

THE reply given by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, to the question of Mr. Mardy Jones respecting criminal law in British West Africa (see *West Africa*, 10/3/23) is very much to be regretted, since it shews that the policy of introducing a lower standard of justice into the British Courts of Law in West Africa, which we have increasingly felt on the Gold Coast since the 1910 amendment of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1888 came into force, has the approval, at any rate, of the Colonial Office in London, and proves that the canker-worm that is causing dissatisfaction in British West Africa is working its mischief in the Colonial Office itself, that is, in the heart of the Empire. We have many of us been reluctant to conclude that all the various forms of retrogression in the policy of the Government in our part of the world have been directed from the Colonial Office, but occurrences of recent times, and the extraordinary similarity between the reasons given by local British authorities and those given by the Colonial Office for what in our opinion is retrogressive in the policy of the Government as far as faithfulness to pure British traditions is concerned, compel us to hold the view that even if we cannot prove that such retrograde movements are initiated in the Colonial Office, yet, particularly from the promptness and the persistency shewn by the Colonial Office in supporting the man-on-the-spot, we may maintain that there is an indirect desire at headquarters that a lower standard in British administrative morality should be observed in West Africa.

It is very difficult for anyone familiar with the ideals of British Justice, especially in relation to criminal procedure, to imagine the line of reasoning which could lead a responsible official like Mr. Ormsby-Gore to conclude that the lowness of the stage of development or polity of the community to which belongs a person accused of a criminal offence created by British law in a British Colony can in any way affect the application of the highest ideals of British Justice to such a person when he is tried in a British Court established to exercise jurisdiction in such a community. This is a view which, coming from the Colonial Office, makes us cease to wonder why in these days educated Africans are adjudged by white officials to be incompetent to carry out duties which educated Africans of a time when educational facilities were admittedly poorer could and did execute with exceptional ability. In fact when we consider all that does happen now in our country we come to believe that the Colonial Office, for all that it actually does nowadays, or has done since 1900, or thereabouts, in the matter of controlling or supervising the local administrations and compelling them to adhere to well-tried and unblemished British traditions, might as well be non-existent. It would seem that the official logic of Governors, based on the same kind of logic as followed by Heads of Departments and their myrmidoms, has to be accepted by the Colonial Office without question or reference to past relations between the Government and the people, once it shews itself in a despatch sent by a Governor, or in a verbal statement made by a Governor when he is in England.

I am sure it has occurred to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies that before British law can be administered among the tribes of varied conditions to which he refers, such tribes must be brought within the sphere of the application of British law. In this connection may I ask whether the honourable gentleman is aware that, except in official circles, it is considered simply bad for the British to interfere with the conditions existing among such tribes unless the object of the interference is to improve such conditions? I think it is quite easy to see that where any people are so primitive or so different as human beings that the highest forms of British judicial procedure cannot be applied to them, or would be unsatisfactory if applied, the best thing that British administrators can or should do is to leave such people alone, or else speak frankly and call by their proper names the so-called methods of administering justice established there to be followed by British officials under British laws, that is, describe them as modes of keeping such primitive people or differently human beings in subjection according to fourth or fifth-rate British ideals of administrative morality. It seems to me that our law, instead of improving or being improved with time under British rule, or at any rate being allowed to remain in its former condition, has been steadily reduced in soundness and adequacy as something that can result in justice, especially during the last few years. It cannot be denied that here on the Gold Coast, at any rate, (and I have no doubt the same ideas operated elsewhere in West Africa) it was the belief that the white man would improve the administration of justice among us that prompted our ancestors to allow the British to exercise the jurisdiction which has now so far degenerated that we have to accept a lower standard of justice and of efficiency or capacity to administer justice than our ancestors themselves. Even if in other parts of West Africa things did not commence in the manner in which they did here, yet those of us who have read and heard so much of the superiority of British ideals over all others, are led to think that the British themselves, where they go to establish Criminal Codes and Courts of Law, would only do so where they thought that they were going to provide something better in the administration of justice than they found existing where they established such codes or Courts. I think if such a view is wrong, and if, moreover, the Colonial Office now exists merely to re-echo in England the climate-damaged logic of local white officials, high and low, which only white Britishers who have lived in the tropics can follow, the Colonial Office may as well declare that it does not presume, and, indeed, has not presumed in recent times, to interfere with local British authorities in all that they do in West Africa. It is mean to deceive people who are so low in the political scale as we are now bound, through the negligence and feebleness of some of our ancestors, to be; and the Colonial Office, knowing how we are situated as regards petitions and deputations to the King-in-Council, should destroy our last apparently false hope that by making representations to the Colonial Office or to the King-in-Council, the manifold and distressing anomalies that exist in the Colonial Administration in this all-forsaken part of the world would come ultimately to be removed. I am sure once we are given definitely to understand that we are to expect neither our due in consideration nor compassionate concessions from the Colonial Office, it will be a much easier thing for the different states now under the British to unite in demand for constitutional reforms. If we are not to consider the Colonial Office as capable of assisting us, we may safely ignore Colonial Office rules in our dealings with Governors; and perhaps if all West Africa unite in sending another deputation to England in this matter it will be possible for the members of such deputation to prove to honourable Members of Parliament, whose English or British characteristics have not become diseased through residence in the tropics and through contact with those of their race who have lost their souls and consciences in the tropics, that according to the present policy of the Colonial Office local authorities in British West Africa are infallible and not bound to consider advanced public opinion; thus we may succeed, otherwise than through the Colonial Office, in waking a few honest British souls to a consciousness of the risk which the Colonial Office and its local representations are running of repeating the mistakes which lost to England the American Colonies and which are sure to result in our losing confidence in the British. Perhaps thus we may succeed in getting a commission appointed to go thoroughly into the question of the use and effectiveness of the Colonial Office as a controlling force in colonial policy in West Africa and make recommendations which will make our local British rulers less like pedantic autocrats and more like public servants.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND THE A.P.O.

In view of the good record of work done by the A.P.O. in Bredasdorp, it is certainly disappointing to learn that the Anglican Church in that district is not favourably disposed towards the local branch of the A.P.O.

"An application has been made to the Churchwardens of the Anglican Church for the use of the schoolroom on a fixed night every month," writes Mr. Van Gesselen, the Secretary of the Bredasdorp Branch of the A.P.O., "as we have always had trouble in the past. We invariably found the schoolroom occupied on the night we had arranged to hold our meeting. We have thus written to the Church asking for the use of the school on the night of the last Tuesday of every month."

It should be pointed out that the Church has from 300 to 400 Coloured members and only about 50 Europeans. The Churchwardens are two Europeans, one a local storekeeper, the other an attorney. The Coloured members have a committee of ten men and ten women forming a kind of Kerkraad. Of the ten male committee men, five are actually members of the A.P.O. Branch, namely, our Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer and two Executive members. Under such circumstances one would imagine that the Church would be only too pleased to place the schoolroom one evening during the month at the disposal of the Branch.

The two white Wardens, however, and the Rector, took it upon themselves, without consulting the Coloured members to send the following almost offensive reply to the Branch:—

Bredasdorp,
23rd April, 1923.

Mr. L. Caroline,
A.P.O., Bredasdorp.

In answer to yours of 20th instant, you may have the hall tomorrow evening for your meeting and until further orders on every last Tuesday evening in the month, upon the following conditions, viz.:—

1. If the hall is required for other purposes you must stand aside and hold your meeting some other night to be arranged according to circumstances.
2. No person or persons who are not residents of Bredasdorp and who are not members of the English Church will be permitted to speak in the hall without the consent of the Rector and Curchwardens.
3. All subjects laid before your meetings and all speeches made at your meetings must be inoffensive to any other section of the community.
4. All meetings must be conducted in an orderly manner and all lights must be out before 10.30 p.m.
5. The Rector and Churchwardens reserve the right to add to, alter, or cancel the foregoing conditions.

I am, etc.,
(Sgd.) GEO. HERBERT,
Churchwarden.

A.P.O. DEPUTATION WAITS UPON THE MINISTER OF LANDS.

The deputation of the Executive of the A.P.O. waited upon Colonel Reitz, Minister of Lands, on the 1st of May, and presented to him the resolutions which were passed by the Conference, namely, that the Government allot to the Coloured people of Gordonia, land along the Orange River, also set aside Crown lands in other parts of the Union for Coloured settlers. A long discussion took place, and Colonel Reitz replied that he hoped to be able to do something tangible for the Gordonia people in the near future. Indeed he assured the deputation that he had already given instructions to the Land Board to cut up a very large tract of land bordering on the Orange River, and to sell it to the Coloured people of Gordonia. He expressed his appreciation of the wish of the deputation that the conditions to be attached to the granting of these farms should be such that the land can only be alienated to other Coloured people, and that it could not be mortgaged. The deputation feared that if the land were granted on the freehold system then in the near future these farms would again be sold, as has been the case in the Kat River District, with the result that the original settlers would once more be dispossessed of their farms. Colonel Reitz thought the best way would be to reserve a large tract of land for Coloured people, and then give them an opportunity of purchasing the land at a very low figure.

With regard to settling Coloured people in other parts of the Colony he thought the Executive should work out a practical scheme in detail, and submit it to him. Before he joined the present Cabinet he though it was a simple matter to settle the hundred thousand poor whites on land, but since he had taken office he found it a very difficult proposition and the Government had been unable up to the present to devise a practical scheme for poor whites.

The deputation then discussed with him many other minor matters, and before withdrawing thanked him for the very sympathetic hearing and kind consideration he had given their views. They felt somewhat surprised that one like him, who was bred and born in the Free State where the drastic laws are in operation, should hold such generous views on the Coloured question.

Colonel Reitz in reply said that it was a most wicked thing to imprison the women as was being done at present. The laws were made by the Municipality, and the Government could not yet stop them; but one thing he assured the deputation, and that was that the Government had absolutely refused to assist the Municipality in any way with additional police, which the Municipality had asked for in order to put the Pass Law into operation against the women of the Free State. The following formed the deputation: Dr. A. Abdurahman, president; S. Reagon, senior vice-president; Matt. J. Fredericks, general secretary; and Mr. S. Wentzel, executive member.

THE MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION.

Text of the Lisbon Agreement.

LISBON (by mail).

Herewith follows a rough translation issued by Reuter of the text of the agreement signed on March 31 between Dr. Brito Camacho, as High Commissioner of Mozambique, and Sir Lancelot D. Carnegie, for the Union of South Africa, for the continuance in force from April 1, 1923, of Part One of the Convention established between the Government of the Transvaal and that of Mozambique since April 1, 1909:—

"Seeing that on the first day of April, 1909, a Convention (hereinafter called the Convention) was concluded between the Government of the Transvaal and the Government of the Province of Mozambique; and seeing that, by Article 40 of the Convention, the Government of the Union of South Africa took the place of the Government of the Transvaal for all the purposes of the Convention; and seeing that, in accordance with the terms of Article 41 of the Convention, the intention of terminating the Convention was duly notified, and that, therefore, the Convention ceased its effect as from the first day of April, 1923:

"And seeing that it was mutually agreed between the two Governments that Part One of the Convention, notwithstanding the notification of the above-mentioned intention, will continue in force and to have full execution and effect, each of the Governments having the right to notify the other with six months' notice of their intention of terminating the same;

"(1) The Government of the Province of Mozambique and the Government of the Union of South Africa agree to contract by these presents that Part One of the Convention shall continue in full force and effect as from the first day of April, 1923.

"(2) Either of the two Governments may, on whatever occasion, terminate this agreement, it being sufficient to notify the other six months beforehand of the resolution to terminate. The agreement will, however, terminate automatically as soon as a definite Convention shall be concluded between the two Governments."

A telegram received from Mozambique by the Portuguese Government states: "The policy adopted by the Portuguese Government of maintaining integrally the 'status quo' relative to the Convention with the Transvaal was modified to-day (25th), it being resolved to impose ordinary Customs duties on imports from the Transvaal, with the exception of foodstuffs considered as of primary necessity."

PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

COAL TRADE AND APPLIANCES.

("African World" Correspondent.)

LOURENCO MARQUES, April 9.

The coal trade is the all-absorbing topic among those interested in the work of port and railway. There has been a decided improvement in the amount shipped. Indeed, the returns are almost equal to May last; but, strange to say, from that time there was a gradual decline through the remaining months of the year, and the gradual revival was only witnessed from February this year.

For the week ending March 30 19,599 tons were loaded at the appliance, 16,190 tons exported, and 5,470 tons bunkered, making a total for the week of 21,660 tons; 26,375 tons were hauled from the border to the wharf.

For the month of March 32,243 tons were exported and 22,162 tons bunkered, making a total for the month of 54,404 tons.

There is a strong feeling, and with a just reason, here regarding the constant repetition of the statement that the want of proper appliances and bad management have done much to damage the Transvaal coal export trade. As such statements have been made by responsible Ministers of the Union Government, echoed by those who presided at annual meetings of shareholders of colliery companies, it carries weight, and, so it is believed damaged the export trade.

Through the courtesy of the railway authorities I have been furnished with full details of the working of the coaling appliance during the economic year—April 1, 1922, to March 31, 1923—and also the delay to steamers on account of breakdowns of the plant. But before giving the figures it is well to note that the appliance has been working continuously since early in 1914, and that it was hoped that the new additional appliance—which is to be formally opened on April 15—would have been in commission more than a year ago.

But unforeseen difficulties arose, the water from the foothills on the reclaimed land had to be contended with, just as similar difficulties are now being faced at the Congella, Durban, in connection with the foundations of the grain elevator. Moreover, during the time immediately succeeding the declaration of peace it was impossible to obtain the necessary electrical renewals for the power house.

It was certainly not a question of want of proper forethought on the part of the management, but conditions in Europe and America, over which it had no control.

But coming to the figures which were supplied to the Union Minister of Harbours and Railways, we find that the most serious stoppage occurred at the end of last April and the first week in May. During that time there were eight days when the appliance was out of commission, there were two steamers in port for export coal, and as they could not get loaded at the appliance they were loaded by hand. The difference in time was two days, so that each of these vessels were detained two days longer than if they had been supplied at the appliance. Since that date, with the exception of one day, and a half one forenoon, sometimes two hours or one hour, all occasioned by some trouble to the dynamo, due to heavy rain, etc., there has not been a single stoppage, even for one hour, since February 2.

The "Seattle" arrived on the afternoon of March 28, and while discharging took, by hand, 449 tons, but as a steamer was at the appliance it was only in the afternoon of March 30 (Good Friday) she went to the appliance, when she loaded 2,369 tons. On March 31 she took 5,093 tons, and on the morning of May 1 the balance, 736 tons, and sailed the same forenoon, taking in all 8,547 tons in two full working days of eight hours. In view of such facts, can it be wondered at that the authorities and coal exporters look upon such statements made against efficiency as mere political pawns in the game of diplomacy.

But the record of these two steamers is not an isolated one. It is the usual procedure. Taking the last steamer at the appliance, she entered the port at 5 p.m. on April 3, started loading at 7 a.m. on April 4, loaded 4,563 tons in eight hours. On April 5 she loaded 3,983 tons, and finished at 4.30 p.m., altogether loading 8,550 tons, or 550 tons per hour. This is a fair average of the work done at the appliance.

But, it is asked, why do we not hear of the work done at the Bluff, Durban? Those who profess to know what is being done there state that it is not so good as what is done here. And, as far as breakdowns are concerned, they state that the Bluff appliance is subject to troubles similar to those experienced here. Until such time as the Minister of Union Harbours and Railways gives the same publicity to the Bluff appliance there will remain the suspicion that the whole question is purely political.

In all my writing I have abstained from dealing with political matters, but I conceive it to be only fair to the London coal contractors to publish these facts, and to assure them that they have no need to fear delay to charters for coal. I have been doing journalistic work for twenty-one years at this port, and I can honestly say I have never known a time in the history of the port and railway when there was more eagerness to give quick dispatch, greater facilities for hauling coal from the border, or a stronger desire to make the port of Lourenço Marques the premier coaling port in South Africa. And before this month closes, with the additional coal-loading appliance, capable of dealing with 600 tons per hour, a combined tonnage of 1,200 tons per hour can be easily anticipated.

When these considerations are taken into account, coal contractors may be assured of every attention to such trade and business methods being applied.

To show that the whole thing is a political matter, the fact is noted that the Union Government has placed two of its steamers for the purpose of carrying export coal from this port to the East. Why, it is asked, if the Minister of Harbours and Railways contends that the want of proper appliances and bad management is driving away the Transvaal export trade, does he select this port for export in coal? Strange to say, both these steamers have recently been in port, and it is not without interest to note the time they spent here. The "Apolda" arrived on the afternoon of March 21, went to the appliance and took 174 tons. On March 22 she loaded 4,040 tons, and on March 23 2,456 tons, taking 6,328 tons in two working days, and clearing the same day as loading was finished.

Race Problem—1923

Japanese Question.

Asia

HIGH-CASTE HINDU NOT FREE "WHITE PERSON"

Atlanta Constitution
2-20-23

Washington February 19.—A high-caste Hindu is not a "free white person" within the meaning of the naturalization law and, therefore, under the recent decision of the court excluding Japanese, are not entitled to citizenship, the supreme court held today in an appeal brought by the United States against Bhgat Singh Thind.

The court ruled that the words "white person" must be given the meaning they have in common usage, and are not to be applied through a scientific study determining whether the persons affected descended from white stock.

Race Problem—1923
Asia

COLOR LINE IN INDIA SAME AS UNITED STATES

Afro-American
1-26-23

Indian Pastor Explains Rule of 1500 Whites Over 320,000,000 Brown People

Baltimore Md.

EVERYTHING JIM CROW

Even Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Are Not Open Alike To Both Races

(Special to the AFRO-AMERICAN *by Rev. V. R. Gopalah Algar, a Colored Brother in India)*

Madras, Dec. 14.—India has been under British sway for the last one century and a half, and as Mr. Lloyd George said, 1,500 whites, Britishers resign over 320 million of a subject race.

The distinction between the whites and the colored is perceptible everywhere you have jim crow cars in your land, and we have separate churches and separate cemeteries and separate schools and colleges for Europeans and Indians.

Even the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are not without similar distinction. In the latter, the girls of the whites and the browns are not allowed to meet in a common hall even to offer their daily prayers to the common Father in Heaven, and in their athletics tennis, etc., both the races are separated.

India is already a land of a hundred castes and sub-castes, the members of which have no intercourse and no inter-marrying. In a caste ridden India, a western Christianity with a hundred denominational differences with race and color distinctions has been introduced.

CHRIST WAS COLORED

Christianity ceased to be a religion of Christ, when Asia ceased to teach it. The whites forget the fact that Christ Jesus was an Asiatic, and if today Christ Jesus, Budda, Mohamed, Confucius, Zoroaster and Krishua, the six religious leaders of the world, were to step into the Transval country arm in arm, they will all be told to leave the land, as these all come under the category of the "colored race."

Mahatma Gandhi is still in jail and a renowned astrologer has predicted that he will be liberated between August and November, 1923. A party of non-co-operators sought to have an interview wit hthe Mahatma, but the British Government would not allow any interview.

The 37th session of the great Indian National Congress meets on the 27th at Gaya in North India. This Congress is a political body of which Mr. Gandhi was made the dictator last year. A large number of political leaders of India have or had been convicted and they are on this plea disqualified from entering into Legislative Councils.

But non-co-operators follow the doctrine of their leader to boycott all Britishers administered Councils, courts, colleges, schools and articles. The Civil Disobedience propaganda has already commenced at Salem in the Madras presidence, a citizen totally refused to pay his income tax and the British Government attached his lands.

The government has adopted repressive measures to put down Gandhism with a high hand, but the more they try to put it down, the more does the propaganda thrive. Jails are already overcrowded and there is hardly any room there. Even some ladies have gone there.

Major John F. Hylan, of New York, has started a fund for the relief of the dependents of the political prisoners in India who have gone to jail for their country's freedom and American sympathy with

WORLD PROBLEM OF COLOR FACED AT DARDANELLES

Chicago Defender

Constantinople Seethes With Racial Unrest; Influence Will Disturb America

Chicago, Ill.
1-27-23.

[CRUSADER SERVICE]

Constantinople, Jan. 26.—The problems of our Race in the United States may be solved for us by what develops here within the next few months. The prestige of the white race, so laboriously built up by the degradation and oppression of the colored races, is in danger. On every hand it is being challenged. On every side smashing blows are being aimed at it. In the realm of literature, in the prize ring, on the battlefield, everywhere, white genius is meeting its Waterloo at the hands of the colored races.

This city and the surrounding regions for hundreds of miles constitute a seething volcano—seething with hatred of the white race. Seething with determination to overthrow white domination of the colored races and scrap white world dominion. Seething with the grim resolve to smash the system which denies the "fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man"—one of the cardinal principles of the Mohammedan faith, and a principle in practical application in every corner of the Islamic world.

The Mudania convention is signed, and Kemal Pasha is honoring his word. He has curbed with an iron hand the desire of his troops for an advance. His orders have forced the troops in the neutral zone to withdraw—much against their will. And superficially it looks as if peace was in sight. But—below the surface the hate of the colored world, the hate of the Moslem world for the white despoilers of their lands and homes eddies and churns like the terrible maelstrom and threatens to burst loose in a world-wide conflagration. The long-oppressed masses of Africa and Asia are in such a state of resentment against Europe and the white race that any call to a Jehad or Holy War would find them instantly responsive and ready to go through hell to avenge their centuries-long wrongs.

That the white world is deeply concerned and almost panic-stricken in view of this situation, is evident by the conversation of all of the foreign population and newspaper correspondents here. And warnings of the grave danger of revolution in Africa and Asia are being sounded far and wide by European publicists and statesmen. The Duke of Sermonneta, for one, has warned Europe that:

"The convulsion has shaken Islamic and Occidental civilization to its foundations. The entire Oriental world, from China to the Mediterranean, is in ferment. Everywhere the hidden fire of anti-European hatred is burning. Riots in Morocco, risings in Algiers, discontent in Tripoli, so-called Nationalist attempts in Egypt, Arabia, Lybia are all different manifestations of the same deep sentiment, and have as their object the rebellion of the Oriental world against European civilization."

Lord Rawlinson has announced a scheme for the Indianization of army units, which in immediate practice means that eight units of the Indian Army are to be officered entirely by Indians. The scheme is a preliminary trial, and if successful will extend to the whole Indian Army. We share the regret, relief and apprehension expressed by Mr. Moir in his brilliant speech to the Legislative Assembly last week. Our regret is that the long and glorious comradeship in arms of Englishmen and the Indian Army should be approaching its end. Our relief is that some definite scheme should at last be on trial where the entire responsibility for its success or failure should rest upon the Indian. Our apprehension is for the result. Will the units be able to maintain their standard of loyalty and efficiency without the ever-present stimulus of the white man? We doubt, we fear. But admittedly the time has come for the trial to be made.

The Japanese in America

The chief objection urged by anti-Japanese agitators against the settlement of Japanese in America has been, of course, that the Orientals could not be assimilated, or Americanized.

The answer of those opposing that position is that the Japanese in America are being Americanized, and are being assimilated, as far as cultural or social assimilation of ideas, ideals and standards of thought are concerned.

Dr. Paul B. Waterhouse, a grandson of a pioneer missionary to Hawaii, recently conducted an investigation of the extent of Japanese social and cultural assimilation by the questionnaire method. The results are illuminating.

Sixteen hundred replies from Japanese children under 15 years of age and born on the Pacific coast in the United States show that practically 100 per cent are attending American schools. Nearly two-thirds are attending Protestant Sunday schools. Thirty-five per cent give their religion as Christian. Only 19 per cent are Buddhists.

Three hundred and forty-two replies from American born Japanese between the ages of 15 and 22 years, representing 40 per cent of the Japanese of that age born in California, show that 51 per cent are attending high school, or planning to go. Fifty per cent expect to go to college. Fifty per cent are Christians. Only one-fifth are Buddhists.

The great majority of the boys expressed the desire to be business men. The girls desired to be stenographers, dressmakers or teachers. A great number of both sexes added they hoped to "become useful citizens," evidencing their appreciation of the opportunity of living in America.

California teachers, Dr. Waterhouse says, are almost unanimous in declaring that there is no problem as far as morality or the studiousness of the Japanese children are concerned. Some of the teachers expressed the desire of having a few Japanese children in their classes to set an example of studiousness to the other children.

As for racial assimilation, that is another matter. Neither Occidentals nor Orientals are ready to propose intermarriage. However, nobody objects to the presence in the country of the negro because marriage between whites and blacks is prohibited by many of the States, and is generally frowned upon.

But what other nationality, with the possible exception of the English, has such a record for cultural and social assimilation as the Japanese? Dr. Waterhouse's investigation only confirms the suspicion that it is fear of Japanese efficiency that is at the bottom of most of the opposition to the Japanese people, where they have settled in this country.

Recession of White Civilization

Editorial in the Chicago Tribune.

A Chinese bandit in command of a handful of men is showing up more than the state of China. He is also showing up western diplomacy and, what is still more ominous, the morale of western civilization. As we follow day by day the astonishing progress of these negotiations between a bandit chief and the so-called government of China, with the ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary of the greatest of the occidental powers pleading and demanding effective action, we have a sense of something deeper than any clash of governments. The question raised by the tragic farce being played at Peking is this: Are we having a revelation of the recession of the white race and its civilizing power?

What other explanation can there be for the astounding delays and hesitations in dealing with this outrage than that the morale of Christendom is receding like an ebbing tide? We in America recall the ultimatum of Roosevelt, "Perdicaris alive, or Rasuli dead." Those were the accents of a strong nation. We have known the mere title of British subjects to carry respect in savage lands over the globe. What is it worth in China today? The treatment of the captives is reducing the prestige of the white race to zero. It is imperiling lives round the world. It is not merely a question of the lives of these particular victims, though they ought to be precious to us, but it is a question of protection for missionaries, traders, agents, travelers, officials of white civilization in all semi-civilized or barbarous lands. It means a moral defeat for white civilization and its effects will not be slow in appearing.

Roots of Our Civilization.

The civilization of our day is the civilization of Europe and its child America. From the fifteenth century down to this hour all the advance that humanity has been able to make is the product of the intellect and character of the occident. Go to any land on earth and where there is a touch of modernity, of civilized living, of humane order, justice, and progress, it is the creation and importation of the white man.

We know well the complaints against imperialism, the demands for self-determination and independence—the very battle cries of these champions of revolt are borrowed from the occident. But in every land where the white man has withdrawn, civilization has stagnated or disappeared. Go to Haiti and you will see the ruins of civilization. They are the records of the French. Under the native rule, which with a great thunder of white idealism was reestablished a century ago, those records have disintergrated, the clock of progress stopped and the jungle invaded again the plowed field. That story is told again and again over the earth. Our doctrines have belabored imperialism for generations. They shut their eyes to the fact that it has been for all backward people the only bearer of progress in our time. If it dies down, if the white's creative genius, his expansive energy weakens, the outposts of human progress will be withdrawn, the new light which rose upon man will flicker out and the people who do not progress will return to their ancient state.

Is Creative Energy Gone?

Perhaps this must be. Perhaps the creative energy of the white race is expended. Perhaps the white peoples seem to have turned from building to destroying. The futility of their diplomacy at Peking may be the inevitable effect of this fratricidal, suicidal madness. But why should the American influence be so weak? We are in the full flush of titanic strength. We are at peace in our own household and abroad. We are rich, intelligent, forceful. Why are we futile at Peking? We are not preoccupied elsewhere. We are not drained to feebleness. Why do we boggle with diplomacy and faithless Chinese politicians? American lives are in peril. American honor and honorable prestige are at stake. The responsibility for the safe return of our fellow citizens and their companion Europeans should be presented to the Chinese government in an ultimatum, and behind that ultimatum should march if necessary an army under our flag.

COLOR LINE HITS CHINA.

Educated Chinese Resent Snubs by Whites.

Business is very poor in China just now, according to W. A. Hannibal of Hongkong, who is at the Hotel Astor. "We are suffering from a lack of government," he said, "and we cannot expect conditions to be much better until we can have a more stable Government. Then we had added trouble in the big typhoon which did so much damage, and the Japanese earthquake also left its effect with us.

"Of course, there is a great difference in the social life in China as compared to this country. Out there we have no servant problems, as you have here, and it is really quite a gay life we lead. We have to pay servants much more than in pre-war days, and we now have strikes which in former years were unknown in China. So many of the educated Chinese, who have been either in this country or Europe, come home with European ideas and the cunning of the Far East, and it has made a great difference in that country in many ways.

"The great difficulty with the Chinese now is in drawing the color line. There are some 300 Americans in Hongeign countries resent not being received by the English and American colony. There are some 300 Americans in Hongkong now and the white colony is composed almost exclusively of Americans and English, though the Germans are beginning to come back again.

"We have very fine golf links there—the Americans have a baseball club and the English play cricket, and tennis is a favorite game with all. The business section is down at the sea level, while the residential section is up on the peak—some 1,200 feet high—and the houses are all built with broad verandas and big archways. A necessary part of every house also is a drying room on account of the very damp climate.

"It has gotten to be a great fad with the Americans and English there to have Chinese chow, or tiffin, we call it, where Chinese food is served in the bowls and eaten with chopsticks, and the women vie with each other to see who can put on the most courses. Automobiles are coming in very fast over there now. Ten years ago we had none at all and now there are more than 1,000 cars in Hongkong."

JAVA STIRRING AGAINST WHITE RULE

Native Communists Leading Movement in Great Political Strike in Isl.d.

Amarang, Aug., 22-- A great political strike has broken out here, one whose issue will be of great significance for the revolutionary movement in the East Indies. The bourgeois press already reports that 8,000 railwaymen are on strike, twenty per cent of these being engineers.

This movement did not arise unexpectedly. The conference of the Railwaymen's Union, held in February in this city, showed that almost all the delegates were in favor of the strike.

Since then the alien Dutch government has feared the influence of the native Communists, more than ever, and accordingly upon the arrest of these Communists, however, the rail workers went on strike.

The trend of feeling here is revolutionary, the population good and tired of alien exploritation and oppression.

Race Problem - 1923
Europe

CHARGES KLAN THREW SIXTY COLORED PEOPLE INTO LAKE

Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, speaking at a meeting of the New York Cameraderie, affiliated with the League for Industrial Democracy, at the Civic Club, 14 West Twelfth street, yesterday, charged the Ku Klux Klan with having murdered negroes in Louisiana for several years.

Mr. White said the bodies of sixty negroes had been thrown into Lake La Fourche, near Morehouse Parish, La., where the bodies of Watt Daniels and Thomas Richards were found last December. He said the Klan made a "fatal mistake" when it tried the same tactics on white people that it had exercised with negroes.

Dr. Charles S. Fleischer urged that those groups under attack from the Ku Klux Klan should attain greater sympathy and broader vision as a result of its persecution rather than resort to similar intolerance. He prefaced his remarks by saying he was merely expressing his personal views. About three hundred people attended the meeting.

FRENCH HERO, GEORGIA BORN, WHIPS WHITE BULLY IN PARIS

By ALBERT CURTIS

Paris, France, Jan. 5.—I have made haste to cable you this story because of a vile report circulated in France by an American newspaper and because I feared that they would publish the same story in America.

This newspaper reported here that an American Negro, Dick Bullard, had assaulted Harry McClelland, a white California lawyer, his bride, Baron Ronald Reuter, son of the late James Gordon Bennett, outside of Ciro's restaurant. It was further stated that Bullard had used brass knuckles and that it was necessary for American passersby to beat Bullard into submission before he was taken to the police station; that he was put out of the French aviation corps because he was afraid to fight the Germans; that McClelland was unable to have Bullard searched for brass knuckles because he (McClelland did not know how to speak French, and that some sort of Ku Klux Klan through the co-operation of the American embassy and the prefecture (Paris police department) intended to have American Negroes deported from France.

Story Untrue

The entire story is a lie. White Americans in Paris are carrying on a war against American Race men that never ceases. American newspapers are the biggest aids in such propaganda.

Bullard did not bother the bride of McClelland. A French woman sitting at the table of McClelland in Ciros' restaurant had spoken to Bullard, who was also dining there. By the way, the papers here called him Dick. His name is Eugene. They call him 'Gene. Bullard replied to the French woman's question. His freedom in doing so angered McClelland, who objected, telling Bullard that he didn't want any "damn nigger" talking to women in his company. Bullard resented the white man's abuse. The argument continued until they were outside the restaurant, when Bullard felled the lawyer with a blow on the jaw. When Baron Reuter sought to interfere Bullard struck him also. He was disposing of the entire crowd until he was set upon with weapons by a mob of so-called respectable white Americans.

Police came and arrested the main actors in the party. Bullard was released. The white prisoners were held. Bullard had no brass knuckles. How could McClelland ask for anything to cut here in Paris if he couldn't ask to have a man searched because of his ignorance of the French language? The suggestion is ridiculous.

No Paris Klan

There is no such thing as a Ku Klux Klan here. I have read stories of the Klan in newspapers here, but practically all the articles centered in America. I have read a lot recently about some outrages in Louisiana.

Unfortunately, white Americans here and those who are not white, are lined up against each other. The whites wish to deny the others the freedom they have, and the others refuse to give it up.

Eugene Bullard, 12 Rue de Navarin, this city, was born in Georgia. At the age of 9 he left that state and six months later found himself in London. He afterwards came to Paris. He fought with the French army in the war from 1914 until 1918.

He enlisted in the French army Oct. 14, 1914. He was sent to Verdun where he manned a machine gun against the German Brandenburgers who were determined to take Fort Douamont. He was wounded after working his gun 96 hours without rest, food or water. The record is in the French war office.

Bullard in Action

Will Irwin, white war correspondent, gave a description of the engagement on the fourth day in the Saturday Evening Post. It reads: "Eugene opened the breech of his machine gun and kicked it until he had destroyed the mechanism. It was then confused fighting, men jumping from shell hole to shell hole to gain cover of the next trench hole in the rear. Eugene with a few stragglers of his regiment had taken refuge in an old stone barn, tired out, soul and body, and dropped into dreamland, dreaming of the family back home, when soon he and his comrades were awakened by a German shell that destroyed the whole place and a few men. Eugene was startled, but quickly realized the situation, and paying no attention to his wounds, started back through the shattered outskirts of Verdun, still crumbling under bombardment, to get medical aid for his comrades; and it was for this act of bravery that he received his first citation."

Later Bullard joined the aviation corps, where he was chief adjutant. He is credited with having brought down two German planes. As a sergeant in the French army he refused a lieutenancy in the American flying corps, after having passed the examination.

During the last year he has been interested in starting an aviation school in France for Americans of his Race. He has permission for the project from the French government and has invited Americans to correspond with him. He is acquainted with Miss Bessie Coleman, aviatrix.

'BLACK, WHITE' IN PARIS CRAZE

1/13/23.

Race Color Discussion Starts Over Play and Prize Fight.

Louisville News

Paris, Jan. 9—"Black and White" are the colors of Paris this season. Probably the rage for "black and white" started with a daring play by Sacha Guitry called "Blanc et Noir," the plot of which one hesitates to mention to an American reading public. Let's see, how can it be put delicately? A French lady has a child in the first act. The lady is white, her husband is white but the child, well, isn't white. This, dear reader, isn't a problem in Paris, either, it is a comedy. "Blanc et Noir" is the most discussed play in Paris today, a sort of a humorous successor to "Damaged Goods."

Siki and Carpentier have helped the vogue of "Black and White," and the headline writers of the newspapers like to mix up Sacha Guitry's play with Siki's victories and defeats. Siki is a daily figure in the Paris press. Siki attends different Paris bar nearly eve night, and all a Paris newspaperm has to do is to follow Siki aroun to get a good feature story.

The Negro representative of Sene gal in the Chamber of Deputies Monsieur Diagne, came to Siki's rescue and started a veribal race riot in the sport columns of the Paris news papers. "Blanc et Noir" continued to be the color of the day.

Reflected in Fashions.

Quite seriously, however, to turn from the sporting page to the "Home and Fireside" column, this constant repetition of "Black and White" has had its effect on Paris fashions and the somber black dresses of last year begin to show white sleeves, white trimmings white stripes, anything to keep the combination of "Blanc et Noir."

We've gone thru the Paris newspapers backward. We've arrived at the front page and find that "Blanc et Noir" is really a serious question. "Should army officers be black or white?" demands L'Oeuvre in a campaign which it is carrying on its columns. This morning General Verraux answers that he will stake his fortunes on the black as well on the white.

"Permit me to reply thru your columns to my numerous friends who have asked me to express my opinion." writes Gen. Verraux. "I have always believed that the skin of a black man was equal in value to that of o white. I believe his heart beats like that of a white man, the brains have the same anatomical structure—I would like better to have my grand children serve under a black general who would lead them to victory than under a white general who would lead them to defeat. A military genius is rarely is rarely found among the whites, let us admit that it will be more rare among the blacks, but let's not say that it is impossible.

Of course there is a question of black and white on the Rhine in the French troops of occupation. This is really a delicate question, but nevertheless it echoes and reechoes thru the Paris press in repeated denials of German propaganda. The French declare that the Arabs are not black. American torists insist that they are Pullman porter shade. But as these northern African really are not blacks in the strict sense of the word, we must eliminate them from the list of devotees to the latest Paris vogue.

GREAT FRENCH LEADER WILL VISIT HARLEM

New York News

Jean Longuest, Deputy of France, to Lecture Next Sunday

1/13/23

TELL OF BLACK TROOPS

Harlem Colored Leaders to Unite in Ovation as a Tribute to France

Jean Longuet, member of the French Chamber of Deputies and an internationally-known scholar and gentleman, will be the principal figure in Harlem next Sunday afternoon when he will speak to colored people at New Douglas Hall, 142d street and Lenox avenue, 2:30 p. m., and tell of the "Black Troops on the Rhine." M. Longuet has been in America several weeks, traveling and lecturing, and has already appeared in Boston, Chicago and other centers. It is noteworthy that the speaker came to America almost simultaneously with M. Georges Clemenceau, war premier of France, and frequently answered the speeches of the elder Frenchman in the public press. Colored people took especial pride in both Frenchmen because of their fairness toward the Negro troops and their unwavering answers to Senator Hitchcock and others who tried to cast aspersion on them. And M. Longuet took pains to disagree with M. Clemenceau, but taking an even higher attitude and spirit of impartial fairness. In his lecture he will go into detail and explain the "Rhine Horror" situation for the especial benefit of colored Harlem (and the admission is free).

Judge Jacob Panken of the Municipal Court of Manhattan will introduce the speaker. James Weldon Johnson secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Frank R. Crosswaith, of the 21st A. D. Socialist Branch; A. Philip Randolph, editor of the Messenger; Hon. George W. Harris, alderman from Harlem and editor of the New York News, will be among the speakers. Chandler

Owen, executive secretary of the Friends of Negro Freedom, will preside.

The musical attraction will be only second to Monsieur Longuet's address. For this special occasion Harlem will be favored with vocal selections by Frances Bendelari, lyric soprano, one of the greatest artists of which America can boast. Miss Bendelari has appeared in both opera and concerts and has been hailed everywhere as a vocalist of uncommon endowments. Also will appear Miss Bessie Allison, Harlem's own product and a Negro baritone.

Race Prejudice in France

We have repeatedly warned our readers that race prejudice is not a peculiarly American product. It is not indigenous to Uncle Sam's soil only. Given the conditions it can grow anywhere. It can grow even in France. The recent Siki-Carpentier boxing match was an exciting cause which has spread prejudice with unparalleled celerity. A despatch reads:

By a vote of 408 to 136 the Chamber rejected a motion by M. Diagne, a deputy for Senegal, providing for the suspension of the subsidy which the French Boxing Federation received from the government. This amounts to 300,000 francs a year. Diagne demanded that the money hencefortl be withheld from the federation because it suspended Siki for nine months for hitting a non-combatant at a prize fight and later revoked his boxer's license forever as punishment for a subsequent offense against decency.

"The disqualification of Monsieur Siki is an infamous injustice," said Siki's defender. "Justice should know no color line. We must not condemn a man to starve without giving him a hearing. If Monsieur Siki, who is only 23, carouses in barrooms he is following one of the customs of your civilization. You do not lift a finger against white men who do the same things."

We are not devotees of the ring. We don't know Siki personally. He may be simply a *cabaret "rat"*—an underworld man. If so, he is *"keeping up with the Jones"* in the prize fighters' profession, for most white prize fighters represent the lowest types. (Occasionally we find a gentleman like Harry Wills among Negroes, and when an alleged decent white prize fighter was discovered, he was dubbed "Gentleman Corbett"—so rare is this phenomenon.)

To return to race prejudice in France: M. Diagne, Negro deputy in the French Chamber from Senegal, scored in saying: *"If Monsieur Siki carouses in barrooms, he is following one of the customs of your civilization. You do not lift a finger against white men who do the same thing."*

There was no answer to this argument. The vote against Diagne's resolution, however, was 408 to 136. Typically American—3 to 1! Most American Negroes were shocked that their liberal, fair France should vote this way. Not so with us. We realized that Clemenceau was in America trying to arouse sentiment which might result in securing a cancellation America's loan to France. Besides, American white tourists are in France spending money as Frenchmen have never before seen it spent. Just as those tourists are catered to in Bermuda they will be catered to in France. Moreover, Negro musicians are there competing against white musicians. The white tourists in France are patrons increasing employment of Frenchmen. The Negro musicians are competitors of French labor, depriving French workers of jobs. Is there anything more likely than that prejudice would crop out?

Were it not that France has to depend upon an army composed of nearly one-half Negroes, we suspect that France would shortly become Americanized; the land of *"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"* would be no more. As it is, we believe the France of yesterday was fairer than the France of tomorrow. *It was a better land than it will be for people of color.*

Beware!

The Black Troops Are Still There

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In connection with the further occupation of Germany by the French and the statements reported to have been made by M. Clemenceau that there are no black soldiers in the Rhine country, the following account of a recent experience there may be of interest and value.

Some months ago I arrived, rather late at night, at Bingen on the Rhine, and started along the main street, walking on the sidewalk, to the Hotel Distel. The street was brilliantly lighted. About forty yards from the railway station is a large building evidently now used as barracks for French soldiers. A number of black soldiers were standing in the courtyard and gateway. At a little sentry box by the gate was a Negro soldier, a very black one, on guard. As I was about to pass he suddenly presented his bayonet point to my stomach. I did not hear him say anything. I stepped into the street, and as I walked by he struck at me viciously with a sweeping blow of his arm, touching me only slightly as I was almost out of his reach. A German to whom I afterward spoke, was walking a short distance ahead of me and had gone out into the street, evidently knowing that civilians must walk in the roadway when passing the sentry, although the sidewalk was abundantly wide enough.

I am a minister, retired, of the Presbyterian church, whose Scotch ancestors came to America some 200 years ago. The above statement I have sworn to and had certified in our United States Consulate in Venice, Italy

This experience leads to some serious reflections, for if a person of my age, well dressed, and with some degree of dignity, receives such treatment, what is likely to be the conduct of these exponents of French civilization toward poorly dressed men and women, working people, and especially toward young women and girls? And it leaves the conviction that the French officers desire this sort of conduct, otherwise they would not allow it.

East Northfield, Mass., January 16 HENRY A. TODD

FRENCH AN TELLS OF BLACK TROOPS ON RIVER RHINE

M. Jean Longuet Says "Horror Talk" Was Propaganda to Increase Prejudice

1-20-23

Chicago Defender

Jean Longuet, prominent Frenchman and member of the chamber of deputies of France, addressed a monster crowd at the new Douglas hall Sunday afternoon on "France and Her Black Troops." The speaker was forceful and left no uncertainty as to the position of France in dealing with her Colored soldiers. Some of our most representative citizens were seated on the stage when Chandler Owen, representing the Friends of Negro Freedom, opened the meeting.

Frank Crosswajth, former candidate for the assembly on the Socialist ticket, was the first speaker. He was followed by Walter F. White of the N. A. A. C. P. Judge Jacob Panken of the municipal court, who arrived a bit late, made a stinging speech against the Ku Klux Klan. Monsieur Longuet was also late and some apprehension was felt as to his appearance. Just when George Goebel (white), candidate for governor of New Jersey on the Socialist ticket, was assuring the audience that the distinguished Frenchman would surely appear he came in.

His address was in English. He explained the international character of the party he represents, the Socialist, and said they excluded no element of mankind on account of race or color. "France," he said, "with all her weaknesses or vices, is decidedly free from what I find so openly manifested in America as race prejudice. All men in France are treated alike.

"Our Colored colonies have the vote and they send representatives to the French chamber in Paris. I personally am acquainted with some of the deputies and they are very good friends of mine."

On the question of black troops he said: "France treats her black troops just as she does her other troops. The German people say they are great, big, lovable boys, grown up children, and find no fault with them. The propaganda about Rhine horrors is done to appeal to American prejudice and is without foundation. I object to black troops on the Rhine, but not because they are black. I object to any troops on the Rhine."

A fine musical program was rendered, with Miss Frances Bendelari (white) singing several excellent opera seceltions; Paul Robeson, tenor, and Miss Bessie Allison, Harlem's own mezzo soprano. Others on the stage were William Pickens and Robert W. Bagnall of the N. A. A. C. P. and A. Philip Randolph, editor of the Messenger magazine.

COLORED TROOPS GO IN FRONT OF FRENCH ARMY OF OCCUPATION

1-19-23.

Moroccans in First Detachment of Invading Force—Algerians on Way to Essen

Pittsburgh American

ESSEN, Jan. 19. (Crusader Service)—Two battalions of colored troops, Moroccans, are in the first detachment of French troops arriving here. The troops began moving about 5 o'clock this morning and at 10 o'clock the first Cavalry entered the town.

The vanguard of the invading force was followed by five more columns of cavalry, two battalions of light artillery and twelve tanks. The French placed machine guns at the corners and sent out patrols. Pittsburgh, Pa.

At noon Gen. Henry, Commander of the Ruhr, took up his headquarters in the Hotel Kaiserhof, and half an hour later the military officials visited the city officially informed them of the occupation of the city. The French requested billets for 10,000 troops.

The French action in invading Germany to enforce payment of reparation indemnities is considered here as inviting another world war, and brings up again the question of French use of Africa as a military reservoir from which to conscript a Pretorian Guard that will be used against France's eternal foes on the continent of Europe.

More Colored Troops

MARSEILLES, Jan. 19. (Crusader Service)—The steamship Doukkula arrived this afternoon from Morocco with three battlaions of the 65th Regiment, each of 1,200 men. Troops entrained for the Ruhr at once.

It is reported that another steamer is on the way with more Moorish troops for the occupied zone.

Algerians Ordered Out

STRASSBURG, Jan. 19. (Crusader Service)—The 18th Algerian Regiment of Sharpshotters, which has been stationed here for several months, left tonight for the Rhineland.

Race Problem—1923
Europe.

FRENCH NEGROES RESENT ATTITUDE OF U. S. TOURISTS

Ask Premier Poincare to Make Representation to Washington.

By William E. Nash.

(Special Cable to The Evening World and Chicago Daily News)
Copyright, 1923 (New York Evening World) Press Publishing Company.

PARIS, July 13.—Complaints about the attitude of American tourists toward colored citizens of France have been made to Premier Poincare by Negro Deputies in the French Parliament, who propose that diplomatic representations be made to Washington as one means of satisfying their grievances, according to information received to-day from trustworthy sources.

Colored citizens of France feel that travellers from overseas who fail to realize the absolute equality of the races here and the total absence of color line should be made to understand these things before leaving home in order not to violate French susceptibilities in this direction. Such knowledge, they claim, can be imparted only by direct action by the American Government.

A certain amount of satisfaction probably will be granted to the colored Deputies in this matter by Premier Poincare. Two measures for their benefit are said to be under consideration. One of them is the closing for a short time of a famous restaurant that declined to serve colored patrons on account of objections raised by white patrons. The other is the despatch of a harmless note to Washington explaining the point of view of the French Negroes and asking what can be done to make American tourists in France more regardful of their feelings.

SAYS NEGRO BAITING WON'T GO IN FRANCE

The New York Times

Temps Comments on Government Warning of Punishment for Offending Americans.

8-2-23

SCORES OUR "PREJUDICES"

New York

And Advises All Visitors There to Take a Lesson From French Tolerance.

N. Y.

By EDWIN L. JAMES.

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company.
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Aug. 1.—It is learned that the Quai d'Orsay's somewhat startling communiqué last night saying that if foreign tourists did not quit baiting colored Frenchman, the Government would inflict punishment, had its immediate origin in an incident of several days ago, during a visit of some Americans to the battlefields.

A French surgeon, who is a negro, occupied one of the seats in the big tourists' automobile as it started on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

They objected to the presence of the negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a "nigger," and the negro replied:

"I fought four and a half years, most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battlefields."

The end of it was that the Americans threw the negro out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.

Deputies Candace and Bousse, both negroes, have served notice on Premier Poincaré that they will interpolate the Government on this issue when Parliament reopens.

The Temps tonight devotes an editorial headed "Prejudice" to the actions of American tourists toward black Frenchmen. After expressing pleasure that France sees so many American tourists, the Temps asks: "But why must a certain number of them forget that they are not in their own country and that all the usages of their country are not necessarily our usages? Their question of whites and blacks is one for our American friends, and the solution they have found shows that a country can at the same time be democratic and also yield to prejudices.

"We have nothing to do with the attitude which prevails in America among her citizens. That is not our business. But this is France, and with us the color line is totally unknown. Our forefathers didn't write the Declaration Les Droits de L'Homme (declaration of the rights of man) for us to forget its letter and its spirit.

"Besides, our lack of all discrimination against colored men is not inspired alone by doctrine. We are sincere about it. The blacks, with whom we come in contact, come from the French colonies. Whatever their status—citizens, subjects or proteges—they are our compatriots, and we treat them as such. How could it be otherwise when so many of them fought by our side to save France?

"That small number of our American visitors who forget that the French Republic makes no differentiation among the inhabitants of its immense Empire, whatever their race or color of their skin, will, we hope, regard our black citizens as good as the rest of us. They will not forget that their country also accepted the services of black men in time of need.

"We promise in return that when we are in the United States we will obey the dry law which American legislation has imposed on every one. And we expect our visitors to obey our rule, which proceeds not from law but from our character and customs, in virtue of which all Frenchmen form one grand family, from which none of them is disinherited."

FRANCE TO CURB MADE-IN-AMERICA RACE PREJUDICE

The Washington Tribune 8-25-23

Is Only Nation to Give a Square Deal to Negro Troops

Washington D.C.

In the press dispatches from Paris, France, the following is noted:

"Premier Poincare has written a letter to Georges Barthelmy, member of the chamber of deputies, who had notified the premier of his intention to interpellate the government on the recent incidents that have arisen over foreigners objecting to the presence of colored Frenchmen in places of amusement and restaurants. Their premier says his attention has been called to several such incidents recently and points to the official warning issued to foreigners informing them that they are the guests of France and that, as such, they should respect her customs and laws.

"The premier adds that he has asked the minister of the interior to take measures to prevent a recurrence of such incidents and to decide what punishment can be inflicted upon proprietors of establishments which do not welcome colored people on equality with whites. The premier says he will closely follow the situation but will leave it in the hands of the minister of the interior, to whose department belongs the duty of seeing that the French laws of equality are strictly observed.

"M. Barthelmy notified the government he intended, as soon as parliament opened, to demand to know why Americans who raise riots in Montmarte because Negroes are admitted, are not punished.

"Premier Poincare's reply, given out today, scrupulously avoids mentioning the word American, but it promises punishment both for foreigners objecting to Negroes and restaurant keepers refusing to serve black men.

"The American film, 'The Birth of a Nation,' was to have been produced here today, but the police prohibited it. The film had passed the censors a fortnight ago. It is understod that the prefecture of police objected to the presentation on the ground that it dealt with the relations between whites and blacks."

There seems to be an organized group who are trying to transplant American race prejudice in France. In some quarters it is believed that this is being done by France's enemies; the object being to heap so many insults on the French Negro that he will revolt against France.

If this is done it would greatly weaken France's hold on her Negro soldiers, who, at present, are the backbone of France's huge army.

Thousands of these black soldiers are holding the Ruhr strongholds. If by introducing segregation in France, these men can be made discontented, it will greatly embarrass France in carrying out her present program, which is just what her enemies desire to see.

France is the only country which used Negro soldiers in the World War that has given them full justice since the armistice was signed. The Negro soldier in France enjoys full equality both in the army and in civil life. This is a direct contrast to the treatment accorded the American Negro soldiers who have not been given any form of recognition, but, however, have been insulted at every turn both in the army and out.

FRENCH PROTEST WHITE AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE

The Michigan State News.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Paris, France.—A French surgeon, who is Colored, occupied one of the seats in a big tourists' automobile as it started last week on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

They objected to the presence of the Negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a "nigger," and the Colored surgeon replied:

8-11-23

"I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battlefields."

The end of it was that the Americans threw the surgeon out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.

Grand Rapids Mich.

The Temps tonight devotes an editorial headed "Prejudice" to the actions of American tourists toward black Frenchmen. After expressing pleasure that France sees so many American tourists, the Temps, leading Paris newspaper, says: "We have nothing to do with the attitude which prevails in America among her citizens. That is not our business. But this is France, and with us the color line is totally unknown. Our forefathers didn't write the Declaration les Droits de l'Homme (declaration of the rights of man) for us to forget its letter and its spirit.

"Besides, our lack of all discrimination against Colored men is not inspired alone by doctrine. We are sincere about it. The blacks, with whom

we come in contact, come from the French colonies. Whatever their status—citizens, subjects or proteges—they are our compatriots, and we treat them as such. How could it be otherwise when so many of them fought by our side to save France?

"That small number of our American visitors who forget that the French Republic makes no differentiation among the inhabitants of its immense Empire, whatever their race or color of their skin, will, we hope, regard our black citizens as good as the rest of us. They will not forget that their country also accepted the services of black men in time of need.

NEBRASKA [illegible] PRESS
SEPTEMBER [illegible], 1923

THE FRENCH NEGRO.

FRENCH newspapers resent the attitude of American tourists toward the Negro in France. This resentment follows attacks made on colored men in restaurants by American tourists and is both natural and righteous. No matter what attitude the American tourist may assume toward the Negro at home it is none of his business, to use plain language, how the colored man is received abroad. The French have an entirely different view point of the Negro from that held in most American communities. Just now, for instance, the average Frenchman has a high regard for his black colonials who helped save the nation during the world war. The American Negro who happens to be in France—and a great many are there just now—is received almost everywhere on a plane of equality for this reason, and the white American who is in France cannot, of course, understand why the French people should maintain this "composure" which is so repugnant to the citizen of the United States, reared to consider the Negro as an underling and an inferior sort of being. If the American tourist prefers to associate entirely with white men and women he should make himself comfortable in osme land where the Negro is rated as he is at home; most assuredly he should not make matters worse by blatantly asserting his opinions and so forgetting himself and his nation as to assault the black man in the cafes of Montmartre.

The French newspapers are entirely right in their attitude and the chief of police of Paris is right when he says he will arrest the next American who tries to make a punching bag out of the Negroes who are in Paris.

Most assuredly there can be no rupture of international relations on this score. Americans have been received courteously in Euorpe as they swarm about airing their opinions, frequently repugnant to our friends across the Atlantic, and the few who have made asses of themselves in Paris are making it increasingly difficult for the French to have a proper regard for the right sort of Americans, most of whom are unable to visit Europe.

SAYS FRANCE WILL MAKE NO RACE DISTINCTIONS.

(Crusader Service)

Williamstown, Mass., Sept. 21—Speaking at the Institute of Politics today, Prof. Cru, in answer to certain remarks by Count Kessler, emphasized that France owed a great debt of gratitude to her African troops and would make no distinction between Colored and other troops.

Count Kessler had stated his belief that France started the new armament race. In spite of France's diminishing population, he said, France had colonial reserves of men that were increasing fast. Even if France reduced her metropolitan army she always had the means of retaining the largest military force in the world.

Count Kessler did not object to black troops as such. From all he heard they behaved no worse in Germany than white troops. What he wanted to bring out was the development of France's reserve of manpower in African troops.

COLORED RACES ARE DRAWN TOGETHER AT STOCKHOLM MEETING

The Rev. E. E. Ricks, pastor of the Bethany Baptist Church, Newark, N. J., who sailed June 30 to attend the World's Baptist Alliance at Stockholm, Sweden, writes the editor of The New York Age that a noteworthy characteristic of the meeting is the drawing together of representatives of the colored race from all sections of the world, without regard to political or national affiliations. Rev. Ricks writes:

"The colored races here seem to be drawn to each other by reason of the fact of color; though they cannot understand each other's language yet there is a heart language understood by each of them. They are here from every part of the civilized world, as well as from heathen lands, all singing the songs of praise in his own tongue but to the same tune and in perfect harmony. There is a prophecy of great good for the future in such great religious gatherings that brings men and women of every color and tongue from all over the world to meet on a common level."

VALDOSTA, GA. Times
AUG 8 1923

NO COLOR LINE IN FRANCE

The French, like the Italians and Spaniards, are relatively free from race prejudice. Unlike the Americans and the English, they do not object to social contact with the dark-skinned peoples. It is said that negroes of education and achievement have never been made to feel a social inferiority in Paris, where Alexander Dumas, for example, was highly honored in spite of the negro blood in his veins.

But there is believed to be political policy of vital importance behind the warning of the French Foreign Office that the color line must not be drawn against French citizens of negro blood by foreign sojourners, among whom Americans have been the most conspicious in this connection. Under present conditions, with no assurance of aid from either America or the British empire in case France is attacked by Germany a third time, the French regard it as highly important to cultivate the good will of their dark-skinned colonials.

In the French army of 660,000 men there are now 188,963 Africans and it was recently urged in the Chamber of Deputies that more should be trained for military service. The population of the French overseas possessions, in Africa and Indo-China, was estimated at 60,000,000, from which, it was argued 850,000 soldiers could be drawn, of whom 400,000 could be fully trained to take the field.

It was estimated that Africa and Indo-China could easily provide more than six-tenths of the armed forces that might be needed by France. Without assurance of powerful allies, the French are thinking of depending on their dark colonials when called upon to make a stand against invasion by the hereditary enemy across the Rhine. Hence the warning of the Foreign Office against drawing the color line in Paris—a seeming "gesture" to please North Africans, Senagalese and their other dark colonials.

Victim Was Veteran Of World War

Courier
8/11/23

Pittsburgh

American Prejudices Scored as Temps Comments on Government Warning. Feeling Intense.

PARIS, Aug. 9.—It is learned that the Quai d'Orsay's somewhat startling communique last week saying that if foreign tourists did not quit baiting colored Frenchmen, the government would inflict punishment, had its immediate origin in an incident of several days ago, during a visit of some Americans to the battlefields.

A French surgeon, who is a Negro, occupied one of the seats in the big tourists' automobile as it started on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other 20 occupants were from the United States.

They objected to the presence of the Colored surgeon among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a "nigger," and the Negro replied:

"I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battle fields."

The end of it was that the Americans threw the man out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the foreign office.

Deputies Candace and Bousse, both Negroes, have served notice on Premier Poincare that they will interpolate the government on this issue when Parliament reopens.

The Temps devoted an editorial headed "Prejudice" to the actions of American tourists toward black Frenchmen. After expressing pleasure that France sees so many American tourists, the Temps asks: "But why must a certain number of them forget that they are not in their own country and that all the usages of their country are not necessarily our usages? Their question of whites and blacks is one for our American friends, and the solution they have found shows that a country can at the same time be democratic and also yield to prejudices.

"We have nothing to do with the attitude which prevails in America among her citizens. That is not our business. But this is France, and with us the color line is totally unknown. Our forefathers didn't write the Declaration les Droits de l'Homme (declaration of the rights of man) for us to forget its letter and its spirit.

"Besides, our lack of all discrimination against colored men is not inspired alone by doctrine. We are sincere about it. The blacks, with whom we come in contact, come from the French colonies. Whatever their status—citizens, subjects or proteges—they are our compatriots, and we treat them as such. How could it be otherwise when so many of them fought by our side to save France?

"That small number of our American visitors who forget that the French Republic makes no differentiation among the inhabitants of its immense Empire, whatever their race or color of their skin, will, we hope, regard our black citizens as good as the rest of us. They will not forget that their country also accepted the services of black men in time of need.

"We promise in return that when we are in the United States we will obey the dry law which American legislation has imposed on every one. And we expect our visitors to obey our rule, which proceeds not from law, but from our character and customs, in virtue of which all Frenchmen form one grand family, from which none of them is disinherited."

N Y C MAIL
JUNE 21, 1923

Frauleins Who Vamp French to Lose Braids

Bremerhaven (A. P. Correspondence).—Woe be to the German girl seen in Bremerhaven with a Frenchman or Belgian, or in the company of any man whose skin is racially colored.

The "Lower Weser Branch of the Scissors Club" has been formed here for the purpose of snipping off the hair of any "fraulein" who associates with such foreigners, among whom it includes natives of India, negroes, Chinese and Japanese. All tresses thus obtained are to be sold and proceeds devoted to Ruhr relief.

Race Problem — 1923.
Europe.

MAKING GERMANY BEHAVE



The Chicago Defender
8/4/23
Chicago, Ill.

One reason why Germany spreads world propaganda against France is that the latter sent quite a number of her dark troops to force Germany to live up to its agreement to pay large war indemnities promised after the cessation of the world war. This photo, taken at Werden, in the Ruhr, the German industrial center, shows a white poilu with a dark comrade-in-arms on either side. This friendly intermingling is characteristic of the French, who have formed a lasting hatred to American whites because of their color prejudice.

AMERICAN PREJUDICE REBUKED.

American tourists in Paris who sought to carry their color prejudice with them and enforce it in the cafés and other pleasure resorts of that gay capital, have been severely rebuked by the French press and officials, according to the cable dispatches of the New York "Herald." The trouble arose from the demand of some of the Americans who visited the cabarets of Montmartre, the "white light" district of Paris, that colored Frenchmen should be ejected. As the money spent by these white Americans is a consideration the proprietors of some of these night palaces complied with their demands and either debarred or forcibly ejected the darker skinned visitors.

The New York Age
8-18-23

The matter was taken up in the French Chamber, upon the initiative of M. Diagne, a black deputy from Senegal, and the government decided that all tourists must conform to the French laws, which do not permit color line restrictions in restaurants, cabarets and other places.

8-18-23

One of the Montmartre resorts which ejected two Dahomey princes, graduates of the Sorborne University, at the instance of visiting Americans, had its license revoked by the Prefect of Police. The proprietor made the plea that he was not present when the incident took place and had never had any trouble with French Negroes before, although there had been several incidents between Americans of opposite colors. In addition to revoking this license, warning was issued by the police that the race issue was the serious concern of the government and that any interference with colored Frenchmen in other resorts would meet with drastic action.

New York, N.Y.

The Paris papers denounced those foreigners who promote the color line strife and asked that the government's warning be translated into English and posted in all places where trouble is likely to occur. It is declared that the government has decided to go the limit in assuring equal rights to the blacks. The police say that the expulsion of Americans indulging in such incidents is within the power of the Minister of the In-

terior, under a law providing for the expulsion of any foreigner disturbing the peace of the community. No appeal is even permitted against such a decision.

American dollars are largely depended upon by Paris shopkeepers and proprietors of pleasure resorts to swell their profits. Hence their willingness in some cases to cater to American color discrimination as a matter of business. But the French government is too wise to allow this. France holds vast possessions on the continent of Africa, which make her the ruler of many nations of black people. Her policy of conquest has been of such a nature as to command the good will and allegiance of these people. They formed a large part of her army in the World War. The French government relies upon them for the defence of the republic in the future. Hence it rebukes the introduction of the disturbing element of color prejudice by a certain class of white Americans.

Herein lies a lesson that the United States might study to advantage.

Color Question Arises as Black Surgeon is Thrown From Tourist Car.

The Dallas Express 8-11-23

Dallas Texas

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Paris, France, August 10.—A French surgeon, who is Colored, occupied one of the seats in a big tourists' automobile as it started last week on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

They objected to the presence of the Negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a "nigger," and the Colored surgeon replied:

"I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battle fields."

The end of it was that the Americans threw the surgeon out of the car and **left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.**

FRANCE AND THE "COLOUR LINE."

With further reference to the paragraph which appeared in these columns last week, stating that the French Government had issued a notice informing foreign tourists that attempts to institute a "colour line" in public places in France will be resented by the French Government, Mr. H. A. Rose, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, writes to the "Times" stating that "the claim that the 'colour line' has never been drawn in France cannot be allowed. During the war the French Government ordered that no 'coloured men' were to be allowed inside French cafés, etc. This order was held applicable to the coloured labour units employed by us in France."

The Temps tonight devotes an editorial headed "Prejudice" to the actions of American tourists toward black Frenchmen. After expressing pleasure that France sees so many American tourists, the Temps, leading Paris newspaper, says:

"We have nothing to do with the attitude which prevails in America among her citizens. That is not our business. But this is France, and with us the color line is totally unknown. Our forefathers didn't write the Declaration les Droits de l'Homme (declaration of the rights of man) for us to forget its letter and its spirit.

"Besides, our lack of all discrimination against Colored men is not inspired alone by doctrine. We are sincere about it. The blacks, with whom we come in contact, come from the French colonies. Whatever their status—citizens, subjects or proteges—they are our compatriots, and we treat them as such. How could it be otherwise when so many of them fought by our side to save France?

"That small number of our American visitors who forget that the French Republic makes no differentiation among the inhabitants of its immense Empire, whatever their race or color of their skin, will, we hope, regard our black citizens as good as the rest of us. They will not forget that their country also accepted the services of black men in time of need.

"We promise in return that when we are in the United States we will obey the dry law which American legislation has imposed on every one. And we expect our visitors to obey our rule, which proceeds not from law but from our character and customs, in virtue of which all Frenchmen form one grand family, from which none of them is disinherited."

N. A. A. C. P. Cables France on Stand Against American Prejudice

The Dallas Express 8-11-23

Dallas. Texas.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York, August 10.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, today cabled the French Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs commending the French Government's stand against Negro baiting by American tourists in France.

The cablegram read as follows:

"French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris.

"National Association for Advancement of Colored People, with membership one hundred thousand, endorses your stand against American color prejudice.

(Signed)

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, Secretary."

This cablegram follows a warning issued by the French Foreign Office to American tourists, that Negroes would have to be treated with respect in France. According to a correspondent of the New York Times, the following incident occasioned the French Government's action, which is accompanied by extensive and indignant editorial comment in the French press:

"A French surgeon, who is a Negro, occupied one of the seats in the big tourists' automobile as it started on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

"They objected to the presence of the Negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few **miles out of Paris the Americans renewed** their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a 'nigger,' and the Negro replied:

"'I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battle fields.'

"The end of it was that the Americans threw the Negro out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.

"Deputies Candace and Bousse, both Negroes, have served notice on Premier Poincare that they will interpelate the Government on this issue when Parliament reopens."

WARNS FOREIGNERS AGAINST COLOR LINE

The New York Times 8-19-23

Poincare Tells Protesting Deputy France's Equality Laws Will Be Enforced.

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Aug. 18.—A new warning to foreigners who actively draw the color line in France is found in the published response of Premier Poincairé to Deputy Georges Barthelemy, who announced last week his intention to interpellate the Government at the opening of Parliament on recent incidents between French blacks and foreign whites.

The Premier states that he has ordered the Minister of the Interior to take such action as may be necessary to prevent repetition of such incidents. It is believed here that the Government might go as far as expulsion in flagrant cases. The letter says, in part:

"A severe penalty already has been put upon the Montmartre establishment where the last incident occurred. Its night license has been withdrawn.

"I will continue to follow the problem closely, leaving to the Minister of the Interior, under whose control lies the policing of foreigners and the surveillance of public establishments, the duty of seeing that French laws assuring equality to all are strictly observed, and that all infractions of these laws be punished."

It is accepted that the Premier hopes his letter may serve the double purpose of a warning against further color incidents—which, unpunished, cannot help hurting France's prestige among her almost exclusively black colonials—and soothing the feelings of the indignant Deputy. While it is felt that France must defend the dignity of her colonies, there is no question that M. Poincairé does not wish to offend American feeling, and would like to keep the question from coming to debate in the Chamber of Deputies.

BACKS COLOR LINE PROTESTS

France to Send Note to U. S. on Tourists' Treatment of Negroes.

BY WILLIAM E. NASH.

SPECIAL CABLE

To The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service. Copyright, 1923, by The Chicago Daily News Co.

Paris, France, July 13.—Complaints about the attitude of American tourists toward negro citizens of France have been made to Premier Poincare by negro deputies in the French parliament who propose that diplomatic representations be made to Washington as one means of satisfying their grievances, according to information from trustworthy sources.

Negro citizens of France feel that travelers from overseas who fail to realize the absolute equality of the races here and the total absence of a color line should be made to understand these things before leaving home in order not to violate French susceptibilities in this direction. Such knowledge, they assert, can be imparted only by direct action by the American government.

A certain amount of satisfaction probably will be granted to the negro deputies in this matter by Premier Poincare, I am told. Two measures are said to be under consideration. One of them is the closing, for a short time, of a famous restaurant that declined to serve negro patrons in conformity with objections raised by white patrons. The other is the dispatch of a harmless note to Washington, explaining the point of view of the French negroes and asking what can be done to make American tourists in France more regardful of their feelings.

Birmingham recently held an interesting meeting of representative white and colored citizens, with J. M. Broady, D.D., presiding. The Birmingham situation was discussed very frankly, and definite steps taken to improve the relation between the races. Dr. Broady is very much encouraged over the outlook as a result of this conference.

Race Problem — 1923.
Europe

DISCUSSION HELPS

One of our exchanges relates "in order to please U. S. tourists (in Paris) some proprietors of cafés and night restaurants in the Latin Quarter and Montmartre decided to ignore the national motto, Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, and bar Negroes from entering their establishments."

This in Paris—historically famed for many things it were well not to mention here. And we have an idea that Paris will remain immune to American colorphobia raised to the nth power by propagandists from the southern section of the states. For since this exhibition of southern American effrontery in a land that knows no color line, discussion of Negro rights has been precipitated in the form of a question as to whether a café proprietor has the right to eject black Frenchmen. That is the question to be discussed by the French Chamber of Deputies. To discuss the question will bring out into the light other attempts to curb the rights of black Frenchmen and will at the same time bring a restatement of those rights in more pronounced and unequivocal terms. *When Frenchmen in the Chamber hit Southern American prejudice, they will hit it hard because Negro Frenchmen are members of the Chamber and will be in position thus to defend themselves.* The discussion will help tremendously.

A condition obtains in our own country which also is causing much discussion. This discussion will open up anew for consideration the facts of the Negro's civic status in this country where the law of the Nation makes him a citizen endowed with full fledged citizenship rights while the laws and wilful practices of a small southern section shut him out from these rights and keep heaping upon him burdens too grevious to be borne. In the homely but philosophical language of a noted Southern Evangelist—"The hit dog will yelp." In the South the Negro has been hit and told to keep quiet about it. Seeing that he must be pelted and remain quiet under the bruising as long as he abides here, he has wisely decided that he will pull out to other quarters where the habit of mind of those among whom he lives and labors [illegible] set to be always crushing the bones of the unoffending and faithful. If the Negro's going will occasion discussion as to the real facts in his condition it will be well worth while. *If enough Negroes will leave the land of their persecution and proscription to start such a wave of discussion and righteous indignation as followed the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, it will be the most beneficial single event that has happened in Negro life since emancipation.*

Another emancipation is necessary—one that is real; one not thwarted by subterfuges and counterbalanced by force and fraud. In order to do it ,discussion must be had. The South must be told." If they have misunderstood they must now be made to know. Hitherto they have declined discussion of their treatment of the Negro, only dismissing it as their sectional right with impunity. But discussion is brewing and discussion there must be. The Negro's tale must be told and it must be heard. "The way of truth is like a great road. It is not difficult to know it. The evil is only that men will not see it." Therefore let the flood-tide of discussion sweep in on the condition of the Negro in the South and even a discerning child can see that the spirit of human brotherhood does not inspire the treatment received by the Negro in the Southern States. On with the discussion—in France, in America, but particularly in America.

To throttle and prevent discussion of the Negro's woebegone condition in the South has been one of the chief stocks in trade hereabouts. This has been one of the fundamental moving motives to keep the Negro out of the legislative halls of the states and the nation. If he were there he would discuss his condition and would back up his discussion with remedial legislation. He would be able by the marshalling of fact and the summoning of logic to his aid to dissipate the fallacious fulminations of his enemies. He would have opportunity to force his cause into the arena of public opinion. Under the present regime of taxation and legislation without representation he has few advocates at court and can, with difficutly, get his cause aired before a nonpartisan public. And so the South is committed to the artful [illegible] keeping the Negro out of every position of vantage where he can speak with authority to plead his own cause. *But discussion must be had some day.* It is impossible forever to keep ten or more millions of men and women made in the image of God from discussion of their injustices with the very folk who inflict the wrongs. Discussion helps, therefore let there be discussion.

PRINCES TO FIGHT CASE IN COURTS

Paris, France, Aug. 11.—France's decision to make tourists conform to the French laws which do not permit color line restrictions in restaurants, cabarets and other public places is soon to have a test case. Two Dahomey princes, graduates of Sorbonne university, one a lawyer and the other a physician, recently were thrown out of a Montmartre night palace.

They have engaged a noted criminal lawyer and Deputy Moro Giaferi to fight their case. They are demanding either a heavy judgment against the cabaret owner, or, better still, that his license be revoked. They are legitimate sons of the exking of Dahomey and have been accepted by French society. Therefore, when last Saturday night they entered a popular Montmartre cafe frequented chiefly by Americans they protested vigorously when the manager refused to serve them, declaring "we do not want N—— around the place."

Thrown Out

With the help of waiters and, according to the French press, also of Americans, the two princes were deposited none too gently on the sidewalk. They reported to the police and went to see the Negro deputy, M. Daigne, who is reported to have received written assurance from the Poincare government that it does not intend to go back on its word and will insist on the fullest protection for Colored citizens in the Montmartre district and everywhere else where the French flag flies.

It is generally considered here that the color line movement is ill advised as well as untimely. Paris today is enjoying the patronage of a record number of American tourists of the season and if such troubles are repeated in the Montmartre district some Americans will either withdraw their patronage or possibly mix into the conflict to a greater extent which at any moment may become dangerous.

French Press Loyal

There certainly is little hope of reconciling some of the American visitors to the sight of seeing persons of color, even though they are of "native royal blood," dancing with white girls and inviting American women to jazz or tango with them as is customary in French dance halls. On the other hand the French press is using the "color line" incident to bolster up national feeling, the Petit Bleu urging the police to withdraw the licenses of all establishments not conforming to the government's edict.

The law permits restaurant proprietors to refuse to serve any client without giving a reason, but the Montmartre and other cabarets are classed as "tolerated establishments," and unless a clash can be averted Montmartre may lose some of its most luxurious attractions.

The Liberte is insistent that visitors must respect French traditions, saying: "Here's an opportunity to apply the government's decree. Montmartre is still in France, although this season one is sometimes tempted to doubt it."

The police say that the expulsion of Americans indulging in such incidents is within the power of the minister of the interior under a law providing for the expulsion of any foreigner disturbing the peace of the community. The minister of the interior, on the simple report from the surete general, is given autocratic authority over the victims, who are not even permitted to appeal against a decision.

English Hear of French Huge Black Army; Get Excited

LONDON, England, June 15.—London is much worked up over the appearance of a story printed in Lord Ridden's newspaper, NEWS of the WORLD, to the effect that France is training one million black soldiers in the French colonies in Africa. The London press very generally assume that this huge army can be regarded a menace to the British Empire. Nothing has come out of Paris to confirm the NEWS of the WORLD'S report.

N Y C CALL
AUGUST 31, 1923

French Negroes Unite in Fight On U. S. Tourists

Colonials Will Invoke Law to Protect Them From American Bias.

PARIS, Aug. 30.—French Negroes are banding themselves together to show the American tourists "their place."

Negroes from the French colonies who have come to Paris and other parts of France in large numbers since the war are determined to combat the tactics of the Americans, who refuse to frequent cafes and restaurants accepting Negro patronage.

The self-appointed head of the group is Prince George Tovalou, a prominent physician, a hero of the World War and the son of the former King of Dahomey. Prince George has appealed not only to members of his own race but also to Frenchmen to stop the outrages of the American visitors.

"If the whites in the United States see fit to organize a Ku Klux Klan to intimidate the Negroes, I don't see why we shouldn't have a similar organization to protect our rights.

"I am what they call the King Kleagle and if any of my folks want to join my organization they will be most welcome.

"But we do not intend to apply tar and feathers to Americans who insult us in this free country. We plan to apply the law. For that reason, I have already caused trouble for two cafes frequented by boisterous Americans and intend to cause trouble for others who refuse to serve me just because the tourists object.

"Many of my friends have already signified their intention of joining the Klan."

It will be recalled that Prince George has already caused two cafes, which cater to Americans, to be closed by the police because they refused to serve him.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1923

COLOR LINE RAISES FURORE IN FRANCE; AMERICANS PANNED

Police Close Places Where Negroes Were Ejected on Complaint of the Tourists.

By HUGH O'CONNOR
Staff Correspondent of The World

PARIS, Aug. 28.—The French are so astounded by their discovery of anti-Negro prejudice among Americans that they are still spluttering. To them it is inconceivable—fantastic!—that a man whose skin happens to be white should object to the company of another because his skin happens to be black.

When French newspapers told how Americans at a Montmartre night resort rose immediately at their tables and shouted angrily for the manager to "throw out" two Negroes who had taken places, the French public was bewildered at first. It seemed matter for an alienist. Then they were furious when it was explained what it meant.

There seems to be very little acquaintance with the history of the Negro prejudice in America and practically no understanding of it here except among the French Negroes themselves. They say now: "If black men were good enough to fight alongside white men, they are good enough to sit alongside them."

French Negroes Now Aroused.

The French Negroes are now so aroused that the semi-official Temps even avoids the word "color" when it speaks gravely of "the absurdity of the American prejudice against epidermic pigmentation."

By way of spreading reasonableness upon the troubled occasion the Temps continues: "Americans are not thinkers or refined intellectuals, but generally they show some respect for cerebral accomplishment. It may be of interest to them to learn that a small book fell out of the pocket of one of the Negroes as he was being ejected. It was a book of philosophic thoughts and the name of the author on the fly leaf was the name of the ejected black man—Prince Kojo Tovalou Houenou of Dahomey, member of the French bar. Here are some of the thoughts:

"Men are gods who must be made reasonable; for society requires them to reduce their divine portentions in order to put their feet on the ground." * * * "Real greatness is revealed in small occasions; whereas great occasions sometimes serve to ornament small men."

"Further, he says, not having abdicated my soul in coming to Europe, I have understood that civilization is an immense buffoonery wallowing to its ends through mud and blood, as in 1914."

Then the Temps inquires: "How many of the champagne filled Americans who objected to this black man could understand the ideas of the pigmented Pascal with whom they were refusing to associate?"

The question remains unanswered. So does the alternative, which the Temps didn't propose—"If they could not understand him, then why did he insist upon associating?" This would be particularly apropos because the black Prince Kajo and his brother Marc seem to have gone about with a racial chip on their shoulders. They were previously put out of "The Jockey," a small cafe on the Boulevard Montparnasse, run by Americans for Americans.

Both "The Jockey" and the Montmartre place, "El Garon," have been closed by the police, although it is provided in French law that the proprietor of any drinking establishment may refuse to serve any client without explanation. The French police simply made use of their corresponding right to withdraw the night license of any drinking establishment without explanation.

Protests "Far West Habits.'

This official action is largely due to the efforts of Gratien Candace, the black representative of Guadeloupe in the Chamber of Deputies. In a published article he "invokes the refined taste of the French population which is the product of long centuries of civilization," against the introduction of Far West habits in France."

"Their jazz and shimmy dances are bad enough, but let us be preserved from their prejudices," he says. "If they wish us to respect their dry law in America they must respect our Negroes in France."

One newspaper published a vituperative article under the heading, "Montmartre is not an American Colony." Another counsels having placards printed in English with a translation of the official warning of the Quai d'Orsay to foreigners—discrimination against Negroes will not be tolerated under pain of penalties." Let the Americans be expelled!

COMMEND FRANCE FOR STAND ON RACE PREJUDICE

St. Louis Clarion

French Surgeon Attacked by Yankee Tourists

8-17-23

NEW YORK, Aug. 11.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth avenue, New York City, today cabled the French Minister of Foreign Affairs commending the French Government's stand against Negro baiting by American tourists in France.

Chicago Tribune

The cablegram reads as follows:

St. Louis Mo

"French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris.

"National Association for Advancement of Colored People with membership of one hundred thousand endorses your stand against American color prejudice.

(Signed) "James Weldon Johnson, Secretary."

This cablegram follows a warning issued by the French Foreign Office to American tourists, that Negroes would have to be treated with respect in France. According to a correspondent of the New York Times, the following incident occasioned the French Government action, which is accompanied by extensive and indignant editorial comment in the French press.

Surgeon Is Ejected

"A French surgeon who is a Negro occupied one of the seats in the big tourits' automobile as it startetd on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

"They objected to the presence of the Negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a "nigger" and the Negro replied:

"I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battle fields."

"The end of it was that the Americans threw the Negro out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.

Deputies Candace and Bousse, both Negroes, have served notice on Premier Poincare that they will interpellate the Government on this issue when parliament reopens."

SENEGALESE ARE WELL BEHAVED, GERMANS ADMIT

St. Louis Clarion

Say Black Soldiers Do Not Attack Women.

9-28-23

In spite of rumors from Germany relative to the "Black Horror" on the Rhine, the Chicago Tribune, in its foreign correspondence, admits that the French black troops from Senegal are giving the Germans no cause for complaint. St. Louis, Mo.

The Tribune story comes from Coblenz and is as follows:

* * *

Coblenz, Sept. 2 (Special Correspondence.)—The "black horror" of the Rhine is a lot different from what many Americans have ben led to believe.

The French sent Sengalese and Moroccans, as well as white troops, into the Coblenz District, when the Amarcos left for home in January, and the German police don't know of a single serious case of an attack on women by Senegalese or Moroccan troops in that time.

The Senegalese, but particularly the Moroccans, undoubtedly have annoyed women in the streets and public roads occasionally, and in the whole Rhineland there possibly have been some attacks on women, but in this important district there have been no serious attacks.

On the other hand, one can see lower class German girls walking into the country with Senegalese soldiers almost any afternoon. Many lower class German girls openly admire and flirt with the black soldiers.

Race Problem — 1923
Europe.

South Africa of Tomorrow

THE South African Native Affairs Department has issued an account of the progress of the native community of South Africa during the three years since the war. Mr. Barrett, until recently the Secretary of the Native Department, says that the spread of education and the stirring events of the Great War have had an unprecedented influence on native thought, and have led to a growth of "race consciousness" which will no longer accept present conditions without critical examination. An article in the Manchester *Guardian* of June 23, in discussing the report says: The Nation 9-12-23

We are reminded that nearly all the veteran champions of native causes have passed away: the two Schreiners, Louis Botha, Maurice Evans, and the two Moffats. The older native chiefs, too, have gone, and the guidance of purely native thought is falling increasingly into the hands of young and ardent educated natives. The native demand for the franchise is still unsatisfied; in Cape Colony alone does the native possess the vote—a heritage of direct British government. Instead of the franchise, General Smuts has given an advisory board of four experts on native policy, but no native has been appointed to this body, and it is already clear that this advisory board in no way meets the demand of a native franchise. The color bar is thus rigidly maintained in the legislative sphere.

The Land and the Native

The 1913 Land Act, by which General Botha laid the foundations of his ambitious scheme for dividing the 300 million acres of South African land between the races—260 million acres for the occupancy of 1,000,000 whites and 40 million acres for 4,500,000 natives—is slowly pursuing its disentangling process, although legal decisions have limited its operations in Cape Colony, and is thus facilitating native purchases of land, whilst by the same process in the Orange Free State disabilities against purchase of land by natives have received confirmation. The most interesting feature is that the native is apparently less attracted than the white man to individual tenure. The following are the statistics of purchase since 1913:

Farms purchased tribally	55
" " communally	43
" " individually	24

All land tribally purchased must be registered in the name of the Native Commissioner in trust for the tribe; those purchased communally must be governed by articles of association defining the rights of each shareholder; those purchased by individuals are entirely a matter between buyer and seller. The Natal Native Trust is one of the most interesting and successful experiments in African land holding. The trust covers 42 native areas in Natal, comprising 2,192,568 acres and occupied by nearly 300,000 natives. The natives are encouraged to keep clean and healthy herds, lay down plantations, and undertake irrigation works. The trust has 60 officials, who advise and help the natives in their task of dipping 500,000 cattle a week and of keeping in motion some 22 miles of irrigation works.

Taxation and Education

One of the chief complaints of the natives in South Africa is that they are not only taxed without being given a voice in the spending of the money, but taxed far beyond any benefits received. This report shows that for the three years subsequent to the war the direct taxation borne by the four and a half millions of natives of the Union was £2,468,000, or an average of £823,000 per annum. To this must be added Pass Law fees of £325,000, making a total direct taxation of £1,150,000 per annum. To this direct burden must be added the indirect taxation, which, like the indirect benefits received, is only a speculative figure, the two probably canceling each other in operation. What are the direct benefits? The Native Affairs Department, now manned by a staff of 582 persons, cost before the war £287,550; but today it costs £500,000. The total expenditure on education averages on the three years £202,000. Thus the native receives in direct benefits value to the amount of £722,000, as compared with a direct tax burden of £1,150,000—and no voice in the spending thereof!

The Nation 9-12-23,

The educational facilities provided for the natives vary considerably in the four provinces of South Africa, as may be seen from the following schedule:

	Native population	Expenditure
Cape Colony	1,500,000	£170,000
Transvaal	1,220,000	56,759
Natal	1,000,000	32,502
Orange Free State	350,000	5,273

The report on education is disappointing in that it chronicles so little beyond stating what is so obvious—namely, that education is everywhere crippled through lack of financial aid. The South African native college is progressing but slowly, the twenty students with which it was inaugurated have only increased to sixty—sixty from a population, including the protectorates, of nearly seven million!

The total number of natives employed under the oversight of the Native Affairs Department in the last year under review was 278,435.

We thus obtain a picture of 4,500,000 people with a "racial consciousness" which demands an abolition of the color bar to civic and industrial advancement. This mass of humanity is smarting today under a growing sense of wrong: denied the franchise, denied any voice in spending the heavy toll taker from their wages, denied the right to purchase back from whites the land which once they owned, denied by organized white labor the freedom which those very labor unions loudly declare to be the right of every man (other than colored).

N Y C MAIL
AUGUST 2, 1923

Better Manners Needed.

There is no excuse for these Americans who have been behaving toward colored citizens of France in the approved spirit of the lynching "bee." It was not one incident alone but several incidents of an outrageous character that called forth the well-deserved warning now issued to ill mannerly American tourists by the French Foreign Office. If that office finds it necessary to deport any American tourist for insulting a French colored citizen in France, and especially for insulting a colored officer who fought for his country, its action will nowhere find stronger indorsement than here in the United States.

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL, 239 E. 14th Street, New York
Dr. WILL DURANT, Director

Fall Schedule, 1923

Course	Teacher	Evening	Period	Fee
1. Health and Life	Dr. B. Liber	M 8.30	10/8 -12/10	None
2. Play-structure	Mr. Wm. J. Perlman	Tu 7.30	10/9 -12/11	$3.00
3. American Literature	Dr. Henry Neumann	Tu 8.30	10/9 -11/6	1.50
4. Greek Civilization	Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.	Tu 8.30	11/13-12/11	1.50
5. Human Nature	Dr. Will Durant	W 7.15	10/10-12/12	3.00
6. Science and Philosophy, 1789-1923	Dr. Will Durant	W 8.30	9/19- 6/25	4.00
7. A Worker's View of the Week	Mr. McAlister Coleman	Th 7.30	10/11-12/13	None
8. Contemporary Literature	Mr. John Cowper Powys	Th 8.30	10/4 -11/2	1.50
9. Psychic Factors in Civilization	Prof. H. A. Overstreet	Th 8.30	11/15-12/20	1.50
10. The Evidences for Evolution	Dr. A. Stone	F 8.30	10/12-12/14	3.00
11. Five Great National Literatures	Prof. H. W. L. Dana	Sa. 8.15	11/17-12/15	1.50
12. Music and Literature, 1789-1923 with piano-recitals by Mr. David Sapiro	Dr. Will Durant	Su 5.00	9/16- 6/22	5.00

The Nation 9-12-23.

Register in person or (preferably) by mail at 239 East 14th St.
Send name and address for detailed prospectus and later announcements

Wednesday, 8.15 p.m.
September 12

Labor Temple Auditorium
14th St. and 2d Ave.

DISCUSSION—DEBATE
"WHAT ARE THE TEN BEST BOOKS?"
MR. JOHN COWPER POWYS and DR. WILL DURANT
Chairman, EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Director, Labor Temple
All seats 50 cents

FOR SEES END OF WHITE MAN'S RULE

Captain Salisbury, Back From East, Says "Days of White Man's Rule Are Numbered.

New York, June 20—"The white man's days in the East are numbered; fifty years will see Sumatra, India and the Philippines all under native rule," is the prediction made by Captain Edward A. Salisbury, who arrived yesterday aboard the 'Conte Rosso,' completing a tour of the world made in the interest of the Southwestern Museum of California. "The one topic of conversation among white colonists in the East whether they be Dutch, English, French or German," he said, "is how long can it last?"

Captain Salisbury's addition to the long list of white explorers, travelers and observers who have brought this same message back to America, gives added significance to the general feeling the world over that white rule is about nearing its end, on account of the high reputation which Captain Salisbury bears as a close and truthful observer of world events and movements.

CRACKERS PARK COLOR LINE AT 3-MILE LIMIT

French Blacks Call Down Attempts of U. S. to Bring Prejudice Over There

Afro-American

WOULDN'T SING ANTHEM

Baltimore, Md.

"Star Spangled Banner" Gives Way To The "Marseillaise"

7-27-23

Under pressure of the colored members of the Chamber of Deputies, Poincare agreed to request the American Government, through the Ambassador at Washington, to endeavor to explain to Americans touring France that France's Negro citizens enjoy the same privileges as whites in every respect and will be protected by the law against discrimination.

The Government intends to to issue an official statement to the French people and to visiting foreigners on the subject, particularly with a view to preventing unpleasant incidents.

A cafe proprietor who recently forced the depa ture of a Negro customer at the request of Americans, will be punished by the police closing his establishment for eight days.

(Crusader Service)

Paris, July 17.—White Americans must check the "color line" at the three-mile limit.

American capitalists and pettybourgeoisie, touring France, have caused a furore in Paris—where the color line does not exist—because they resent the presence of French colonial Negroes as guests and customers in cafes, restaurants, hotels, trains and sight-seeing busses.

So indignant are the colored resi the boorish Anglo-Saxons that Depudents of Paris over this attitude of ty Diagne, representing Senegal, the home of Battling Siki, the fistic conqueror of "the best blood of Europe," has protested to Premier Poincare asking the Government to take some action to show the impudent Americans "their place."

Deputy Diagne, in a letter to Poincare refers specifically to the row caused by the boorish Americans when they found that several Senegalese had booked passage on the same sight-seeing bus which was to convey their little tin-god majesties to the battlefields.

"Too many Americans," stated the Deputy, "are running loose in our boulevards trying to enforce their savage customs on the French gentlemen of color.

A significant reaction to the activities of white Americans in spreading their vicious propaganda against Negroes and attempting to institute the "color line" in Paris as they have instituted it in Cuba and one or two South American countries, occurred the other evening at a concert where there was present a large number of black and white Americans.

At the conclusion of the concert, the white Americans burst forth into the "Star Spangled Banner," while the colored Americans stood by in sullen silence. Noting this, one of the leaders of the white Americans hollered out to the colored "citizens" of the United States to join in "in your national anthem." He waved his hands, conductor-fashion, and his companions held their voices to give the colored brethren a chance to lead off with the anthem. There was a brief conference among the colored Americans, quickly followed by their bursting forth into sonorous, rich-throated song.

But they sang not the "Star Spangled Banner," but the "Marsellaise," the French national song, and in a large measure the international song of all oppressed peoples. And the French orchestra which had ignored the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner," quickly whipped out their instruments and accompanied the dark Americans, while the Parisian crowd which had been speeding towards the exits to escape the infliction of the American anthem, stopped in their paces to join the colored men in their rendition of the "Marseillaise," and thunderously cheered them at its conclusion, several members feting them later at one of the leading cafes in Paris.

FRANCE

Negro Barred; Cafe Disciplined. When Prince Hajo Tavalou Houenou, nephew of the African King of Dohomey, appeared at an all-night cabaret in Paris with a negro friend both were thrown out by the management when other patrons objected to their presence. The prince made a strong complaint through diplomatic channels and the police department revoked the license of the cabaret. Similar incidents have occurred at other Paris cafes, protests against the negroes coming mainly from Americans — especially South Americans.

FRANCE ACTS AGAIN AGAINST COLOR LINE

The Guardian

POINCARE TELLS BLACK DEPUTY HE WILL FOLLOW MATTER CLOSELY—TOOK AWAY NIGHT LICENSE OF ONE ESTABLISHMENT.

8-25-23

PARIS, Aug. 18, 1923—A new warning to foreigners who actively draw the color-line in France is found in the published response of Premier Poincaire to Deputy Georges Barthelemy, who announced last week his intention to interpellate the Government at the opening of Parliament on recent incidents between French blacks and foreign whites.

The Premier states that he has ordered the Minister of the Interior to take such action as may be necessary to prevent repetition of such incidents It is believed here that the Government might go as far as expulsion in flagrant cases. The letter says, in part:

"A severe penalty already has been put upon the Mortmarte establishment where the last incident occurred. Its night license has been withdrawn.

"I will continue to follow the problem closely, leaving to the Minister of the Interior, under whose control lies the policing of foreigners and the surveillance of public establishments the duty of seeing that French laws assuring equality to all are strictly observed, and that all infractions of these laws be punished."

It is accepted that the Premier hopes his letter may serve the double purpose of a warning against further color incidents—which, unpunished, cannot help hurting France's prestige among her almost exclusively black colonials—and soothing the feelings of the indignant Deputy. While it is felt that France must defend the dignity of her colonies, there is no question that M. Poincaire does not wish to offend American feeling, and would like to keep the question from coming to debate in the Chamber of Deputies.

GOOD NAME OF AMEI

(New York World)

The American issue in Paris is ing acute. To settle it to the s tion of some of the tourists we abroad, the French government may have to issue a summary decree requiring the laws, principles and customs of the French people to be radically changed where people of darker skins are concerned.

A few days ago it was a case of some American visitors protesting vigorously against a party of young French African officers occupying seats in a public bus in Paris. The minister of foreign affairs promptly published a warning that in law and practice France permitted no such bar to be raised against Negroes as the Americans had assumed the right to order raised. Now, perhaps by way of rebuke to the minister, a party of Americans in a Montmartre night club are said to have caused the forcible ejection of two F Africans, nephews of a former king of Dahomey, one of them a practicing barrister in the French courts, in vindication of the dignity of the white race. The proprietor of the place and his assistant are to be taken into court.

The French are slow in acquiring foreign ideas. But at the present rate they much soon be forced to admit how far we have outstripped them in our regard for equal rights and strive to conform to our ideals. Either that or Americans abroad must learn as a matter of self-respect and naitonal pride to observe the decencies of conduct expected to Frenchmen at home.

French Gov't Backs Up Gen. Mangin Idea

Pittsburgh

Recent Action on Tourist Problem and Film Production Show Trend to Use 60,000,000 Natives.

Courier

PARIS, Sept. 6—The development and utilization of the 60,000,000 Negroes in its colonies is France's logical means of self-preservation, according to Gen. Mangin, in a recent speech at Strasbourg following a review of colored troops in Alsace.

"France is not a nation of 39,000,000," Gen. Mangin said, "she is a power of 100,000,000. It is unfortunate that the Senegalese are no longer on the Rhine, and it is probable that the violent campaign in the Germanic press and the insidious campaign in the press of certain other countries is guided by the fear of seeing our colonial empire becoming a part of the homeland, thus augmenting the power and expansion of France in the world.

9-8-23

Million for War

"If before the war my viewpoint had been accepted, France would have had 1,000,000, instead of 180,000blacks fighting on the western front, and the war would have been won more quickly and under circumstances."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The French Government in a recent series of articles has championed its colored citizens. It issued an official communique warning foreigner not to resent the presence of Negroes in restaurants and dance halls with-drawing the license of a Montmarie establishment for ejecting colored citizens and prohibiting the film "The Birth of a Nation" because it was offensive to the colored people. This indicates that the Poincare government has eppoused Gen. Mangin's ideas for strenghtening France through the absorption and employ of natives from the colonies.

Three Paths for France

The Mangin school lays down there alternatives for France with its falling birth rate to survive against the increasing population of Germany.

An appliance with Germany with its 70,000,000 people. M. Caillaux, former premier is an exile from Paris and was branded a traitor for preaching this.

An alliance with England with 45,000,000people. But the new English policy of supporting the present weak Germany against the strong France, thus maintaining the balance of power and breaking up the entente, drives home the realization that any cooperation with Albion will always be to the sole advantage of Great Britain.

Increase France's population to 100,000,000 through development of colonies, thus tripling its man power and its potential soldiery.

Chance of Fourth

A fourth course may be created, if the proposed French cooperation with Spain in Morocco is adopted which would give France stronger prestige in northern Africa through Spain's weight with the Sultan of Morocco, besides giving the Paris government a strong counterbalance in the Mediterranean against Great Britain and Italy.

9-8-23

The league of nation's rules for a mandate prohibits the mandatory power from using natives of mandate territories as soldiers, except for the protection of their homes, but this does not apply to pre-war colonies.

No Colour Question in London Courts.

A juryman who attempted to raise a racial colour question was severely snubbed, and rightly so, at the London Sessions on Wednesday. The case was one in which a non-European was the prosecutor and the defendant a woman. The jury were some time in considering the verdict, whereupon Sir Robert Wallace, the chairman, inquired as to whether they would like to ask him any questions, as he could see no difficulty over the case. The foreman only got as far as, "Can a question of colour, my lord," when Sir Robert interrupting, and thumping his desk hard, said, "no, not at all. It is scandalous that such a point should be raised in a British court of justice. If there is anybody on the jury raising such a question let him at once leave the court." The juryman who had raised the question was ordered to leave the jury box, and another juror was sworn in.

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Europe.

The White Man's Burden

SOME of the most troublesome controversies in the history of the British Empire have centered in the relation of the white settlers to the indigenous colored races of Africa. Scarcely less vexatious is the question of the civil rights to be allowed to the Indian subjects of the Crown. When these two problems present themselves simultaneously in the same area, there results a complication of exceptional difficulty. This is what is happening in the Crown colony and protectorate formerly known as British East Africa and now called Kenya. This is a tropical district of 245,060 square miles, with Abyssinia on the north and the Tanganyika mandate area on the south. It has a population of 2,630,000, of which only 9,650 are white Europeans and 36,000 are Asiatics, mostly Indians.

The occasion of the triangular duel being fought in Kenya between Europeans, Indians, and Africans is the demand of the Indians for equality with the Europeans as regards the franchise, conditions of land tenure, and restrictions on immigration and residence. They back their claims by appealing to a resolution of the last Imperial Conference in favor of removing the disabilities of British Indians in various parts of the empire. Their demand was recently expressed in a resolution of the Indian Council of State, on the motion of Mr. Srinavasa Sastri, the representative of India at the Washington Conference. Principle apart, it is urged on their behalf that Indians colonized the East African littoral before the whites, that the establishment of a British protectorate was due to the influence of Indian traders with Arab rulers and native chiefs, and that they perform a useful service by acting as intermediaries between the Europeans and the Africans.

The European settlers are almost unanimous not only in opposing these claims but in demanding the exclusion of Indian immigrants altogether. They declare that those who come to Kenya are of a most undesirable type, hindering rather than assisting the development of the country. On the ground that Indian labor lowers the standard of living, the few European wage-earners of the colony are as hostile to the Indians as are their employers. Certain pledges made by Lord Milner in 1920 are quoted by the whites in defense of their position.

Meanwhile, what of the original inhabitants? The history of African exploitation forbids one to attach much value to the professed solicitude of the Europeans for the welfare of the native population as the main ground of their objection to the Indian. What the natives themselves think of the matter is in dispute; many of them are said to regard with disfavor any suggestion that these outsiders should be admitted to a civil status higher than their own. There can be little love lost between these blacks and either Indians or Europeans.

The final authority in the matter lies with the Colonial Office in London. The decision will be a critical one. The question has aroused acute feeling in India, where the disabilities of Indians in Africa are resented as an intolerable indignity, so much so that their continuance will certainly stimulate revolutionary agitation. On the other hand, the handful of Europeans in Kenya affirm their determination to drive the Indians out anyhow—if necessary, by making Kenya a territory over which the Union Jack will no longer fly.

POINCARE TO STAND BY COLORED FRENCH

Says Proprietors of Restaurants Must be Punished for Refusing Them Sevrice

PARIS, Aug. 19.—Premier Poincare has wirtten a letter to George Barthelmy, member of the Chamber of Deputies who has notified the premier of his intention to interpellate the government on the recent incidents that have arisen over foreigners objecting to the presence of colored Frenchmen in places of amusement and restaurants.

The premier says his attention has been called to several such incidents recently and points to the official warning issued to foreigners informing them that they are the guests of France and that as such they should respect her customs and laws.

The premier adds that he has asked the minister of the interior to take measures to prevent a recurrence of such incidents and to decide what punishment can be inflicted upon proprietors of establishments which do not welcome colored people on equality with whites.

The American film "The Birth of a Natior" was to have been produced here today, but the police prohibited it.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
DECEMBER 30, 1923

Paris Wakes Up To Find Negro Social Problem

After Protesting American Conduct, Citizens Ask Special Police.

IS AFRICAN INVASION

New Styles Demand Thinness —Fasting and Dancing Are Crazes as Result.

From The World's Bureau
Special Cable to The World

PARIS, Dec. 29.—Although the French rose in indignation against American tourists last season for protesting against the presence of Negroes in public pleasure establishments in Paris, Parisians themselves are now protesting against it and discovering there is a color problem in France.

The City Council of Paris has been disturbed by it ever since an Algerian recently ran amuck on the boulevards with a long knife and killed two women who happened to be passing.

Organization of special police to supervise and discipline the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian population of Paris is about to be proposed by City Councillor Godin. He points out France is being invaded without restriction by North African immigrants and that there are already several hundred thousand installed in the working class districts.

His special police force would be chosen for its courage and ability to speak the Arab and Kabyle languages. Its sole duty would be to deal with the color problem.

Getting Thin in Paris.

Fashion is imposing fresh tortures on Parisian women anxious to keep their beauty and slenderness of form. No sooner had they added the cocktail habit to that of drinking tea and eating pastries in the afternoon than they were called upon to abandon them and resign themselves to an austere life from which all gourmandizing is banished.

The Parisienne of to-day must have a slender figure; otherwise she is considered out of date. So they are all following treatment invented by a new school of medical practitioners which consists mostly of fasting. Instead of nibbling pate de foie gras and ices, French women fight unwelcome fat by living mostly on vichy and dry biscuits.

The author of the recent book on "The Martyrdom of a Fat Man," little thought how many martyrs of the fair sex would soon be revealed among those fleeing from dreaded portliness. One well known actress has lost twenty pounds of superfluous weight and is recovering her health and youth at the same time. Socially she is going without food five days a week, at the beginning of each course of treatment.

Now fasting has become a craze socially and dancing is more popular than ever. War on fat as the enemy of youth is not, however, confined to women. Financiers, statesmen and business men flock to medical specialists who teach them how to grow thin by fasting. The ballrooms of Paris are filled every night by white haired men with figures that dashing young cavalry officers might envy.

"Mismarriage" Bureau.

Throughout France marriage bureaus flourish and the results are regarded as fairly satisfactory except in the industrial city of Firminy. Steel is made there and coal mines are nearby and there is something in the air which seems to breed resentment. In Firminy there are said to be more unsatisfactory marriages than anywhere else in France, and it is in Firminy, therefore, that a mismarriage bureau has just been invented.

It began with the following announcement which appeared in the local newspapers and on posters throughout the district:

"All victims of ill assorted marriages in the City of Firminy and vicinity are urgently requested to be present at a meeting which will take place this Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock in the market square to appoint a committee and organize an appropriate banquet."

Couples poured into the square on the Sunday named, two days before Christmas, and a permanent organization was soon named with instructions to arrange for a banquet. It is expected the couples will reassert their conviviality on that occasion and temporarily be relieved of the thought that they are mismated.

essayed to show in a Paris theater his prejudice-exciting picture, "Birth of A Nation." Immediately this American clergyman was informed by French authorities that the "Birth of A Nation" could not be presented in a Paris theater until and unless it expunged from its riotous acts all scenes containing burlesques of Negroes.

Thus it was left for Mr. Dixon into whose mind the true conception of democracy had never previously entered, to learn from a stern foreign teacher, the modern meaning of that carelessly handled word democracy; and to learn moreover that even though they be on other shores and under other skies, God maintains outposts of justice and fair play that are to be reckoned with by those who are blind to human rights as they undertake to spread their senseless propaganda throughout all quarters of the globe. America talks about prejudice; France acts against it,

WE TALK: FRANCE ACTS

In America there is abundance of promiscuous meaningless talk about race prejudice and the undesirableness of it as it affects the white and black races of the country, making for social restlessness, and savage treatment of the subordinate race by the dominant race in some sections but very little is being done in a positive way to checkmate such prejudice even as it manifests itself in those public institutions that are supposed to be maintained for the general good irrespective of race.

But quite the contrary is true among Frenchmen. France is not given to much hypocritical talk, but she acts; acts promptly and without equivocation. Herein this sincere plucky European Republic can teach us some things. France does not foster or tolerate institutions and practices that play up and perpetuate the pompous pride of one race at the expense of another and of the general wellbeing of the nation. She puts the ban on whatever burlesques or handicaps any race group comprised within the nation's total population.

More than once has her vigilance been exercised and her courage been displayed on behalf of her Negro citizens. Just the other day, the Reverend Thomas Dixon an American minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ

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OUR FRIEND GREAT BRITAIN.

Six short weeks ago Negro papers carried a news item to the effect that a British crime expert had denounced the Klan. Some of the smaller papers, like a starving tigress, seized this news and made much of it. There were big, screaming headlines across the front of papers and editorials innumerable. Several of the editors were quick to say that England had proved herself a friend and that England, because she tolerated no Klan, was on record against all forms of intimidation and outlawry.

Of course in making such statements they were within their rights. The crime expert was within his rights in making any statement he chose, but we doubt if he was within the bounds of propriety.

We are oftimes deceived. This denunciation is by no means indicative of the entire British view of things affecting the darker races. A glance at Britain's history will reveal startling disclosures. England is the most cruel and oppressive of all taskmakers, all rulers. Her history is the bloodiest and most cruel of them all. She has ever caused, by her unscrupulous methods, a dangerous and boiling hatred within her dominions. She knows no god save Might. Armed to the teeth, known far and wide as the mistress of the sea, she stands ready to enforce her exhorbitant demands however great the cost in human life.

In British West India, whence hailed our friend Garvey, she refuses representation to all the natives. They have little or no voice in their government. France, however, follows a directly opposite policy in French West India.

England does not bring down our censure because of the West India rule alone. She has other sins, less known perhaps, but as cruel as any other. In East Africa, immediately south of Abyssinia, lies Kenya, a British Crown Colony, where live about three million Africans and about ten thousand Britons. The British rule there, according to a Spanish paper, is cruel and oppressive beyond imagination. So widespread is the cruelty that even a London paper, the Nation and Atheneaum is moved to say:

"Africans who . . . occupied African land in desirable situations were removed and relegated to less fertile reserves. . . . When the Africans refused to come and work for very low wages for the settlers (British) the government yielded to the settlers' repeated demands and administrative pressure was applied in various ways to induce them to supply cheap labor. . ."

This is a mild sample of the slavery as carried on by America in earlier days. In this case the British want to pay the natives, but the pay offered is so far below a living wage that the natives refused to work. When they refused, the government forced them to work by increasing their taxes when they were idle, and by curtailing their food supply as near as possible.

These "settlers" as the Britons call themselves, asked the government for rules governing election which would make it impossible for the natives to have a majority in either legislature or council. When the Indians (there are 25,000 of them in Kenya) found that responsible government was being instituted in Kenya, they sought offices on equality with the whites.

They were promptly told that Kenya was a "white man's country," and the officials in charge were immediately instructed that the immigration of Indians must cease, that they were to be segregated and that no land in certain sections was to be sold to any black or brown man.

Such is the record of our friend Great Britain. Her ambition today is greater than ever before. The world has not forgotten her rule in Ireland; the world has not forgotten her rule in Africa. But England goes right on as if unmindful of the opinion of the world. Her faith is in the sword, the cannon, the airplane and the ship. She knows no God save these.

At the same time members of parliament were discussing their inability to understand America's method of dealing punishment to Negroes before they could be carried into court for trial, orders were being issued for horrible and stiff methods in Ireland. Ireland, thank heaven, is free, but that gives English crime experts no right to cast their sympathy for our welfare in America while, at the same time, they raise no voice against the cruelties practiced under their own nose, by their own brothers.

If these "experts" have tears to shed, let them shed them on their own shoulders, not ours. If their hearts are breaking because of outlawry in America, a denunciation of American evils is not likely to cure or heal them. Let them turn to Africa whose blood they have spilled. Let them practice the golden rule; let them get the beam out of their own eye; let them denounce the rule in Kenya and correct it, and then turn to our shores and their denunciations will be more resultful.

Paris Restaurants Now Draw Color Line To Please Americans; Negro Deputy Protests

By EDWIN L. JAMES.

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Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, July 1.—During the tourist season the best customers of the cafés and night restaurants of the boulevards, the Latin Quarter and Mont Martre are Americans.

Now in France there is no color line. Generally speaking, white, black, brown and yellow get the same treatment, or, anyhow, are entitled to it. As the number of tourists from America has grown since the war, the frequency of their complaints against association with negroes in theatres, cafés and other public resorts has led some proprietors of those places to allow the charm of the dollar to affect their observance of the national motto: "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité."

Since the matter was brought into the public prints by the forcible ejection of "Battling" Siki from the New York Bar here some weeks ago there has been a good deal of discussion of the subject, and now a debate in Parliament is promised on the question whether a café director has the right to please his easy-spending American clients to the extent of putting on the pavement respectable black Frenchmen.

Gratien Candace, Deputy for Guadeloupe, tells in L'Homme Libre today something of his intentions in that direction. Candace is a negro. After remarking how important it is to France that her colonies love her and saying that their love is based on French justice, he says:

"Recently I have received a very large number of complaints which seem to indicate that French justice is becoming tempered. The other day a negro who fought bravely for France during the war was thrown out of a dancing place at Havre because this establishment was frequented by white Americans. I have called on the Minister of the Interior for an investigation.

"Several days before this incident a black man, who is a well known doctor, and who fought during the war, went into a café in the Boulevard Montparnasse, which is frequented by Americans, and service was refused him. The proprietor told him that out of respect for his American clients he did not allow any black men in his place. The police had to inform the proprietor that on French soil blacks and whites were equal under French law, and the doctor got his drink.

"Americans will never succeed in installing in France some of their customs which accord neither with the historic traditions, generosity of heart or noble conceptions of liberty and justice of our country.

"We wish to maintain intact the bonds of solidarity which unite the children of Continental and Colonial France, even if the dollar is greater than the

Paris May Close Cafe Which Bars Negroes To Please Americans

Paris, France—The clash between French and American attitudes toward Negroes has reached such a crisis here that the police threaten to close a cabaret where the proprietor refused recently to serve Negroes. The place is frequented by many white Americans.

The Negroes came in with some whites, including the composer, Darius Milhaud. One colored visitor was a Prince of Dahomey, but he could not be served.

Deputy Gratien Candace violently attacks Frenchmen for refusing to serve Negroes because of fear they will lose their American clientele.

"France has her own physignomy, which must not be disfigured," he warns. "Whites, yellows or blacks who possess the splendid title of French citizen are bound by the same ideal and justice and fraternity proclaimed by the Nation which made the greatest revolution in the world for the liberation of humanity."

Paris Gives a Politeness Tip to U. S.

Paris, France, July 6.—An incident in which four American tourists refused to make an excursion through Paris because the vehicle contained 12 black soldiers was taken up in a two column leading article in the Petit Bleu. The newspaper demands that tourist agencies insist that their patrons respect the customs of the country in which they are vacationing.

"These Americans behaved as vulgar persons," says the Petit Bleu. "Their ridiculous aversion for men of color contains no excuse. They are not at home but in our country, which is an entirely different affair. The protest of these individuals, devoted to white integralism, merited a severe lesson, and it is to be regretted one was not given which would make them see all colors. It is unfortunate that it was not made apparent that a Frenchman, whatever his color, is worth at least any foreign tourist."

RACE FEELING IN FRANCE.

In your remarks on "American Race Prejudice in France" you state: "It has also been said that in the French West Indies, notably in Martinique, where the proportion of black people is unusually high, the attitude of the whites has resembled that of our own Southerners toward the American negroes." This was never the case, for the legion, the customs, the laws relating to slavery, and, indeed, the very language of the French people, have always served to mollify their attitude as compared with that of the English-speaking peoples toward subject races. Further, the French West Indies have not been afflicted with the consequences of civil war and political and economic maladjustments, which have developed an "American race prejudice" truly peculiar to this country and entirely out of place elsewhere. The relations between whites and others in the French West Indies are far more cordial even than in the British West Indies. * * *

JAIME C. GIL.

New York, July 3, 1923.

SPANISH ARMY LOSES ONE THOUSAND MEN IN FIERCE BATTLE WITH AFRICAN WARRIORS HWO RALLY ONCE MORE TO ABDUL KRIM, THE MOOR

(Crusader News Service.)

Madrid, June 14.—The Moors have done it again. Spain has suffered another severe military reversal in Morocco. The Riffian leader, Abdul Krim, who inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Spanish arms over a year ago, and who was paid an enormous ransom for the large number of Spanish prisoners captured by his forces has once more assumed the offensive. The tribesmen have flocked to his standard in enormous number, and the Riffian leader, who graduated from one of Europe's leading military academies, has proclaimed a Jehad or Holy War against the Spaniards.

To avert a threatened danger to their lines of communication between Tetuan and Sheshuan the Spaniards had dispatched a company site force including three squadrons of fighting air planes, which, however were mostly used for bombing unfortified villages, to break and disperse the rebel concentration. A Spanish force of 10 000 men encountered the Moroccan patriots strongly entrenched. The Spaniards bombed the patriot force, and after a searching fire from their guns, launched three infantry attacks, all of which were beaten off with heavy losses. The patriot force magnificently stood its ground during this baptism of fire. After the third Spanish attack had failed, the Moors launched a counter attack with such deadly effect that the Spanish forces sought safety in flight. A cavalry charge was then launched by the Moors and ruthless destruction overtook many of the fleeing Dons and their valorous British, French and American (white) allies who are serving the Spanish tyrants in the Spanish Foreign Legion.

The Spanish Foreign Legion was almost totally destroyed. Many of its members, as will be remembered were recruited last summer in the United States and the British Isles. They now sleep on African soil and hear the Moor's conquering tread above them.

The Foreign Legion and some native troops were placed in the van of the attacking Spanish Army. The Dons stayed behind "in support." When the fun was over and the flight begun, the Dons led the van of the fleeing army.

This latest reverse has produced a painful effect in Madrid and serves to strengthen the hands of the Spanish Communists who are demanding complete withdrawal of Spanish forces from African soil. In these circles, it is now satirically suggested that perhaps the Spanish capitalists will emulate the example of the Italians after the latter were whipped by the Abyssinians at the battle of Adowa.

MERICAN RA... REJUDICE IN FR...

The reported action of some Paris restaurants in closing their doors to negroes contrasts with the treatment which the French accorded American colored troops in France during the war. The Ninety-second Division, for example, which was composed of negroes, won many warm friends among the French people of the towns and villages where they were billeted. The same is true of the colored regiments brigaded with the French. This was not only because these soldiers were Americans, but because the French have never drawn the color line, as have Americans and English. Although they have not gone as far as the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers of Latin America, who for generations intermarried with races of all shades, they have always been tolerant and even cordial toward people with colored strains in their blood. As a rule, colored persons of good education have been freely welcomed socially and in every other way in France. The only possible exception has been in the case of those of the Senegalese troops who were recruited from backward and barbaric regions and who offered little appeal to French sympathies. It has also been said that in the French West Indies, notably in Martinique, where the proportion of negroes is unusually high, the attitude of the whites has resembled that of our own Southerners toward the American negroes.

America's race prejudices should not be exported. If the French, on their own account, wish to bar negroes from their restaurants, the matter is one which concerns only themselves and the colored races. When, however, they bar them in order to curry favor with Americans, it takes on another aspect. It is difficult to believe that there are enough negroes who visit or would like to visit the French restaurants patronized by Americans to give offense to any but the small handful of intolerants. Most peoples like to carry their prejudices about with them. But when they attempt to force them upon another nation, it is a signal that intolerance is going beyond bounds.

The French have a version of the adage which reads, "When in Paris do as the Parisians." Americans, for the most part, endeavor rather to do as they think the Parisians do. They are usually eager to cast aside the restraints of their American upbringing, substituting therefor an American-made conception of Paris as a city of unlimited personal freedom. The least that can be asked of Americans who visit French restaurants is that they put up with the eccentricities of French customs, even to the extent of tolerating the presence of foreigners of all colors. Could they but for a moment see themselves in French eyes they would realize that many of their actions appear to the French not only as eccentricities, but as exhibitions of downright social barbarism. A little more respect for Parisian prejudices as well as for Parisian tolerances would be in order.

BROWN STOCKINGS LATEST PARIS FASHION

Paris, France, Aug 10.—(By the Associated Negro Press.)—The bare, white legs of the fashionable Paris women are about to give way to "Nigger Brown" stockings. The fad started at Deauville during the recent season at the famed resort and has now reached and captured Paris. It is said that the adoption of brown stockings has been order by fashion's devotees as a rebuke to the Americans who have been over zealous in their efforts to establish a "color line" here in Paris.

RACE PREJUDICE IN FRENCH CONGO.

Paris, Nov. 20.—(U. S.)—Rene Moran, a native of Cayenne in the Kongo, has just returned from a series of lectures in which he will plead for better fellowship between blacks and whites that Charm prestige in Africa may not vanish. Moran last year attracted attention by winning the Goncourt prize with his novel "Batoula," wherein he describes with remarkable precision the native traditions and habits.

Assigned by the colonial ministry to study conditions in the Congo he now complains that the government's white employes, as a result of contact with their British and American colleagues, are begging to treat, even educated Negroes as inferiors, restaurants refusing to serve them at the same tables with whites, and railways not allowing them to enter carriages until all white Frenchmen are seated comfortably.—The New York Herald.

Black or White France?

A Pressing Present-Day Problem.

The President of the French Republic occupies a position in the constitution of France to which we have never had an exact analogy, though it was a little like that of our King's two hundred years ago.

In his recent book "The Genesis of the War," Mr. Asquith has described how he was present at a meeting of the French Cabinet and how he found that the procedure was very much the same as our own. The important difference is, of course, that the President of the Republic presides at all meetings of Ministers. Probably the King would be doing so now if it were not that the first two of his ancestors bearing his name were not able to understand English.

Anyhow, it is a rare thing for a President of the French Republic to make a speech other than of a purely ceremonial kind. M. Millerand broke this normal rule in his references to the population problem, and they were clearly made under a high sense of responsibility.

Policy, said President Millerand—in the matter of the birth-rate presses on those who govern France with an almost tragic character of gravity and urgency. Cries of alarm have been uttered. They have been heard and good citizens have begun an active campaign which is not without having already produced results. There are encouragements of the most varied kind for large families. There have been many doles given by banks for the purpose. There is a campaign against infant mortality. These are some of the means which have occurred to us, and nothing ought to be neglected. They will, however, all be of no effect if our moral habits are not themselves made anew. . .

To have children and to make men; the question of the birth-rate; the question of education; they follow and are all locked up with each other. This very interesting pronouncement is to be taken side by side with the recent statement of M. Poincaré that the French people number 100,000,000

The people of France, of course, bounded by the Channel, the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, and now most of the Rhine, do nothing of the sort. M. Poincaré was thinking of the black people of Africa who have been commanded and exploited by Gen. Mangin, and who are at hand to supplement the white citizens of France, depleted as they have been by the cruel losses of the war and by a falling birth-rate.

It has just been pointed out that in the "C" Mandates, under which France administers the ex-German colonies conquered by her in Africa, a phrase occurs which enables her to recruit black troops for service outside the colonies themselves—a provision not contained in the mandates of the same kind allotted to this country, nor, it is to be supposed, desired by the Government here.

President Millerand's speech seems to me to show by implication a certain feeling of doubt as to the wisdom of standing by and training negroes for purposes of defence in Europe. If such a thing happens it will entail the presence in France of large quantities of black troops, since, clearly, soldiers must be inured to the climatic and geographical conditions under which they might be called upon to fight.

If that is so, there will be at once a colour problem in France, and we shall all be asking ourselves: "What is the French for Ku Klux Klan?"—By "G.," in the London "Evening Standard."

France Lowers Bars On Movie to Boost Klan

Paris, France, Nov. 16.—French authorities, after protracted negotiations, have given permission for the motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," to be shown again in Paris. D. W. Griffith's masterpiece will therefore resume its run in the French capital without any cuts being made, despite protests by influential Senegal deputies who first raised objections against the film.

When the run ends in Paris the film will be shown in all parts of the country.

Race Problem-1923

Europe

SPRINGFIELD MASS EVENING
JANUARY 18, 1923

NEGRO TROOPS IN GERMANY

East Northfield Pastor Tells of Encounter with Sentry in Bingen.

To the Editor of The Union.

Sir: In connection with the further occupation of Germany by the French, and the statements reported to have been made by M. Clemenceau that there are no black soldiers in the Rhine country, the following account of a recent experience there may be of interest and value:

Some months ago I arrived, rather late at night, at Bingen-on-the-Rhine, and started along the main street, walking on the sidewalk, to the Hotel Distel, not far away. The street was brilliantly lighted. About 40 yards from the railway station is a large building evidently now used as barracks for French soldiers. A number of black soldiers were standing in the courtyard and gateway. At a little sentry box by the gate was a Negro soldier, a very black one, on guard. As I was about to pass he suddenly presented his bayonet point to my stomach. I did not hear him say anything. I stepped into the street, and as I walked by he struck at me viciously with a sweeping blow of his arm, touching me only slightly, as I was almost out of his reach. A German, to whom I afterward spoke, was walking a short distance ahead of me, and had gone out into the street on passing the sentry, evidently knowing that civilians must walk in the roadway when passing the sentry, although the walkway was abundantly wide enough.

On my mentioning at the hotel my experience with this Negro soldier, the only comment was, "Yes, they are very insolent." I was informed that there are 3000 to 4000 of these black soldiers in and around Bingen. I saw others in Mayence and elsewhere as I passed through on the train, and saw some each time that I traveled through this region.

I am a minister—retired—of the Presbyterian Church, whose Scotch ancestors came to America some 200 years ago. The above statement I have sworn to and had certified in our United States consulate in Venice, Italy.

This experience leads to some serious reflections, for if a person of my age, and well dressed and with some degree of dignity, receives such treatment, what is likely to be the conduct of these exponents of French civilization toward poorly dressed men and women, working people, and especially toward young women and girls?

And it leaves the conviction that the French officers desire this sort of conduct, otherwise they would not allow it. If the soldiers were ordered to be courteous and decent in their conduct with civilians they would not dare act as they do now. I am told by Americans who have spent some time in the occupied regions that it is quite the custom of the French soldiers to compel German civilians to walk in the street when meeting or passing these French occupants of the country. It compels the thought that it may be the deliberate purpose of the French occupation to harass and insult the German people—as if to provoke an uprising and revolt of the Germans which would give excuse for occupation of more German territory and destruction of property and lives.

I find that Senator Hitchcock stated this same view in his address in the Senate on Nov. 27 last, in which he says of this conduct:

"It is not limited to the abuse of women and girls in Germany. It is done for the purpose of arousing Germany to resent it . . . evidently for the purpose of provoking and exasperating the Germans to resistance in order that France may have an excuse to enter with military force and possess herself of German territory.

There should be a universal effort, by public opinion if nothing more, to compel the French to at least adopt a degree of civilized conduct as correct and proper, as is maintained by the British and American occupying troops.

HENRY A. TODD.

East Northfield, Jan. 17, 1923.

BLACK TROOPS OUT OF RUHR

new york times
2-26-23

200 Were There 48 Hours in Shifting of Army Divisions.

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Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DUESSELDORF, Feb. 25.—The French today gave an official explanation of how the assertion that there were colored troops in the Ruhr came to be repeated on Friday by a British news agency on German authority.

During the middle of last week one of the divisions employed here was replaced by another in which was a regiment of French colonial infantry. All these colonials were white men except 200 from Martinique who had been drafted in.

When the information that these 200 blacks were in the district reached General Degoutte he immediately telephoned Paris and arranged for their withdrawal. They were in the district only forty-eight hours.

With the exception of a few Malays employed in motor transport into the district, there are no colored troops either in the Ruhr or in the Düsseldorf area, and though the French consider the allegations and prejudice against their African troops completely unjustified, they intend to continue to avoid their use.

POET M'KAY FINDS SOVIET RUSSIA FRIENDLY TO HIM

Chicago Defender

Chicago, Ill.

New York, Feb. 16.—In a special cable dispatch to the New York Herald Saturday attention is called to the sensation that Claude McKay, the famous poet, is making in Russia. He is at present at Moscow as a delegate to the third internationale, representing the American Workers party, affiliated with the Communists. McKay is staying on in the soviet land to study conditions in order to write a book for the benefit of our people on the Russian revolution. 2-17-23

All the Russian newspapers give the poet much publicity and the Pravda, Moscow's leading publication, recently published two of his poems, one of them being a poem McKay read before a senatorial committee which investigated the Chicago riots four years ago. Although not a native American, having been born in Jamaica, British West Indies, McKay is a citizen of this country.

In Russia he is probably contrasting his treatment to that accorded him in this country when last year the police broke up a dance at Bryant hall because a lieutenant saw McKay dancing with a white woman.

DENY USE BLACK TROOPS.

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn

French Say Colonials Have Not Been Sent to Germany.

(By the Associated Press.)

DUESSELDORF, Feb. 24.—Reports from German sources that black troops of the Seventh Colonial Regiment had been sent recently to Kupferdreh, Velbert and Woerden are officially denied by the French. It was alleged that these soldiers were being quartered in private dewlling and that colonial patrols had appeared on streets in those towns.

Steps to forestall sabotage by railway workers have been taken by the occupying forces, who assert that striking employes have been instructed by the Germans to hinder the French and Belgians by cuttinng o the gas, water and electric services.

With Ruhr customs houses in possession of the allies, the occupation authorities are finding new difficulties in the Rhineland. The postal, telegraph and telephone workers at Mayence are on strike and there is no communication into or out of the city.

2/25/23

STRIKE ON NEGRO TROOPS.

COBLENZ, Feb. 23.—Rail traffic in this immediate territory is at a standstill as the result of refusal of railroaders to continue operation until French Moroccan troops have been withdrawn from the railroad stations. No trains are being moved between Ehrenbreitstein and Niederlahnstein and Ehrenbreitatein, Horchheim, Oberlahnstein and Moroccans occupied the stations yesterday, firing 60 shots and wounding two railroad men who ran two locomotives between

"Horror on Rhine," Mostly German Propaganda Says Longuet, French Socialist, in Address

HARLEM N Y HOME NEWS
JANUARY 21, 1923

The story of the so-called 'horror on the Rhine' is largely a matter of German propaganda, which, taking advantage of the race prejudice known to exist in this country against the Negro, has been widely circulated with the hope that it would cause a movement to force France to remove the army of occupation," said Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx and member of the French Chamber of Deputies, in a recent address before a large meeting of the Friends of Negro Freedom at Douglass Hall, 142d St. and Lenox Ave.

"Furthermore, it has been a mistake on the part of the inspirers," said Longuet, "for it has resulted in the removal of some of the Black Senegalese troops who were well liked and looked upon as big, good-natured children, and the substitution for them of white Moroccan troops, who are causing a good deal of mischief and bringing out many protests."

Prominent French Socialist

Longuet, who has served several terms as a Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies and is a well-known figure in the French and international Socialist movements, is making a tour of America under the auspices of the American Socialist party. It was thought that in view of the French occupation of the Ruhr, it would be a good thing for those interested in the question of these black troops to get some reliable information on the subject. The Messenger, a Negro magazine; the Friends of Negro Freedom, the Socialist party of the 21st A. D., and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People arranged the meeting. Chandler Owen, one of the editors of The Messenger, acted as chairman.

"I would like to bring out," said Longuet, "that the French Socialist protest against these troops is not so much against black troops as a protest against an occupation by any troops, whatever may be their color. I would have you understand that the organization that was the forerunner of my party, the Workingman's International, organized in London in 1861 by Karl Marx, has been from its very beginning the champion of the causes of all oppressed peoples."

Aided U. S. During Civil War

"It was the Workingman's International, during the great Civil War in this country, that prevented the aristocracy of England and the newly risen factory owning class from bringing about England's recognition of the Confederacy, as desired by that so-called democrat, Gladstone. It was the workers, the labor unions and the radical societies of the great weaving districts of England who agitated for the support of Abraham Lincoln and the abolitionists in spite of the fact that they knew that such action would bring starvation upon them.

"In my country, whatever be our faults or even our vices, we do not know what race prejudice is. The French Chamber has Negro deputies from Martinique, Senegal, Madagascar, Guadaloupe and other colonies. Negroes in our colonies have had the vote since the revolution of 1848. There has never been an attempt to deprive them of their vote, legally or illegally.

"But we do protest this occupation. We protest not because some of the occupying troops are black, but because, just as the German occupation and annexation of Alsace-Lorraine was a direct cause of the World War, so will this occupation be a cause for future wars. We consider that the Alsace-Lorraine incident is no excuse or reason for the Rhine incident, and that the policy of 'revanche' is a mischievous factor in international dealings."

Crosswaithe Makes Address

Frank Crosswaithe, who was the Socialist and Farmer-Labor candidate for Assembly in the 21st A. D., also made an address. "You may remember," said Crosswaithe, "that while some numbers of the members of our were fighting in France to make world safe for democracy, a Negro ed Will Turner, down in Georgia, ened to get into a dispute with a ite man that ended in a fist fight. at night some 100 per cent Amerins called on Turner, bound him, aked his body in oil, touched a match him and strung him on a tree.

"Turner's wife, who was within one month of becoming a mother, was standing nearby, and in her grief dared to say that she would see that something be done about such a thing. Astounded at such heresy, our fellow-countrymen turned on her, bound her, soaked her in oil, set a match to her and strung her up beside her husband.

"The point I want to make," said Crosswaithe, "is that questions like democracy and the Negro problem are part of a bigger problem. When our fathers and grandfathers were private property there was no such thing as the lynching of Negroes, and it is this question of a more equitable distribution of wealth that is at the bottom of all the big problems of today."

Jacob Panken, Socialist Supreme Court justice; Walter White, field worker for the National Association, and George Goebel, Socialist candidate for Governor in the State of New Jersey, also made short addresses.

An interesting musical program was provided in vocal solos by Frances Bendelari, May Allison and Paul Robeson.

MARTINIQUE WORKERS BATTLE POLICE.

Atlanta Independent

Several Cane Cutters Killed—Governor Sends Soldiers to the Scene.

Atlanta, Ga.
2-17-23

Fort de France, Martinique, Feb. 11.—(Crusader Service.)—Striking sugar cane cutters were in conflict with gendarmes near Bassignac yesterday. The police precipitated a short but fierce struggle by opening fire on a meeting of the strikers where the question of wages was discussed. Several of the strikers were wounded and others killed. The governor has sent reinforcements of soldiers and marines to help the local authorities break the strike against the sugar magnates.

FRENCH USE COLONIALS.

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 23.—More French colonial troops have entered the Ruhr, according to a statement put out Friday afternoon by the German Embassy. 2-24-23

"Colored troops of the Seventh French Colonial Regiment, the statement said, "have entered Verden, Velbert and Kupferdreh and have there been billeted in private homes."

Two Frenchmen on the Negro Troops

During the last month two distinguished Frenchmen have been in America. One is Georges Clemenceau, former Premier of France during the World War; the other, Jean Longuet, leader of the French Socialists and grandson of Karl Marx, the father of scientific Socialism. Both of them have constantly been confronted with questions concerning black troops in France—specifically the French African troops alleged to be on the Rhine. Speaking in Boston, Clemenceau was asked to answer Senator Hitchcock's question about black troops. The "Tiger" said "bon" and waded in:

"In the first place, there are no black troops of occupation in the area of occupation of the enemy. In the second place, I have seen black American troops at the front, and they stood the fire with bravery, too.

"Of course, this has nothing to do with the question of whether we are militarists or not. It is an attempt of German propaganda to oppose France and America, and obscure what is really the great question.

"*The Germans and all of our foes had been killing enough of our white men, and* 100,000 *black men fell gallantly fighting on 'the frontiers of liberty' as ex-President Wilson called them. We are not going to deny them a place in history.*

"Now, those black soldiers are always more or less occupying towns in France and always get along perfectly with the white French people. Even, I should say, their discipline is stricter than any white troops.

"So—and I have seen papers of German propaganda which I suppose inspired Mr. Hitchcock's sayings, and I can plainly say they are so many lies.

"The day before I left Paris, I heard that these stories would be employed to prove we were a militaristic people. So I asked the official people to give me plain information.

"The answer was that there had been only one established case of a Senegalese having mistreated a German woman. He was cashiered, and sentenced by a military tribunal."

The reason black troops were sent into the occupation zone at first, Clemenceau said, was to provide a few months of home leave for the white troops, "that had stood the fire for years, until America could come, and were rather exhausted."

"We couldn't foresee," he said, "that it would be more objectionable to the Germans than to the French, in whose towns they had been garrisoned. When we learned that it was, they were withdrawn.

"The German objection was more of a surprise because they employed black troops, and if they did not bring them to the front it was because no means of bringing them could be found. They did find means to invade Belgian Congo with blacks."

Pretty good for the old "Tiger." Hear also what is said by Jean Longuet:

What about the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine? I must tell our American friends that because we have no color prejudice in France the question of the Negro troops does not much appeal to us. Meanwhile it is true, as Mr. Clemenceau has said, that the black Senegalese are no more in the Rhineland provinces.

May I add, what I have already said at Carnegie Hall, that the Rhinelanders object much more to the Moroccans, who, after all, are not black but sunburned white men, because they are usually brutes, while the Senegalese are great children with no cruel instincts?

For me it is not a question of the color of the foreign troops who occupy Germany. Of course the German propagandists have believed it was clever to appeal to the feelings of the American people. But I think it is beside the question. What we as Socialists object to is to any foreign occupation and to all the humiliation it involves.

What is especially interesting about these comments is the general attitude of the French mind toward the Negro. Clemenceau is unquestionably one of the greatest imperialists of the world. Longuet is one of the leading internationalists, with views just about the opposite of Clemenceau on world economics and world politics. On one thing, however, they agree. Clemenceau says: "*I favor having troops on the Rhine, and the question of their color does not enter into the consideration.*" Longuet says: "*I do not favor having Negro troops on the Rhine, but not because they are Negroes. I do not favor having any troops there.*"

Another point on which Clemenceau and Longuet agree, is that the Negro troops are the most orderly, best disciplined, least objectionable ones that have been stationed on the Rhine. Again, both of them see through the thin veneer of American race prejudice. They realize that it is German propaganda calculated to appeal to American race prejudice.

We should like to expose these infantile American arguments even more ruthlessly than our French guests can do with propriety. First, all the Allies used Negro troops during the world war—England, France, Italy, and even the United States. The American white gentlemen found it very desirable to have Negro troops be shot in their place. They even concocted the marvellous discovery that 75% of all Negroes drafted were *physically fit, while only* 58% *of the white men were physically fit.* This, of course, was a lie on its face, inasmuch as every person outside of the insane asylum knows that people in ignorance, abject poverty, with poor housing, inadequate clothing, improper food, like the Negroes, could not be more physically fit than the white people. It is a matter of statistical record too, that all over the United States, the average death rate of the Negro is just about twice as high as that of the whites. Americans have the dual mind—*the Dr. Jekyl-Mr. Hyde mentality.* The Negro is tubercular, syphilitic, physically inferior for purposes of degrading him; but physically fit and physically superior when it comes to sending him to the front to save white men's hides. It's such convenient reasoning, "doncha know?"

We do not favor having any troops on the Rhine—white or black. We regard it unnecessary, uncalled for. Yet we haven't an iota of sympathy for the plea about "Black Troops." We submit that it is much more humane to police the Rhine with Negro troops, than to kill the Germans with Negro troops. *England, France, Italy and the United States used Negro troops to kill the Germans. Why in thunder then are they raising such a smoke because Negro troops are being used to police the territory where they formerly shot down soldiers and occupants of the territory upon the orders of white Americans and other alleged superior whites!*

Nevertheless, the French need those Negro troops about as much as they need anything else in the world just now. They will need them more in the future. They are a military and economic asset—greater than any probable asset which America may furnish the French. And the French are sufficiently intelligent a people, both to know their best interests and to choose them.

German Brides at Screven

FIRST VIEWS OF LIFE IN GERMAN-AMERICAN HOMES

Busy Learning New Customs

BY D. G. BICKERS.

Fort Screven, Ga., March 3.—They haven't yet seen much of America, the eight German brides of American soldiers who form a unique little group of the new life of old Fort Screven, on Tybee island.

They were in America before they knew it—for it was daytime when they arrived and Tybee light was not even visible at a distance, on account of the fog of the morning of February 7. But they must have thought that there were plenty of people and that there was much noise when they slowly progressed on the St. Mihiel up the Savannah river through such a welcome as probably staggered them to consistently harmonize with the relations between their "Faderland" and this America a few short years ago.

They saw the river and the harbor of Savannah. They saw something of the historic oldest city of Georgia; they caught many gleams and glimpses of the new country—as in a dream flitting by as they awoke from a long seasick trance across the ocean.

Draw Contrasts.

But when they settled down in the near-home life of the fort they began to really see the new land and to draw contrasts and shape comparisons—always with their own country. The palmettos on the island standing like copy sentinels along the streets and appearing suddenly in clumps around every bit of upflung eminence of sand dune or terrace surprised them.

Said one in fairly good English, "Where are the black cannibals, those shiny-skinned, dark ones with shields and spears and rings in their ears and sticks through their nostrils—always I have seen palmettoes with those black natives dancing or leaping about them; and there are no such natives by these palmettoes at the island of Tybee around Fort Screven."

It is explained that she had seen only pictures of palmettoes and that those pictures were from the colonial possessions of old German possessions in the tropics—and the pictures always carried the figures of the bellicose natives.

Some of the little German brides, wives of officers, have already allowed their domesticity and energy and industry to transform in less than three weeks the cottages at the fort into cosy and comfortable homes—and in one or another of these homes, furnished with new furniture and already adorned by touches of deliciously original art, these eight brides gather and chat and comment on the new country and its querrities and its differences from the old country.

Newspapers Surprise.

One declares that the newspapers of this country are the inexplicable surprise of the new world. She has learned English—this most expressive little woman from Coblenz—and she finds the time every day to improve her use of the language by religiously digging through the papers—the first page coming first and making the most surprising impression.

"I cannot understand why you do not in your nawspapers leave out most of the stories which you seem to emphasize most prominently in headlines and length of handling. Tragedies, murders, the troubles people get into, domestic tangles and marriage separations, divorces and accidents and misery and suffering and killings and—" she went on with the enumeration.

"In my old land the papers do not print the unpleasant things, the gruesome things, the ghastly and ghostly and the mysterious things; they find enough good things, pleasant things, helpful, cheerful things to crowd out so much blood and clouds and weepings. For why is American newspapers that way?"

Nor could the newspaper men say why—because she is not yet acquainted with the strange mind of the millins of readers of American newspapers which print what people will pay for to read.

Several of them admitted that the first days at Screven were tearful days, days of sighing and strange fears and other ailments than nostalgia. They were troubled by cockroaches—their tidy German homes had none of such horrid things; they were frightened by the mice and by an occasional enormous rat—for they had not become accustomed to them in the old land; they were puzzled by the shrubbery woods growing on the land and in the sand everywhere.

Make "Love Nests."

But they soon became busy making nests for their husbands—for these brides having proved their devotion to their doughboy husbands by marrying them and coming over with them have found a continuation of content in home making.

And wherever they touch there is the evidence of the homemaker. They are economical and good traders—good savers, and careful spenders.

The appalling surprise over which she has not yet recovered was told by a third little woman—barely more than a girl—who declared that "where there's a will there's a way," to save in spite of the monumentally tremendously enormous price of things on this side.

Where a kitchen utensil in Germany had cost less than 25 cents; it costs in the Savannah five and ten cent store more than a dollar; a piece of furniture costs here—and the prices are low as in other cities—eighteen dollars, she could have bought in Coblenz for a dollar and a half.

"It is a changing of all the arithmetic they have learned in the school," she said. She sighed but presently her face lighted, and she said—"But we will have a home, we will be happy, and we will save some money; yes, we will really save quite a lot of money."

Race Problem - 1923
Europe

On Judicial Circuit in Southern Nigeria.

The African World - 2-3-23

By W. H. STOKER [Late Judge of the Supreme Court of Southern Nigeria.]

(Specially written for the "African World.")

It is popularly supposed that in the tropical Colonies His Majesty's judges have a very soft and easy time, and that their office is almost a sinecure. As a matter of fact the work of a judge before the public eye forms but a small proportion of his duties. These comprise the constant and watchful supervision of all the Minor Courts in the Province of his division, to say nothing of other correspondence, unaided by a private secretary; the consideration of the evidence and the writing of judgments in a perplexing array of civil cases mostly concerning the native ownership of land, in which may be included swamps of no value except that apparent to and declared by the litigants. It is, however, not of these matters that this article treats, but of some of the other incidents in the life of a judge of the Supreme Court in Nigeria. When coming on transfer in 1907 from the West Indies to Southern Nigeria (as it was then) I first went to Gibraltar, previously the seat of Government of the old Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, but then the headquarters of the large Eastern Province of the amalgamated Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, which embraced also Lagos and its hinterland Protectorate. The Government station of Calabar, on high ground and overlooking the Cross river, and also the native towns of Duke town and Creek town, had the appearance of a well kept park, dotted by Government buildings, Messes and bungalows, and the Hospital for Europeans. It was kept so clear of bush and long grass that one scarcely ever saw a mosquito, and its social life was very pleasant. There was an excellent Club, and also quite good and picturesque golf links. These attractions were added to by the presence of a battalion of the Southern Nigeria regiment, then under the command of Major Trenchard, now Air Marshal Sir Hugh Trenchard, who found time in the strenuous pursuit of his duties to take a keen personal interest in an excellently run officers' canteen and soda water factory, as well as in the sports and social amenities of the place. In those days no wonder that the judge in judicial charge of the Province had small inducements to travel and hold Circuit Courts in the interior and away from his regular mail facilities, especially with a standing and ever growing list of civil causes awaiting trial at Calabar, and with the power of transferring both criminal and civil interior cases for trial to head quarters. Still it was good to bring the atmosphere of the Divisional Court to the doors of the interior natives, who looked upon the Judge of the Province, or Chief Justice, as they called him, as a kind of Juju High Priest, and travelling too was interesting and often proved a welcome change when once started.

My first journey was up to Arochuku where I held Assizes covering that and some neighbouring districts. The trip was taken by steam launch up the Cross River to Itu where the evening and night were spent at a commodious and comfortable Rest House. This was, and of course still is, an important centre and junction, and other travelling officers were generally to be found there en route for their various destinations. From there I proceeded the following morning by a steel flat bottomed motor boat, on a several hours fascinating motor journey, full of scenic beauty and teeming with views of vegetable and animal life, to Esu Itu, the landing place for Arochuku, and thence by road, or rather a path, to the Government station, a few miles away from the landing place, approached by a gradual ascent. The Government station could scarcely be called a town, it was really a site chosen for its erection in a convenient centre of the district, and on fairly high ground. The view and outlook could scarcely be described as picturesque, it being very open and bare country, and there was a somewhat gloomy and forbidding view, especially in the tornado season, as this was, which somehow brought an instinctive feeling of awe without grandeur, associated and perhaps caused by the knowledge that what was called the Arochuku district had before the Aro expedition contained one of the most famous Jujus in Southern Nigeria, known as the Long Juju. The destruction of this by the British Government was one of the results of the Aro expedition. The Long Juju was a crafty institution of the Aros, run by their priests and resorted to for superstitious purposes by natives generally coming long distances. It was not many of them that returned to their homes, yet for some reason or other it continued to attract them, some no doubt being sent or brought there. Most of them emerged from it as slaves, and were sold as such by the Aros, who were great slave traders and raiders, and of a mental calibre much superior to the indigenous natives. Their policy was to divest the aboriginal native of his land and finally of his person. Their slave raiding operations extended right up to the neighbourhood of the Upper Niger, and their slave markets from far north of Arochuku down to the lower Niger delta to Opobo, where the victims, as domestic slaves, swelled the houses of the big Opobo chiefs.

The criminal cases tried by me at Arochuku were mostly murder, slave dealing, and what were called ordeal witch craft and Juju cases, really charges of conducting or taking part in trials by ordeal, resulting generally in the death of the victim. The ordeal mostly in vogue in that part of the country was the essere bean ordeal. The victim was compelled to chew this bean and then allowed to run away from the place of ordeal. If he afterwards vomited up enough of it he recovered, but generally he was not able to do so, and therefore had been rightly accused of witchcraft. The previous history in the majority of cases was that sickness, death, low birth rate, and other misfortunes having occurred in a town or village, the services of a professional witch doctor were invoked or retained, and he arrived in the town or village fantastically dressed. A meeting of the whole town was then held and he proceeded to discover the "witches" (male or female) amongst them, generally persons already suspected or even selected. The persons, or alleged "witches" thus "discovered" had to eat the essere bean. In the cases tried by me they were all males. The witch doctor of course received a good fee for his services. These ordeals were often a very successful and effective way of getting rid of objectionable or unpopular citizens, or of those who had incurred the enmity of the Chiefs or Heads of the town or village, and had failed to substantially conciliate them. Generally speaking, most of the criminal cases for trial reflected the slave dealing and superstitious atmosphere of the place, and most of the civil cases were law suits about land between crafty Aros and aboriginal natives, who were trying to keep their own. But I am getting down to the end of the allotted space, and must reserve further matters of possible interest for a future article at some time or other.

FRENCH BLACK TROOPS

Chicago Defender

THERE IS A SCHOOL of Americans who believe they have quite enough to attend to at home without meddling with the affairs of other countries across the waters. And there is another class of Americans—fortunately not in the majority—who devote much of their time and energy to setting the foreigner's house in order—unsolicited—while neglecting to sweep out the accumulation of filth and dirt in their own domicile. This latter class is now much concerned over the French and German squabble, and although Germany but yesterday was supposed to be our enemy and France our ally, their sympathy and influence are offered Germany, while France is held up as a cutthroat, a despot, a Shylock demanding her pound of flesh.

Chicago Sat.

AND OH what a choice subject to harp on is "French black troops on the Rhine!" How humiliating it must be to be watched by black troops when there are so many other shades available, even though they may not be as efficient. Germany, knowing America's weakness along the color line, plays the game for all she is worth and is endeavoring to get this country to protest against the utilization of Colored troops by France to protect her interests in Germany, when behind it all is the fact that Germany objects to having any foreign troops patrol her territory, whether they be as white as the driven snow or as black as the shades of hades.

3/24/23

CLEMENCEAU did not fail to let the people of this country know that France was not disposed to draw the color line in or out of the army and could not be influenced by prejudiced America. This, direct from Essen, Germany, is significant: "Worried over the dissatisfaction which has broken out among some white troops, as manifested by several mutinous incidents, France is beginning to replace her white forces with more trustworthy black troops."

WITH ALL DUE RESPECT to our white soldiers, it can truthfully be said our black soldiers are the last word in loyalty, and this applies to the black soldier in whatever country he is found. Germany is playing the baby act. What right has the vanquished to dictate to the conqueror? Is Germany making reparations for the untold damage she did to France? If, as some American newspapers would have us believe, the people in the towns where the troops are stationed "are in a fever of indignation over the humiliation of having black troops over them," they might just as well calm themselves and cool off, for France is determined, and France is right, to protect her interest in any way she sees fit. Long ago she realized she would get little support from her allies when the day of reckoning came, but she counted on this country's support as this country counted on her support in critical days now long gone by. But in speaking of America, France can but regretfully say: "You too, Brutus?"

NEGROES REFUSE TO WORK IN RUHR

H. V. Dougherty Gives Up Hope of Helping France to Mine Coal

T C TRIBUNE
MARCH 13, 1923

AGREED TO GET 3,000 MEN

But Canvas of Fields Reveals That Less Than 100 Would Go Abroad.

(By the Associated Press.)

Harry V. Dougherty, member of a detective agency which specializes in furnishing labor to industrial concerns, has given up his hope of helping France exploit the coal mines of the Ruhr through the medium of American Negroes.

He announced, upon his arrival on the Majestic yesterday, that he would transport from 2,500 to 5,000 Negro miners to the Ruhr. To-day he said he had dropped the plan because he had learned since his arrival that instead of thousands of Negroes eager for the jobs, he couldn't find 100 who were willing to accept them.

Tried to Use Arabs.

Mr. Dougherty said his plan for transporting a miners' expeditionary force had been born Jan. 16, when, on

a voyage from Algiers to Marseilles, he met Louis Janeau, a French labor commissioner, who is what is termed in this country a "padrone."

"Janeau was conveying about 700 woe-begone Arabs from Algiers to the Ruhr coal fields," Mr. Dougherty said. "He told me that these Arabs were no good as mine workers, that they could not stand the gaff, and usually, after three hours' work, were all in. He said that this was his second trip, and that the previous bunch had lasted only a few days. I told Janeau that I had experience in supplying large bodies of men for industrial organizations. Janeau became interested at once, and proposed that I see what I could do, telling me he could use all the men I obtained up to 3,000. He said he would take care of all matters affecting compensation and transportation, and would also see that any international complications that might arise would be handled from Paris through the French Foreign Office.

Promised a Big Profit.

"He assured me that there would be a net profit to me of half a dollar a day for each man provided, and with that financial incentive in view, I immediately cabled from Marseilles, asking my brother George to get busy rounding up the Negroes. I also advised him that all matters affecting the international phase would be handled from Paris, and that he could proceed on the assumption that everything was settled.

"Then I sailed for New York, only to learn when I reached here that a thorough combing of the various mine districts did not net 100 men willing to go to the Ruhr. Of corse that ended the whole matter, at least for the present."

Ruhr Labor Plan Unknown to U. S.

new York Amsterdam News

Secretary of State and the French Embassy Issue Statements.

3-14-23

(Preston News Service).

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 13 — Harry V. Dougherty, said to be a detective and labor agent, while in France a few weeks ago conceived an idea of increasing his bank roll by supplying American Negro laborers to the French as miners in the Ruhr district on which he would make a net profit of 50 cents a day on each laborer he furnished. He is said to have telegraphed his brother George to round up three to five thousand Negroes from the West Virginia and Pennsylvania coal regions for transportation to France.

Secretary Hughes authorized a statement last Friday night that he never had heard of a plan to transport American Negroes to Europe to work in the coal mines in the Ruhr. It was stated that no such proposition, or any of similar nature, had been discussed with Mr. Hughes by Ambassador Jusserand or anyone else.

At the French Embassy, it was declared that nothing was known of the Dougherty plan to send miners to the Ruhr. A statement was authorized that any announcement [illegible] that the proposal had been laid before Secretary Hughes by the French Ambassador was pure fabrication.

N Y C GLOBE
MARCH 8. 1923

The Latest Horror on the Rhine

Two photographs have been circulated by a local picture agency entitled "Black Troops in the Ruhr!" and declaring that "this photograph is ample proof that the French military forces are using black troops in their occupation." The scenes show large groups of poilus in uniform, mostly white men, but with an occasional black man among them.

The place is stated to be Werden. The number of the regiment is not given, though obviously easy to obtain. But the facts are probably as suggested by the French Consul General here: The 7th Colonial Regiment contains fifteen or twenty West Indian natives who are French citizens. It was sent to Dortmund about three weeks ago. When General Degoutte found that it was a mixed regiment he immediately replaced it with an all-white regiment because of German agitation in the past.

The French have officially stated that there are no colored troops in the Ruhr. The pictures in question comport with the theory that these are the occasional West Indians of the 7th Colonial Regiment. At any rate, in view of the bland misrepresentation with which German propaganda has familiarized us, we shall accept this hypothesis until further proof arrives. And we shall refuse to shudder at the thought of fifteen or twenty black Frenchmen treading German soil, no matter how greatly Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard is horrified by the picture.

FRANCE GETS SERVANTS.

Four Hundred Negro Girls Reach Paris From the Antilles.

New York Times

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, March 17.—France's servant problem has reached such a crisis that one of the philanthropic societies has imported 400 negro girls from Martinique and Guadeloupe to work in French households. The dusky-skinned colonials, wearing red bandanas around their heads and enveloped in bright calico mother hubbards, landed at St. Nazaire this morning, and were taken directly to the home of the society, whence they will be distributed throughout France.

3/18/23.

In view of the servant shortage the society is able to make its own terms with employers. The first and principal of these is to safeguard the girls' morals.

France's servant problem simply is another aftermath of the war, which took women out into the world. A great part of prewar "bonnes" now are employed in stores and offices, preferring the comparative dignity and freedom these positions to the financial advantages of domestic service.

Negro Troops Will Be, Withdrawn from Ruhr

Pittsburg American

3-16-23

(By The Associated Negro Press)

PARIS, France, Mar. 16.—Not on account of their color or race, but simply to rob Germans of an insidious weapon of defense, the Negro troops now stationed in the Ruhr district of occupation will be withdrawn by the government. This fact was disclosed last Thursday by Premier Poincaire in a reply to Deputy Gratien Candace from Guadulupe, who had filed a protest against the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied German territory. This would seem to close agreeable what otherwise might have concluded into a very unpleasant episode of the present tense situation on this question.

NEW YORK CITY AMERICAN
MARCH 8, 1923

Negro Deputy Protests Black Troops' Recall

By Universal Service.

PARIS, March 7.

THE Negro Deputy Candace has made a protest to Premier Poincare at the recall of 200 West Indians from the Ruhr.

He demands a reply whether the order was the result of the "campaign of calumny by Germany against the blacks," and asserts that inasmuch as the French army is one-third colored no distinction should be made for service on the Rhine.

ARMY OF 150,000 COLORED SOLDIERS ORGANIZED IN FRANCE

new York News

3-10-23

Algerians, Moroccans and Other Dark Complexed Men to Fill Up Great French Army of 600,000

By PAUL DAVIS
Wonder City News Service

PARIS, March 10.—It was learned here that France is calculating on an army of over 600,000 men, of which 425,000 will be white men. The plan with desirable feasibility was presented to Parliament. Nearly 150,000 will be Algerians, Moroccans and of African birth, according to reports. The troops will be held as heavy reserves to protect the nation from invasion.

It is said that the colored troops will be stationed outside of France in the occupied territory along the Rhine; 400,000 white troops will be reserved for special services inside of France; 30 divisions include the white troops. It is anticipated that this military move is made as a defense against Germany if necessary.

N Y C EVE WORLD
MARCH 8, 1923

FRENCH EMBASSY DENIES NEGRO STC

No Contract to Send 5,000 to Ruhr. Officials Declare.

WASHINGTON, March 8.—Statements of Harry V. Dougherty, New York detective, that 5,000 Negro miners from West Virginia are to be sent to the Ruhr Valley by the French to dig coal in the places of striking Germans were denied emphatically to-day by the French Embassy here.

Statements of Dougherty that the project had been placed before Secretary of State Hughes by French Ambassador Jusserand and had received the former's approval, also were denied by both the State Department and the embassy. Both declared they had never heard of the plan before and did not know Dougherty.

Harry V. Dougherty of Dougherty's Detective Agency and Mercantile Police, who returned from Europe yesterday on the Majestic, said that reports that he had undertaken to send 5,000 American Negro laborers to the Ruhr coal mines were "exaggerated."

"A French labor commissionaire, who is no more a Government official than I am in the United States, but merely the director of a French labor agency, asked me if I could furnish 2,500 American Negro miners for regions in which the Germans refused to work because of the French occupation. I told him I could and we made an agreement."

Mr. Dougherty intimated that since his arrival yesterday, however, he had received an intimation "from Washington" that his consignment of Negro laborers would have difficulty in getting passports. Under the circumstances Mr. Dougherty said he rather thought his contract with the French commissionaire would go by default.

Race Problem — 1923
Europe.

DRAWING THE COLOR LINE

THE NEGRO WORLD has sometimes been accused of fanning racial animosities, of widening the breach between the two races which on this continent have been thrown together by fate. The Negro World, it need hardly be repeated, never entered upon such a task. But if it is meant to be charged that we inveigh unremittingly against the pernicious hatreds and prejudices to which the Negro is heir; that we condemn, for the vicious propaganda it is, talk of the ultimate amalgamation of the races; that we try to make the Negro realize he must be sufficient unto himself—then we plead guilty.

We shall always, regardless of criticism, bare issues affecting race as they arise, however unpleasant the operation may appear to the hypocrite. The ways of the sycophant and the wheedler are distasteful to us. Some narrow-minded employer in some city or town or village may "fire" his Negro help because he wears in his buttonhole the Negro tricolor—the Red, Black and Green. Some obscure political job may pass by some equally obscure would-be Negro leader. But these terrible things must be if the Negro's lot is to be reclaimed. We prefer always to take the larger view, to scan the horizon of the world, rather than circumscribe our outlook with a city's or even a nation's limits.

Today white citizens of this glorious republic are clowning in Paris in a most inglorious manner. Some citizens of Georgia, or of New York, are dictating to France a social system. It irks them that Negro citizens of France are free to enter public places at their will, and so they are attempting to institute the "color line" in Paris, as they have in Cuba and one or two South American countries. So tense has the situation become that the French Foreign Office has just issued a communiqué to American tourists through the press, saying: "Guests of France must respect her customs and not object to the presence of colored persons from the French colonies in public places. In the event of renewal of certain incidents, penalties will be exacted." It is understood that the penalties may take the form of revoking of passports of the offenders. In other words, white Americans who, as guests of France, insult her sons will be led on board ship and sent sailing back to the Statue of Liberty. "The Paris police," a recent dispatch says, "have closed the Montmartre dance hall, whence Prince George Tovalou, son of the former colored King of Dahomey, was ejected on complaints of Americans."

M. Daigne, Negro Deputy of France, commenting on the recent incidents, said: "Americans must learn they cannot impose their barbarous customs here. If they don't like our ways, they can stay at home. Too many Americans are running loose on our boulevards trying to enforce their savage customs on French gentlemen of color." And so the Negro citizen of France receives protection from the country for which he toils, for which he fights. Here in America the Negro toils as hard, fights as bravely, but white Americans are free to "impose their barbarous customs" on Negro gentlemen of color.

But, we venture to think, the "customs" of white Americans would undergo a serious change if Negro gentlemen of color in France, Negro gentlemen of color in America, Negro gentlemen of color in the British dominions, Negro gentlemen of color in Africa, could speak with one voice—their own. These "barbarous customs," we have no doubt, would disappear, and white Americans would become civilized in their treatment of Negroes as they are in the case of Japanese. There is only one "best way" of doing anything. To secure full manhood rights at all times, everywhere, Negroes must join hands across the seas. In other words, Africa must awake and appreciate her own strength as fully as it is appreciated by the Frenchmen.

The Negro World 8-18-23

OWSLEY NAILS RUMOR OF "BLACK TROOPS" IN FRENCH ARMY OF RUHR

Commercial Appeal

Algerians, of Arabic Origin, Are Vastly Different.

GERMANS NOT PENNILESS

Memphis, Tenn.

They Have Money for the Movies, Says Legion Leader.

10-7-23

BRITISH HELP NEEDED

"All Roads Lead to the Ruhr, Germany's Failure to Pay Reparations Has Tied Up the World," Owsley Quotes French Aide.

BY ALVIN OWSLEY.

(National Commander of the American Legion.)

(This is the second of a series of articles on "The Truth About the Ruhr" by Commander Owsley.)

Complaints have been heard about the hardships and indignities to which the German populace of the Ruhr has been compelled to submit under the drastic French military regimen. Last spring I heard shuddering tales of French brutality. And the story of the black troops—the "horror on the Rhine"—which has persisted ever since the Armistice, was revived. I was glad to learn what truth there was to these charges.

After entering the Ruhr one begins wondering where is the French army, where the soldiers are.

I soon found myself asking this question. The members of my party also were struck by the absence of great numbers of troops. We had expected to find them with fixed bayonets on all sides, in every street, on every road, everywhere, overrunning the country, driving about a herded civil population. But evidences of a rigid military occupation are lacking.

The French army is there, all right, 50,000 strong, mostly infantry, but comprising all branches. It has made its presence felt on occasions when necessary to show that the Ruhr invasion was a serious matter and that the invaders meant business.

Hard to Find Soldiers.

But as quickly as possible it effaced itself. Today soldiers hardly are to be seen. Outside the number of men necessary for guard and fatigue duty one has to look far to find them.

For the most part the French army in the Ruhr is a body of fresh, gay youths, well-trained, good-size, of fine physique, straight, upstanding, alert and soldierly. Their discipline is to be admired. They are boys of the upper French classes, evidently sons and grandsons of French soldiers. Just lads, we should call them, corresponding to that wonderful body of American youths who upheld American honor so valiantly and carried the Star-Spangled Banner to a glorious victory in 1918.

Yet with all their youth and gaiety which responds so eagerly to the lure of adventure, with the natural impetuosity that might be expected from mere boys, they possess a certain reserve that at once creates a respect which largely is responsible for whatever measure of success the French occupation of the territory so far may have attained. France is placing her fortune in their hands, standing before the world on the record already made and yet to be made by these youths.

Are There Black Troops?

And as for black troops. Let me state before going and further that to my definite knowledge and understanding of the conditions existing in the Ruhr it is absolutely false to claim black troops are part of the French and Belgian armies of occupation.

In justice not only to the French, but to the truth itself, this threadbare accusation should be nailed at once. It is a falsehood that has gone on long enough. It is so old in its falsity that it now becomes an insult to the intelligence of any man or woman to whom it is related. It is my honest belief and conviction that there are no black or African troops in the occupied area.

There are several thousand Algerian troops there. But that is quite another thing. I have studied these Algerian fellows with unusual interest.

To begin with they are not negroes. It is true they are usually darker of complexion than the average blonde German type. But their skin is no more swarthy than that of other peoples living under the tropical sun. They are of Arabic origin. They belong to the Moslem faith. Their religion keeps them separated from all other cults and creeds. Their introduction into the Ruhr makes it a place where religion, discipline, courage and patriotism all are being put to the severest test. And, so far, it does not seem to have failed.

To any claim that these Algerians are "foreign soldiers who yield constantly to vicious temptations," I wish to state that my study of these troops leads me to discredit any atrocious stories that may have been circulated about them.

I found them good soldiers, well disciplined, kind, unassuming, as far from being a wild kind of men who make assaults on women and children as gentlemen of any of the so-called oldest civilizations. Thus far they have proved wonderful men, splendid soldiers and courageous defenders of the tri-color of France. My hat is off to them.

Contrary to my expectations of finding a frightened population terrorized by French soldiery ready with guns and bayonets, I found myself in a territory whose people seemed to be going about their business and recreational pleasures as happily as people anywhere.

I well recall my first night in Dusseldorf. Gen. Degoutte had honored me and my legion party with a dinner. Returning to my hotel afterward I encountered large numbers of people issuing from one of the public places. I inquired who they were and where they were going, incidentally looking carefully to see if they were being driven through the streets by French guns.

FRENCH COLONIALS

France's population persists in declining. More fecund Germany increases. A twice invaded and much disturbed France feels acutely the need of a large standing army. Yet to withdraw more of her male citizens from civil occupation to military service represents economic risk.

Sept. 1923

Deputy Fabry would meet the requirements by increasing the number of colonial troops. Of these, France has already in service 188,963 Algerians, Moroccans, Senegalese and the like, a few of them yellow but mostly of the Negroid races. Fabry, by enlistment, conscription and intensive training would bring this force up to a potential strength of 850,000 men, 400,000 of whom would be fully trained.

Such a militarization of the French Negroid subject would give France a tremendous war machine. Also, it would assure the next war in which France engaged of a brutalization unapproached even by the Germans. In the last conflict, the French colonials were kept fairly well in hand, but they did butcher most of the wounded they encountered and they did manifest an unpleasant insistence upon mutilating both the dead and the living. Their presence in the Army of Occupation has been bitterly protested by the Germans, from whom protest received little consideration because of the memory of their own atrocites in Belgium. . . . A great war won by France thru the agency of such an army as Fabry proposes might easily fill the world with concern, even making France the most apprehensive of those concerned. A million of Africans made expert in the white man's methods of conquest, hardened to the white man's capacity for war endurance and rid by their own triumph of their conception of the white man's innate superiority, might make a good section of this world a dangerous place for the white man to live in.

From the Worchester, Mass., Telegram.

NO COLOR LINE IN FRANCE

The French, like the Italians and Spaniards, are relatively free from race prejudice. Unlike the Americans and the English, they do not object to social contact with the dark-skinned peoples. It is said that negroes of education and achievement have never been made to feel a social inferiority in Paris, where Alexander Dumas, for example, was highly honored in spite of the negro blood in his veins.

But there is believed to be political policy of vital importance behind the warning of the French Foreign Office that the color line must not be drawn against French citizens of negro blood by foreign sojourners, among whom Americans have been the most conspicuous in this connection. Under present conditions, with no assurance of aid from either America or the British empire in case France is attacked by Germany a third time, the French regard it as highly important to cultivate the good will of their dark-skinned colonials.

In the French army of 660,000 men there are now 188,963 Africans and it was recently urged in the Chamber of Deputies that more should be trained for military service. The population of the French overseas possessions, in Africa and Indo-China, was estimated at 60,000,000, from which, it was argued, 850,000 soldiers could be drawn of whom 400,000 could be fully trained to take the field.

It was estimated that Africa and Indo-China could easily provide more than six-tenths of the armed forces that might be needed by France. Without assurance of powerful allies the French are thinking of depending on their dark colonials when called upon to make a stand against invasion by the hereditatry enemy across the Rhine. Hence the warning of the Foreign Office against drawing the color line in Paris—a seeming "gesture" to please North Africans, Senegalese and their other dark colonials.

HEAD OF RUSSIAN ARMIES ANSWERS QUESTIONS PUT UP TO HIM BY McKAY

First Time In Modern History That Head of a Powerful Nation Has Shown Such Real Interest in Negro

RAPS U. S. LABOR ARISTOCRATS

(Cruasder Service)

MOSCOW, Oct. 5.—For the first time in the history of modern times, one of the heads of a powerful nation has exhibited enough real interest in the future of the Negro workers as to answer directly and unequivocally a letter put to him by one of the representatives of these workers as to his attitude towards the Negro peoples of the world.

Leon Trotzky, brilliant commander of the mighty Red Army of Soviet Russia, is the man who has thrown all traditions aside and in a letter addressed to Claude McKay, the Negro poet and special representative in Europe of The Crusader Service, given direct answer to the question propounded by McKay to the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, as to "What practical steps are to be taken to prevent France from employing colored troops on the European Continent?"

The Soviet Chief in reply, writes McWay as follows:

"The colored workers themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened, so that they realize that when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

White Workers Must Stand by Negro

"The working class of Europe, and particularly of France and Germany must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in theis work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, on the equality of all human beings regardless of color is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every ten Negroes who gather round the flag of revolution, and unite to form a group for practical work among the Negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of those resolutions establishing principles, which are so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened Negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

Fate of Europe Rests with Africa

"There is no doubt whatever, that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of Germany territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of European capital, especially of French and English capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe, so that capitalism may have mobilized, armed and disciplined African or Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is to the fate of the European working class.

Interest of All Workers Indentical

"There is no doubt whatever that the unemployment of the economically and culturally backward colonial masses for the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The Negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or the hand of militarism, tears them from their customary environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of different nations, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to their consciousness.

"Therefore it is of the utmost importance today, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young self-sacrificing Negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of Negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the indentity of interests and destiny of the Negro masses, with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.

"The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

Raps Labor Aristocrats of U. S.

"In North America, the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste resumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize their fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such espicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of the white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, among the black slaves of American capital. As stated above this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated Negroes.

"What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American Negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

"With Communist greetings,

L. TROTZKY."

In this letter to Claude McKay, the Soviet Chief refrains from touching overmuch on the attitude of the Third International and of the Communists all over the world towards the questions of a free Africa, a universally liberated race, and economic and complete equality of workers of all shades and colors for the sufficient reason, it is supposed, that these questions have been fully and most satisfactorily treated in the various papers of the Fourth Congress and in the Theses of the Third International.

Paris Women Will Wear "Nigger Brown" Stockings To Rebuke The Americans

Associated Negro Press

PARIS, France, Aug. 3.—The bare white legs of the fashionable Paris women are about to give way to "Nigger Brown" stockings. The fad started at Deauville during the recent season at the famed resort and has now reached and captured Paris. It is said that the adoption of brown stockings has been ordered by Fashion's devotees as a rebuke to the Americans who have been over zealous in their efforts to establish a "color line" here in Paris.

COMMEND FRANCE FOR STAND ON RACE PREJUDICE

French Surgeon Attacked by Yankee Tourists

NEW YORK, Aug. 11.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York City, today cabled the French Minister of Foreign Affairs commending the French Government's stand against Negro baiting by American tourists in France.

The cablegram read as follows:

"French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paris.

"National Association for Advancement of Colored People with membership of one hundred thousand endorses your stand against American color prejudice.

(Signed) "James Weldon Johnson, Secretary."

This cablegram follows a warning issued by the French Foreign Office to American tourists, that Negroes would have to be treated with respect in France. According to a correspondent of the New York Times, the following incident occasioned the French Government action, which is accompanied by extensive and indignant editorial comment in the French press:

Surgeon Is Ejected

"A French surgeon who is a Negro occupied one of the seats in the big tourists' automobile as it started on the trip to the region of Rheims. Practically all the other twenty occupants were from the United States.

"They objected to the presence of the Negro among them, but nevertheless the car got under way. A few miles out of Paris the Americans renewed their protests, which led to a heated argument, in which the Americans said they wouldn't ride with a 'nigger,' and the Negro replied:

"I fought four and a half years, during most of which you Americans were not fighting. It seems to me I have as much right as you to go to see the battle fields.'

"The end of it was that the Americans threw the Negro out of the car and left him by the roadside. The result was a protest to the Foreign Office.

Deputies Candace and Bousse, both Negroes, have served notice on Premier Poincare that they will interpellate the Government on this issue when parliament reopens."

Race Problem — 1923.

Europe.

American Color Prejudice As Exhibited in France

The N. Y. Age

The Age is in receipt of several communications from Archibald Johnson, an American colored man, who has been living in England for a number of years and who is a barrister practicing law before the British Courts. Mr. Johnson has been spending some time in Switzerland, and writes illuminatingly of conditions in Europe as relate to the outcroppings of American prejudice as has been referred to frequently in recent news dispatches. 4-22-23

Writing from the Hotel Terminus, Zweisimmen, Canton Berne, Switzerland, Mr. Johnson comments as follows:

"I send you a clipping from *La Suisse*, a newspaper of Geneva, in which the editor quotes the Foreign Minister in Paris as warning tourists, that is, Americans, that they are too exorbitant in their demands in asking that colored men and women be excluded from public places to suit their prejudices. I warn colored ladies and gentlemen, traveling in Europe, not to be influenced by such attempts against them for it is not the purpose or intention of the French nation to permit such dastardly attempts out of race prejudice.

"A free translation of the note published by the Minister for Foreign Affairs would read thus: 'Some tourists (i. e., Americans) forgetting that they are our guests and that by that fact they are held to respect our usages and our laws, have at times by many attempts shown violent dislike to sit beside, in public places, men of color, natives from French Colonies. They have gone so far as to demand their expulsion in insulting terms. If like incidents are renewed, there will be serious retaliation.' The article is headed, 'Some Tourists Are Too Impulsive.'

"Some underbred, half-educated Americans come over here and attempt to run amuck among colored ladies of any country of the world. This eminent French statesman, in issuing and publishing his note, administers a well-earned snub to such people. The sight of a colored face in a hotel dining room is the same as a red rag to a bull. Personally, I have been attacked, often, by them. I have had to complain to police and city officials several times and have had these hoodlums, who seem to think they are still in Texas, put in their right places.

"The Paris papers, a few months ago, gave an account of two colored men entering a café and a Los Angeles man and his wife coming out in company with an Englishman, and these two attacked the colored men and tried to prevent them going into the café. The colored men defended themselves with knuckle-dusters, disfiguring both whites badly. The police took the four men to Bureau of Police, but immediately discharged the colored men.

"When will Americans learn to behave themselves over here in presence of well-dressed, well-behaved colored men? Three months ago, before I left Montreaux, I was jeered on the street by Americans as I was walking with my English wife. Even now, up here at this summer resort, twenty thousand feet up in the mountains, Yankee Negro haters are here, sneering, smiling and annoying every one with a drop of African blood.

"The London *Daily Mail* gives additional cases of insult and opprobrium by your nasal-twanging Yankees, spreading thmselves over Europe and insulting any and every dark man and woman they meet, no matter where they hail from. It is time this low game of theirs was stopped. All Europe is ringing with their impertinence and ill-bred feeling. Why do they do it? They want Europe and the whole world to believe that they are a *very superior people*, which you and I know is a sham and a lie.

"No more ridiculous and shallow, groundless assumption has ever been palmed off on the world than this Yankee prejudice against color. Come down to hard facts: If there was any deep, native, ineradicable antipathy in the minds of white people against colored people, would we find white babies feeding at the breast of colored women? Would we find colored barbers smearing their hands over the mouths of white men? Would we find colored waiters handling his food? lifting his roll with his fingers? No, it is all sheer bluff, make-believe to influence mankind and make more and higher prestige for your dollar-mad American.

"Let yourd readers know that these low-class Americans are over-reaching themselves and calling down the disgust of the great, cultured and impartial French nation on their heads. All Europe is amused and disgusted at this silly attempt at posing as a superior, esthetic and select people. You and I, Mr. Editor, know full well that this prejudice too often hides its head after the sun goes down and nobody is looking on. Every young colored man in America, especially if he be a mulatto and a student, has had experience enough to be sure there is nothing solid or definite about this so-called colorphobia. When a student in Lewiston, Maine, and Andover, Mass., I had many white girl friends. If this color prejudice is so nauseous and galling to the esthetic white brother, whence the ever-increasing horde of mulattos in every southern city?

"And another thing—in most cases, when a white woman comes to Paris or London and gets out of money, the first person she is apt to apply to for help is some gentlemanly colored man. I have been here since 1880 and have befriended dozens. In time of distress or hardship the white race can dispense with their 'color' feeling.

"France is representing all Europe in this matter. Let these wild Americans sit up and take notice what further things France has to say to them. I make no excuse or apology for showing up this matter, for if any man of our race has suffered severely from this color hate, I am that man.

"When I was preparing for the University at Phillips (now Andover) Academy, I went in for prize speaking. I was awarded two prizes in succession (R. T. Greener took one when there), and because of that the copper-head element got a horse syringe and played and squirted it on my back in the dining room. Again, when I entered Boston University, the students kept me out of the Literary and Debating Society because Lawyer Archibald Grimke had married a lady from that college. I thought this was all over when I got to Oxford University, but no, a Yankee Negro-hater from Harvard, named Sam Brearly from the West, came up to me and said, 'Say, do you know you have come to the wrong place? If you will leave here and go up to Edinburgh it won't cost you anything.' I treated him with the contempt he deserved, but as long as that man remained in Oxford he was plotting against me."

CLAIMS NO NEGRO TROOPS IN ARMY NOW IN THE RUHR

Philadelphia American

Writer Nails Rumor, Claiming Algerians of Arabic Origin.

10-19-23

BY ALVIN OWSLEY
(National Commander of the American Legion)

Complaints have been heard about the hardships and indignities to which the German populace of the Ruhr has been compelled to submit under the drastic French military regimen. Last spring I heard shuddering tales of French brutality. And the story of the black troops — the "horror on the Rhine" — which has persisted ever since the Armistice, was revived. I was glad to learn what truth there was to these charges.

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In justice not only to the French, but to the truth itself, this threadbare accusation should be nailed at once. It is a falsehood that has gone on long enough. It is so old in its falsity that it now becomes an insult to the intelligence of any man or woman to whom it is related. It is my honest belief and conviction that there are no black or African troops in the occupied area.

There are several thousand Algerian troops there. But that is quite another thing. I have studied these Algerian fellows with unusual interest.

To begin with they are not Negroes. It is true they are usually darker of complexion than the average blonde German type. But their skin is no more swarthy than that of other peoples living under the tropical sun. They are of Arabic origin. They belong to the Moslem faith. Their religion keeps them separated from all other cults and creeds. Their introduction into the Ruhr makes it a place where religion, discipline, courage and patriotism all are being put to the severest test. And, so far, it does not seem to have failed.

To any claim that these Algerians are "foreign soldiers who yield constantly to vicious temptations," I wish to state that my study of these troops leads me to discredit any atrocious stories that may have been circulated about them.

I found them good soldiers, well disciplined, kind, unassuming, as far from being the kind of men who make assaults on women and children as gentlemen of any of the so-called oldest civilization. Thus far they have proved wonderful men, splendid soldiers and courageous defenders of the tri-color of France. My hat is off to them!

Contrary to my expectations of finding a frightened population terrorized by French soldiery ready with guns and bayonets, I found myself in a territory whose people seemed to be going about their business and recreational pleasures as happily as people anywhere.

COLOR LINE IN FRANCE PUT UP TO U. S. EMBASSY

The Guardian

THREE BLACK DEPUTIES PROTEST TO PRES. POINCARE—NEWSPAPER ASKS U. S. EMBASSY IF IT WILL ASK AMERICANS TO RESPECT EQUAL RIGHTS FOR COLORED FRENCH CAFE PROPRIETOR EJECTED 2 COLORED AND IS BEING SUED FRENCH POLICE MAY CLOSE UP PLACES WHICH DRAW LINE.

Boston, Mass.

Refusal of American tourists to extend the hand of fellowship to French Negroes reached diplomatic channels today. Though the controversy did not proceed far in that direction it reached the front pages of Parisian newspapers and has become the chief topic of conversation in the American colony. 5-11-23

A representative of the Echo de Paris asked the American embassy whether it was planned to issue a statement to Americans in France that under the French law Negroes are entitled to full and equal rights with other citizens. The embassy has taken no action.

Proceedings were begun against the proprietor of an all-night dancing establishment in the Mont Martre in which African Negroes were ejected allegedly at the request of American patrons who objected to their presence.

The entire situation was brought to a head by the protests to Premier Poincare by three Negroes, members of the Chamber of Deputies that citizens of their color are being discriminated against for the purpose of pleasing American tourists.

Proprietors of pleasure resorts are facing a difficult situation.

Police threaten to close all establishments that discriminate against Negroes and those that admit them to full privileges face the loss of rich American trade.

Moro-Giaferri, attorney for the "Blue Beard" Landru, is representing Prince Georges and Prince Marc Tavalon, the Negroes ejected from a Mont Martre dance hall in their efforts to recover damage. Both are Sorbonne graduates.

Georges is a lawyer and Tavalon a physician.

AMERICAN TOURISTS WARNED NOT TO ABUSE OR ANNOY COLORED CITIZENS IN FRANCE

The New York News. 8

France Threatens to Oust Any Who Try to Draw Color Line or Discriminate

8-11-23

New York N. Y.

Special to The News

Wonder City News Service

PARIS, Aug. 10.—The French government has openly and emphatically denounced the American practice of discrimination against colored people in France, and has issued a drastic warning to American tourists that the republic will not tolerate any such action, and, furthermore, American and other tourists in France who publicly voice their objections to finding colored persons in restaurants, theatres and dance halls must keep quiet henceforth or they will be put out. This, in short, is the meaning of an official communique issued tonight by the French foreign office following numerous incidents in which visitors have tried to draw the color lines.

Negro deputies recently protested to Premier Poincare and called for reproval by the government of any interference with the liberty of France's Negro citizens.

A number of incidents have contributed to this in the last few weeks. A few days ago in Maxim's a French deputy was addressed contemptuously as "nigger." Then came the protest and the decision to issue the warning. Without naming any nationality, the French authorities let it be known that any alien who tries to draw the color line in Paris will at once be invited to leave France.

French Negroes were feeling good until about 40,000 Americans descended on Paris. It is said much of the disturbance is caused by American Negroes who remained in France after the war or have been imported since as jazz artists.

SERVE RIGHT

We have watched with a ... interest the attitude of the French Government with reference to the conduct of certain American Tourists who would mistreat the Colored Frenchmen as they do the Colored Americans on this side of the pond.

These Americans, who thus carry their prejudices into foreign lands, are doubtless of the 100 per cent stripe who seem to think that the earth and the habitants thereof belong exclusively to themselves. They, no doubt, are ranking members of the mob society of Americans, whose ranks are made up of 500,000 murderers, that race prejudice in the form of the law, allows them to go Scott free.

8-17-23.

But we are proud of the fact that the French Government has the courage to call them down, and rebuke them for their foolish, non-sensical, inconsistent, unreasonable conduct toward the Colored Frenchmen.

Color-prejudice is costing State and Nation in this Country millions upon millions of dollars, to say nothing about the many inconveniences and ill feeling that follow in the wake. Therefore, we can't but conclude that the French Government serves them right by rebuking those who break their law and customs.

One of the leading French newspapers speaking on the subject had this to say:

St. Louis Mo.

"We have nothing to do with the attitude which prevails in America among her citizens. That is not our business. But this is France and with us the color line is totally unknown. Our forefathers did not write the declaration des droits de l'homme for us to forget its letter and its spirit.

Besides our lack of all discrimination against Negroes is not inspired alone by this doctrine. We are sincere about it. Blacks with whom we are in contact come from the French colonies. Whatever their status as citizens, they are our compatriots and we treat them as such. How could it be otherwise when so many of them fought by our sides to save France?

That a small number of our American visitors who forget that the French republic makes no differentiation among the inhabitants of its immense empire, whatever their race or the color of their skin, will, we hope, regard our black citizens as good as the rest of us. And we expect our visitors to obey our rule, which proceeds not from law, but from our character and customs, by virtue of which all Frenchmen form one grand family from which none of them are disinherited."

We are deeply interested in the above statement, because it affects the darker races of the world. And too, we believe the French people mean just what they say and are willing to back it up without fear or favor.

NEGRO PRINCE WINS DAMAGES FOR EJECTION

Paris Court Condemns Montmartre Restaurateur, but Suspends Prison Sentence

N. Y. Times 10-19-23

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Oct. 18.—A cabaret manager, who at the instance of American customers some weeks ago ejected from a Montmartre night establishment Prince Kogo Toubalou Houenow Kuenum because he is a negro, was sentenced today by the Eleventh Chamber Correctional Tribunal to fifteen days in prison and 200 francs fine. The prison sentence was suspended. The Senegalese Prince received one franc damages.

The cabaret manager declared that theAfrican Prinnce was ejected because of his color, and that the ejection was not forceful. Appearing for the manager was a policeman and a young woman dancer, Mlle. Gaudut, who at the time was an employe in the establishment and at present is dancing in another cabaret under the same management. She testified to witnessing the entire proceedings, and said the objection was not because his face was black but because his clothes were not. She also said, as did the gendarme, that the Prince was not struck.

Other similar witnesses were produced, but the Americans who caused the row were conspicuous by absence.

THE RISING TIDE

The Guardian

The Anglo Saxon has been told by France that they must not try to monkey too much with the Latin races or the Africans who dwell all along the Mediterranean Sea. The original man (Black African) has not made any definite open statements. He has enrolled in the French among 2 million strong.

8-18-23

Here we have a big camp. The Yellow Branch, Russia, China and Japan silently linked with the Saxons, Germany, France, Italy and Ethiopia,—England and America.

What side will the greatest and brainiest group of Blacks. The American of color take. France has no Color line—America and England have.

CLAIMS SEGREGATION IS ONLY SOLUTION

The Constitution Norfolk, Va.

Williamstown, Mass., August 21.—The segregation of races in the disputed areas of Europe, of the Greeks and Turks in the Balkans and of negroes in the United States offers the only practical solution of the problem of unassimilable races, declared Professor W. M. McDougall, of Harvard, in a discussion of "race as a factor in politics," at the Institute of Politics, today.

8-22-23

Professor McDougall said:

"I cannot help but think that the only solution of the negro problem here in America is the segregation of negroes in some portion of the country where they will live their life without endangering either their own culture or the culture of the United States."

Atlanta Ga.

Russia is coming back, said Baron Sergius A. Korff, former deputy governor general of Finland, in an address at the Institute of Politics today.

"The evolution," he said, "comes against the plans and program of the government; it comes over their heads. Life has proved stronger than their theories.

"The greatest fact that I could point out is the death of communism. The bolshevik government honestly tried to establish a system of communism and failed and the private property idea came back. Trade began to come back and it was the trade that broke the dam and destroyed the idea of communism in the end."

He said that in many cases the breakdown of institutions was so thorough that reconstruction would take many years. The bolshevik government, he added, needed cash even more than recognition of their government.

Proving Mencken's Charges

Norfolk Journal & Guide

In a recent copyrighted article in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, Mr. Henry L. Mencken, journalist and writer of national note, and Southerner by birth and tradition, describes political and social conditions in the South in the following severe language: 8-4-23

"There is first, the South of the old gentry: urbane, educated, civilized, tolerant. There is, second, the South of the former poor white trash: uncouth, ignorant, barbarous, bullying. It is this second South that has been on top since Reconstruction days, and out of its ascendancy has flowed nine-tenths of the difficulties, political and social, that have beset the Southern people. It has steadily brought down Southern politics to the level of spoils and demagoguery; it has made a pathetic buffoonery of Southern education; it has fostered and inflamed race prejudice; it has corrupted and degraded Southern journalism; it has reduced Southern Christianity to a burlesque and an obscenity. This is the South of the Ku-Klux Klan, of the Billy Sunday revival, of complete aesthetic and ideational sterility, of burnings and lynchings, of Blease and Vardaman, of prohibition and Jew-baiting, of anti-Darwinism and free silver. This is the South, alas! that Northerners usually think of when they think of the South at all."

Norfolk, Va.

Many conservative people and numerous Southern newspapers have united in the opinion that Mr. Mencken's arraignment of Dixie was somewhat strained, but despite such an opinion on the part of those who would not desire to see further injury done this section by even an exposure of conditions that are all too true, occasionally a witness arises to confirm every charge made by the frank Mr. Mencken, as in the case of the editor of the Wilmington (N. C.) *News*, whose violent outburst of just the characteristics enumerated by Mr. Mencken appears in an article on the front page of this issue of the JOURNAL AND GUIDE, relating an exchange of thought between the Wilmington editor and Mayor Curley, of Boston, Mass., in connection with the action of the Boston mayor in naming a young colored man this year to read the Declaration of Independence on the occasion of the celebration of Independence Day in that city.

If any proof was needed to strengthen or give credence to the arraignment of Mr. Mencken, it is found in the line of thought expressed by the Wilmington editor.

Race Problem—1923
Europe

FRANCE FAR AHEAD OF ENGLAND

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Frenchmen As Colonizers Intermarry With All Nations and Make Them Real Frenchmen

2-23-23

FRANCE GREAT COLONIZER

French have mighty colored empire.
No color line in Colonies.
Education spreading—intermarriage common.
is in Africa.
Second largest French port

Chicago, Feb. 6—France has a mighty colored empire and has succeeded where England has failed writes William Nash from abroad.

Intermarriage Common

Frenchmen draw no color line. They intermarry freely with Negroes and Arabs, so that a mulatto race has grown up in many French colonies. Lack of prejudice in this line enables them to understand native desires and aspirations as conquerors can never do.

In Martinique, Guadeloupe, Reunion and a few other possessions Negroes enjoy the same rights as French white settlers, being in fact French citizens in every sense of the word. Elsewhere, as, for instance, in West Africa, natives have a special status which leaves them as much as possible under the authority of local chiefs, with the right to appeal to French courts. Local government remains largely in native hands. Intermigration goes on freely between colonies. There are no such artificial barriers between Algeria and Indo-China, for instance, as those which forbid the entry of British Hindu subjects into the equally British colonies of South Africa and Canada.

In the second line of colonization—namely, the uplifting of backward races—France has made great progress. North Africa seems to be returning to its ancient prosperity. Both Algeria and Tunis export wheat to Europe. Education is spreading rapidly. Hospitals have multiplied. Order is enforced with rigorous hand. European officials show themselves wisely tolerant of local manners and customs. Courts, schools, and churches on the Gallic model are introduced everywhere, but care is taken to leave in existence indigenous institutions of a similar type.

Not So Strong For Cleanliness

Anglo-Saxons pride themselves on their ability to cultivate the material prosperity of their colonies. British commentators boast of the fact that the fellaheen of Egypt have never been so prosperous as under British rule.

Although by no means negligent in the pursuit of this aim, it is possible to argue that France falls behind Great Britain in the achievement thereof. Latin peoples are a bit indifferent to efficiency and the French are Latin in blood. They have no horror of dirt. They regard hygiene and sanitation strictly as utilitarian sciences and in no sense as tasks imposed on mankind from heaven. Consequently native villages in some of their colonies make a disagreeable impression.

Algiers Is Second Port

Nevertheless, much has been done for the development of some regions. Algiers, for instance, has been transformed into the second largest port of France. Commerce in North Africa has increased in value from an insignificant sum in 1881 to a total of 7,000,000,000 Francs in 1920. An excellent system of railway lines has been laid down in Tunis, Algiers and Indo-China. Automobile roads have been constructed throughout Morocco, Dakar, in West Africa, has been made an important port of call for ships on their way from Europe to South America. Rice culture in Indo-China has been developed to such an extent that quantities of rice can be exported as food to China and Japan.

Sarraut Has Broad Plan

A comprehensive plan for the exploitation of the whole colonial empire has been worked out by Albert Sarraut, minister of colonies and submitted to parliament for approval. It includes railway projects, port works, irrigation canals, sanitary appliances and schemes for hospitals, lighthouses and schools. Money to carry out its provisions will be raised partly by the colonies themselves, it is hoped. Tunis, Morocco, and Madagascar should be able to float foreign loans independent of the mother country, say governme employees in Paris.

POINCARE ON BLACK TROOPS

The question of black troops in Germany, for obvious reasons, is continually being brought up. Recently the London "Graphic," an illustrated newspaper, published a number of photographs purporting to show that black French troops are still being used in the Ruhr. The French General Staff issued a categorical answer in which it denied that their had been any black troops in the Ruhr. The statement declared that the General Staff had been careful to avoid even the appearance of any reason for the campaigns of false news which the Germans and their friends never ceased carrying on against the French, and for that reason the Staff withdrew from Werden a relief division in which there were two hundred Martinique soldiers even though those soldiers were French citizens and voters. The Statement added that the West Indian islands of Martinique and Guadalupe have two senators and four deputies in the French Parliament and that the colonization of these islands by France began in 1625, nearly three hundred years ago.

When M. Candace, the colored member of the French Parliament from Guadalupe, saw this statement issued by the General Staff he at once served notice that he intended questioning Prime Minister Poincare on this discrimination against his constituents. In particular, he purposed to ask if the withdrawal of those who were serving like other French citizens in the division of the Ruhr army is "one of the consequences of the abominable campaign carried on by Germany against our colored troops."

Prime Minister Poinacre did not wait for M. Candace to interrogate him upon the floor, but at once issued the following answer:

New York Age 4/14/23

"France does not distinguish between the races living under her flag. In many of her old possessions she has even given to the native inhabitants all the perogatives of French nationality. This is notably the case in the Antilles and I do not need to say to you that, in the eyes of the Government and the republic, there are not two categories or classes of citizens.

"If the Government has chosen not to use black troops for the occupation of the Ruhr, it is certainly not that it has ceased reprobating the abominable calumnies but because it thought it wiser not to furnish, for the time being, any pretext for a propaganda which it will continue combating wherever it shows itself but which unhappily has penetrated even among peoples that are our friends."

M. Poincare's statement shows that not all the pressure brought upon France can make her adopt the sort of race prejudice practiced by the United States and England.

This whole question of black troops in Germany is an abominable and absurd piece of propaganda. Let us face the question squarely. Suppose there are black troops of the French army in Germany. What of it? If Germany had had the chance she would have used black troops, or green troops, or blue troops, or any other sort of troops, in France. On the other hand, so far as France and England, and the United States, too, are concerned, they did not hesitate to use black troops to help win the war; and if black troops were good enough to be hurled against German bayonets and German poison gas and German liquid fire to save France and England and the United States, they certainly ought to be good enough to patrol German towns now that the danger is past.

FOUR HUNDRED NEGRO GIRLS REACH PARIS FROM WEST INDIES.

Dallas Express 3/31/23
Dallas-Texas

(Crusader Service)

Paris, March 23.—France's servant problem has reached such a crisis that one of the philanthropic societies has imported 400 Negro girls from Martinique and Caudeloupe to work in French households. The dusky-skinned Colonials, wearing red bandannas around their heads and enveloped in bright calico Mother hubbards, landed at St. Nazaire this morning, and were taken directly to the home of the society, whence they will be distributed throughout France.

NEGROES REFUSE RUHR JOB

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.
3-9-23

Detective Abandons Plan to Furnish Labor for Mines

(By the Associated Press.)

NEW YORK, March 8.—Harry V. Dougherty, member of a detective agency which specializes in furnishing labor to industrial concerns has given up his hope of helping France exploit the coal mines of the Ruhr through the medium of American negroes.

Dougherty announced upon his arrival on the steamship Majestic yesterday that he would transport from 2,500 to 5,000 negro miners to the Ruhr. Today he said he had dropped the plan because he had learned since his arrival that instead of thousands of negroes eager for the jobs he could not find 100 who were willing to accept them.



N Y C WORLD
MARCH 18, 1923

NO COLOR LINE HERE! Left—An officer in one of the French marine regiments chatting with two of his men, colored troops from the African colonies whose presence with the army of occupation in Germany has caused much formal protest. The Negroes shown here do not compose separate organizations but are members of companies composed chiefly of white troops. (Pic. Press)

N Y C WORLD
MARCH 9, 1923

INTERNATIONAL STRIKE-BREAKERS.

We assume that the United States Government will not even consider allowing the Harry V. Dougherty Detective Agency to export Negro or any other kind of strike-breakers to the Ruhr. The project is disgraceful.

To take several hundred Negro miners into the Ruhr under contract labor with the French Government is not merely to invite violence but to insist upon it. Only a detective agency would be mad enough to suppose that you can import alien strike-breakers into a hungry and desperate district, densely settled with men who don't wear kid gloves, and expect to get away with it.

We find it hard to believe that the French Government has made any such contract with the Dougherty Detective Agency. But whether it has or not, our Government need not hesitate to prevent its being carried out. These miners are American citizens. They are not for sale. And the American people cannot afford to accept the odium of such a performance.

Mr. Hughes, who has not intervened to make peace in Europe, will certainly not permit American citizens to be used to increase its hatreds.

COLOR LINE REBUKED BY PARIS PAPER.

"Petit Bleu" Demands White American Barbarians Respect Customs of France—Tells Them They Are Not in the U. S. A.

(Crusader Service.)

Paris, July 15.—An incident in which four white American tourists refused to make a char-a-banc excursion through Paris because the vehicle contained twelve Negro soldiers is taken up this morning in a two-column leading article in the "Petit Bleu." The French newspaper demands that tourist agencies insist that their patrons respect the customs of the country in which they are vacationing and tells the American barbarians that France is not the United States where human beings are jim-crowed, insulted and degraded because of their color.

"These Americans behaved as vulgar persons," says the Petit Bleu. Their rediculous aversion for men of color contains no excuse. They are not at home, but in our country, which is an entirely different affair. The protest of these individuals, devoted to white integralism, merited a severe lesson, and it is to be regretted one was not given which which would make them see all colors. It is unfortunate that it was not made apparent that a Frenchman, whatever his color, is worth at least any foregin tourist."

American visitors to Paris have been for a long time carrying on a campaign of slander and villification against the Negro; and tried to have people of color barred from many Paris restaurants, theatres and other public places. Failing in this, they have opened up "American" cafes from which Negroes are baared. It was in one of these "American" cafes that "Battling" Siki knocked half a dozen Americans stiff for refusing to serve himself and a white woman guest.

FLAYS U. S. TOURISTS FOR BARRING NEGROES

French Deputy Says Americans Keep Colored Men Out of Famous Cabarets.

BY WILLIAM E. NASH.

SPECIAL CABLE
To The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.
Copyright, 1923, by The Chicago Daily News Co.

Paris, France, July 3.—Gratiet Candace, a negro deputy from Guadeloupe, published a violent attack to-day on the manners of American tourists in France. Negroes find themselves virtually barred from Montmartre, the famous cabaret district of Paris, on account of the attitude of certain travelers from the United States.

"Numerous complaints about the treatment accorded to negroes have been reaching us recently," said Candace. "At Havre a colored gentleman who did his duty bravely during the war was brutally expelled from a dance hall because his presence there was distasteful to American clients.

Refused Admittance to Cafe.

"In Paris a colored French citizen with a university degree was refused admittance to the Montparnasse cafe on the same grounds and was obliged to summon the police to teach the proprietor an elementary lesson in French law, under which there are no distinctions of race or color for men, women or children on French soil.

"Americans are free to institute and follow what manners they please at home, but certain habits which do not conform to our ideas of liberty and justice they must not try to introduce into France. In 1918-19 we witnessed the assassination of French negro poilus by American soldiers at St. Nazaire, Nice and other cities. The foreigners were punished.

"To-day we do not want to accept the lure of the almighty dollar over the splendid moral patrimony of France. White, yellow or black, all men who enjoy the proud distinction of being French citizens must live here together peacefully in liberty, equality and fraternity."

Another Attack Upon Tourists.

Another attack, similar to that of Candace, was published last week in the Echo de Paris in reference to a party of American tourists who refused to ride in the same sight-seeing autobus with a group of Senegalese chiefs.

Frenchmen draw absolutely no color line and seem incapable of understanding why Americans should do so.

N Y C SUN
MARCH 8, 1923

FRANCE TO GET NO MINERS HERE

Dougherty Finds He Cannot Deliver Negroes.

NOW ADMITS HIS MISTAKE

State Department Is One of the Obstacles to Ruhr Plan.

No 5,000 negro miners—nor any other number—from the bituminous mines in the South and Middle West will be shipped to dig coal in the Ruhr Valley to replace German miners who are on strike against the French occupation. The Dougherty Detective Agency has found it impossible to find even 200 negro miners willing to make the trip.

That is what Harry V. Dougherty told a SUN reporter to-day when asked about the statement he made on his arrival from Europe yesterday that he had a contract to supply the French Government with mine labor.

"The real is off," said Mr. Dougherty, "not because of the fear of international complications, but solely because the men cannot be obtained."

The Dougherty organization would gladly have engineered the shipment, for there was money in it, he said. He was to get fifty cents a day for every negro sent from this country to work in the German mines now occupied by the French.

The cost of transportation would have been paid and the negroes would have been housed at the expense of the French Government and given wages of 100 francs a day, Mr. Dougherty said.

Announcement a Mistake.

There was a misunderstanding or Mr Dougherty would not have made the announcement he did last night, he said. He had just arrived on the Majestic and had not yet seen his brother, George whom he had cabled to get the men. He was mortified to learn to-day that George Dougherty had had no success with the scouts he sent to West Virginia and Illinois to round up the miners.

Mr. Dougherty explained that it was on his way back from Algiers on a French ship that the proposition of sending American miners to the Ruhr first entered his head. On the ship were 700 Arabs who were being brought over to work in the German mines. Mr. Dougherty talked with the contractor, Louis Jeneau, who complained that the Arabs whom he was transporting to France were half-starved.

He gladly accepted Mr. Dougherty's offer to ship over as many husky American negroes as could be found. In accordance with the agreement 500 were to be shipped from here on the Orbito on March 14.

Plan Called Impossible.

Special Dispatch to THE SUN.
The Sun Bureau,
Washington, D. C., March 8.

There are many reasons why the reported plan of the French to send negro miners from the United States to the Ruhr district is impossible, it was said to-day by Government officials, labor officials and non-union mine leaders.

From the Government standpoint the plan is not practical because the Government does not desire this country to become involved in foreign complications which might result from the sending of American miners to the Ruhr. In fact it was declared to-day the Government would immediately discourage such a plan if it knew of it officially.

Ellis Searles, editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, said to-day his organization would not consider such a plan if it were broached.

Non-union coal operators pointed out that they could not afford to lose non-union workers by sending them to Europe, even if the ultimate return of the men was assured.

There are approximately 45,000 negro mine workers in the United States, more than half of whom are non-union workers. For the most part they are in Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia and the southern part of Ohio.

Race Problem — 1923
Europe.

AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE IN FRANCE.

The reported action of some Paris restaurants in closing their doors to negroes contrasts with the treatment which the French accorded American colored troops in France during the war. The Ninety-second Division, for example, which was composed of negroes, won many warm friends among the French people of the towns and villages where they were billeted. The same is true of the colored regiments brigaded with the French. This was not only because these soldiers were Americans, but because the French have never drawn the color line, as have Americans and English. Although they have not gone as far as the Spanish and Portuguese colonizers of Latin America, who for generations intermarried with races of all shades, they have always been tolerant and even cordial toward people with colored strains in their blood. As a rule, colored persons of good education have been freely welcomed socially and in every other way in France. The only possible exception has been in the case of those of the Senegalese troops who were recruited from backward and barbaric regions and who offered little appeal to French sympathies. It has also been said that in the French West Indies, notably in Martinique, where the proportion of negroes is unusually high, the attitude of the whites has resembled that of our own Southerners toward the American negroes.

America's race prejudices should not be exported. If the French, on their own account, wish to bar negroes from their restaurants, the matter is one which concerns only themselves and the colored races. When, however, they bar them in order to curry favor with Americans, it takes on another aspect. It is difficult to believe that there are enough negroes who visit or would like to visit the French restaurants patronized by Americans to give offense to any but the small handful of intolerants. Most peoples like to carry their prejudices about with them. But when they attempt to force them upon another nation, it is a signal that intolerance is going beyond bounds.

The French have a version of the adage which reads, "When in Paris do as the Parisians." Americans, for the most part, endeavor rather to do as they think the Parisians do. They are usually eager to cast aside the restraints of their American upbringing, substituting therefor an American-made conception of Paris as a city of unlimited personal freedom. The least that can be asked of Americans who visit French restaurants is that they put up with the eccentricities of French customs, even to the extent of tolerating the presence of foreigners of all colors. Could they but for a moment see themselves in French eyes they would realize that many of their actions appear to the French not only as eccentricities, but as exhibitions of downright social barbarism. A little more respect for Parisian prejudices as well as for Parisian tolerances would be in order.

JAIL FOR PARIS CAFE OWNER WHO OUSTED NEGROES

Chicago Daily News

French Refuse to Bow to Yanks' Sensibilities.

10-19-23

BY HENRY WALES.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]
[Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.]

PARIS, Oct. 18.—[Tribune Radio.]—Rene Renault, proprietor of El Garron, a night dancing resort in Montmartre, was today given a fifteen days' suspended sentence in prison for ejecting two Negroes from his place last August on the complaint of several American tourists.

El Garron dispensed with its Negro jazz band early this summer because of Americans who objected, and then early one morning in August when two Negroes entered the crowded resort, ordered champagne, picked up a couple of girls and began dancing, there was a general protest.

Police Join Fray.

M. Renault gave a signal and a flying wedge of waiters rushed the Negroes from the place. Outside the police grabbed and arrested the Negroes, thinking they had been fighting or had refused to pay their bills. There was great surprise when the blacks gave their names as Prince Kajo Tovalou and his brother, Marc, well known in Paris society and mixed up in politics.

Black deputies representing France's Negro colonies interfered, appealing to Premier Poincare, who issued a communique demanding that "foreigners," meaning Americans, treat all French citizens with equal respect.

Has Own Political Pull.

El Garron's night license was revoked temporarily, but since has been restored, since M. Renault also possesses a political pull through having it on certain leaders who frequent the place with beautiful girls not their wives.

V
AUGUST 2, 1923
(5)

AN ART COMMITTEE ANSWERED.

Four Americans about to board a sight-seeing bus in Paris objected to the presence within the car of some cadets from the Freujus Military School, which France maintains for officer-aspirants from colonial Africa. The Americans demanded expulsion of the cadets, were repulsed and declined to take seats within the car.

Some members of the Chamber of Deputies, hearing of the incident, lodged a protest with the Foreign Office. The Minister of Foreign Affairs replied publicly as follows:

> Foreign guests, forgetting they are our guests and bound to respect our customs and laws, recently on several occasions have forcibly manifested their aversion to seeing colored men born in French colonies sit by their side in public places. They have even gone to the length of demanding their expulsion in insulting terms. If such incidents are repeated, punishment will be exacted.

A great many Americans, and not necessarily those contemplating a visit to France, might study to advantage this note. Gen. Hines of the Veterans' Bureau, referring the Tuskegee incident to any in Washington who may remove him from the responsibility of installing a personnel in the new hospital there, might take heart by reading it.

Recently a young Negro woman who had won a scholarship at an art school at Fontainebleau was denied the rights her design had merited. A New York committee with some knowledge of French customs and laws yet feared that sending her as an American delegate to France might in some way give offense. It will find an answer to its fears in the note of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

COLOR LINE REBUKED BY PARIS NEWSPAPER

"Petit Bleu" Demands White Americans Respect Customs of France.

Paris, July 1.—An incident in which four white American tourists refused to make a char-a-banc excursion through Paris because the vehicle contained twelve Negro soldiers is taken up this morning in a two-column leading article in the "Petit Bleu." The French newspaper demands that tourist agencies insist that their patrons respect the customs of the country in which they are vacationing and tells the Americans that France is not the United States where human beings are jim-crowed, insulted and degraded because of their color.

"These Americans behave as vulgar persons," says the Petit Bleu. Their ridiculous aversion for men of color contains no excuse. They are not at home but in our country, which is an entirely different affair. The protest of these individuals, devoted to white integralism, merited a severe lesson, and it is to be regreeted one was not given which would make them see all colors. It is unfortunate that it was not made apparent that a Frenchman, whatever his color, is worth at least any foreign tourist."

American visitors to Paris have been for a long time carrying on a campaign of slander and villification against the Negro, and have tried to have people of color barred from many Paris restaurants, theatres and other public places. Failing in this, they have opened up "American" cafes from which Negroes are barred.

FRENCH CAFE OWNER IS FINED AND SENTENCED

Chicago Tribune

PARIS, France, Dec. 24—(Special K. N. F. Service Dispatch) Black Frenchmen must be accorded equal rights in France, it was declared by the tribunal correctional of Paris in pronouncing a fifteen day suspended sentence upon M. Rene Renault for ejecting two colored patrons from his bar-restaurant in Montmartre.

The plaintiffs were of the noble princely house of Dahomey, and their case attracted attention throughout the world.

12-24-23

In addition to the suspended jail sentence M. Renault was sentenced to pay a fine of 200 francs.

Race Problem—1923
Mexico.

Going to Mexico?

The Messenger

The International Community Welfare League from its American Headquarters, 221 Lissner Building, Los Angeles, Calif., has issued the following bulletin to its membership, generally, throughout the United States. 2-1-23

In accordance with our announced policy of opening opportunities in Mexico to the American Negro, the League has just received from its Mexico City representative a request for ten (10) good Negro farmers and their families who are experienced in the growing of sugar cane. The government of the state of Morelos, which State is immediately South of the city of Mexico, through Senor Ingeniero Armendo Fernandez, State Engineer, at Cuernavaca, Mexico, makes the following proposition to any ten (10) American Negro farmers who are members of the International Community Welfare League or whom the League may recommend.

"The government will furnish each of these farmers from 25 to 50 acres of good land together with all the water required to irrigate it; government tractors and government drivers will be furnished at a nominal cost; a fine government school is near the land; the government will furnish agricultural supervision and protection; *the government will loan $125.00 per acre for each acre planted.*

WARNING IS GIVEN U. S. TO BAR RACE

Chicago Defender
Chicago, Ill.

Colonization Scheme Cited as Reason for Protest on Mexico's Part

2-17-23

By GEORGE SELDEN.

Mexico City, Mex., Feb. 16.—Official reports from the office of General Calles, secretary of the interior, are to the effect that people of our Race will hereafter be prohibited from entering Mexico.

Word has been sent to all officials of immigration informing them of the decision of the Mexican government, and asking their co-operation in the attempt to halt the migration of our people to this country.

Answer Colony Scheme.

This action is being taken as the Mexican government's answer to reports that it is backing a colonization scheme.

According to information from authoritative sources many families nad contemplated moving from the southern states into Mexico. In one instance a colony of 20 families departed after a permit had been received from the Mexican government. These people made up a party consisting of slightly more than a hundred, chartered a train and took with them farming tools, live stock and household belongings.

The expenses of the trip are to be paid for pro rata by the emigrants. The movement was sponsored by a community welfare league with headquarters in Los Angeles, Cal.

J. B. Key, an official of the league, and resident of Okmulgee, Okla., recently conferred with President Obregon of Mexico regarding the immigration movement. According to Key, settlement rights were obtained to 150,000 acres of land in the state of Sonora, 110,000 acres in San Luis Potosi, and 200,000 acres on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Land Grant Void.

Later reports indicate that Secretary of the Interior Calles has issued an order cancelling the permit to bring 20 families into the northern part of the country.

According to this authority, only white immigrants are wanted in Mexico in the future. Immigrants from the northern part of the United States and Europe are especially wanted, the Mexican officials say. The government, however, did not look favorably on the southern white man, declaring he descended from the convicts who were exiled by the English government and his reputation for hard work and morality were faulty.

Foreign governments have taken a peculiar attitude to the immigration of our people ever since Marcus Garvey launched his "campaign of hate" coupled with his "back to Africa" movement. The propaganda spread by Garvey, some declare, has done untold injury to the cause of many legitimate settlement projects originated in the United States and having foreign fields for their destination.

NEGRO IMMIGRATION BARRED IN MEXI

New York Times

Calles Issues Orders for Gene Exclusion on Reports of Coloni zation Schemes Here.

2-6-23

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company.
Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 5.—General Calles, Secretary of the Interior, has issued an order to all officials of immigration prohibiting the entrance of negroes into Mexico.

This may be taken as the Government's answer to reports that it is backing a negrocolonization scheme. It is reported here that adventurers in the United States are fleecing negroes with wild schemes of land grants in all parts of the Mexican Republic. One hacienda had a permit to bring twenty families into the northern part of the republic, but this permit has been withdrawn by order of General Calles.

In the future only white immigrants are wanted in Mexico, as the Government is realizing that a mixture of other bloods will degenerate the race instead of bettering it. Immigrants from the northern part of Europe and from the United States especially are wanted, on account of their reputation for hard work and morality, and the Government will make an effort to attract the same class of immigrants that America received in early days.

MEXICO EXECUTES AMERICAN NEGRO HELD FOR KILLING

Atlanta Constitution

San Diego, Ca., February 7.—Chester Carleton, an American negro, who shot and killed George Monteverde, member of the Mexican police force at Tiajuana, at the border town yesterday afternoon, was hanged in the Tiajuana jail last night, according to reports reaching the international line. Residents of Tiajuana declared that his body would be burned today. It was not known here whether he had a trial. 2-8-23

Carleton, according to witnesses, shot and killed Monteverde and also wounded Torsiro Monteverde, brother of George, and two other men. It was reported that the shooting was due to a dispute over an accident to Carleton's automobile, which he is said to have loaned to George Monteverde last Wednesday.

MEXICANS DENY LYNCHING

Chicago American
Baltimore, Md.

Juana, Mexico, Feb. 15—Mexican authorities denied today that Chester Carlton, an American colored man, had been lynched here recently. 2-16-23

OIL MAGNATES ARE BEHIND ANTI-NEGRO FEELING IN MEXICO

3/9/23
Pittsburg American
Pittsburg, Pa.

MEXICO CITY, Mexico, March 9.—Alarmed at the headway being made by the colored people of the United States in acquiring vast land holdings in Mexico, and the migration of thousands of colored farmers to the Mexican Republic; the white oil interests thru their press agency, the Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service, is sending out propaganda to the daily papers stating that colored colonists are not wanted in Mexico, and that Pres. Obregon objected to the colored people upon the grounds that they were not good prospective colonists on account of "the ethnic problem."

The opposition of the oil interests is chiefly against permitting the colored people to colonize in the Tampico and San Luis Potosi districts, which are in the heart of the Mexican oil belt.

In spite of the opposition of the oil interests, this movement to open up the fertile valleys of Lower California to the colored people, has the hearty support of not only Pres. Obregon but of the Mexican Government as a whole, the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego and Los Angeles, California, and other influential interests.

In July 1922 Pres. Obregon met a delegation of 22 colored citizens of the United States headed by Atty. Hugh Macbeth of Los Angeles, and Mr. J. B. Key of Okmulgee, Okla., and stated in person to them, "That Mexico has no color line and the Mexican Constitution forbids Race distinction on the ground of race, color, creed or degree of wealth."

At Ensenada, Mexico, the delegation was welcomed by the Mayor who said: "Mexico offers the greatest opportunity and future to any people on the face of the earth. We are inviting the American Negro to come and cast his lot with us, not because we know that he is mistreated, and unjustly dealt with in his own land, but because we believe that in the development of commerce, agriculture, and trade in our own country, he will be fair enough to take some and leave some and not try to take all as some Americans have done in the past."

Entertains Delegation in Capital

Pres. Obregon received the colored delegation cordially at the "Mexican White House" and promised his support and that of the Government to any legitimate colonization movement that would bring a desirable element of American Negroes into Mexico.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES of Mexico are marvelously abundant, able to support six times the present population, numbering about 16,000,000. Mexico is encouraging immigration of all races. She needs increased population. As might be expected, we find a certain type of American statesmen who pretend to discern a great future danger for the American commonwealth in a Mexico grown strong in numbers and becoming one of the powers of the earth. But the Black man no longer is afraid of bogies. He is doing his own thinking and is willing to lie on the bed he makes for himself.

THE LURE OF MEXICO

3/24/23
Chicago, Ill.

AT PRESENT in various sections of the South many of our people are evidencing a recognition of the fact that Mexico offers a much larger freedom, politically, economically and socially, than they now enjoy. Recently there have sprung up societies whose aims are both to discover and create opportunities in Mexico for members of our group. Many have crossed the border, taking advantage of the gifts of land offered by the Mexican government to all immigrants.

WHEN ONE pauses to reflect on the matter it is astonishing that the Black man of the South, restricted as he is in his natural development by the most oppressive laws and conventions, has not been tempted before now, not only by the abundant natural richness of the south republic, its fair climate, but by the warm, democratic temper of its people. And certainly the gateway into Mexico is much nearer for many of our Southern communities than the Northern cities that have principally been the objectives of the migratory movements up from the South.

Chicago Defender

OF COURSE, for those who would transplant themselves to a foreign land there is the imperative task of acquiring a new language and becoming appreciative of strange customs. But these are easily overcome. Perhaps that which has been most responsible for the hitherto indifferent attitude of our group toward Mexico has been the white press. There has been a constant and well laid system of agitation traceable to large Southern interests, mapped out for certain influential newspapers, to the effect that Mexico is only slightly removed from barbarism, and its existence is only justifiable as a political dependent of the United States.

AGAIN, THE SOUTH cannot do without the Black man; as an industrial factor he is indispensable. Everything is done by those who would be subject to the greatest loss in the event of his leaving to discourage the slightest manifested tendencies thereof. At present it is being circulated in many leading American newspapers that the Mexican government has recently issued orders to all consulates in America not to vise the passports of Colored people proposing to settle in Mexico. When the Mexican consul was consulted on the matter he emphatically denied the existence of any truth whatsoever in the matter. Furthermore, he stated that at present no American citizen, Black or white, is required to procure a passport to enter Mexico.

Call it "City of Freedom." Is Located on Seaside in Santa Clara Valley. Colony Contains 8,762 Acres and is 100 Miles From Los Angeles.

Ensenada, Lower California, Mexico, March 15.—(Pacific News Bureau)—Thirty-seven miles from Ensenada, in the beautiful Santa Clara Valley the Colored citizens of the United States have established the first Negro colony and townsite of record on the West Coast of Mexico. In years past several unsuccessful attempts have been made to colonize the Colored people of the States in localities situated in the heart of Mexico, but the handicaps of the Mexican tropics proved disastrous. Dallas Express

Ensenada, a thriving Mexican sea port, 100 miles from Los Angeles and the surrounding country is but a continuation of the same wonderful soil, climate and natural resources that has made Southern California the garden spot of the world. Dallas Texas 3/17/23

If the American Colored citizen is ever to find an ideal locality suitable for colonization upon a large and successful scale, it will undoubtedly be in Lower California, Mexico, where he will find a climate neither too hot nor too cold;; free from tropical disease, insects and animals and thousands of acres of rich virgin soil, suitable for farming the year around, and yet only a few hours ride by auto from the thriving cities of San Diego and Los Angeles.

City of Freedom.

In the Negro colony in the Santa Clara Valley comprising 8,762 acres, 80 acres of choice location is being developed into a townsite known as "Ciudad De Libertad" ((City of Freedom). Additional acreage with each sale of acreage. Several thousand acres of valley land is available for cash or crop rent. By this method the Lower California Mexican Land & Development Co., of Los Angeles claims that each colonists locating in "The City of Freedom" will be self supporting, as each will own some acreage, and a city lot, and can obtain as much additional land as he desires to handle, regardless of his financial circumstances.

MEXICAN ANTI-NEGRO PROPAGANDA EXPOSED.

Louisville News

White Oil Interests Alarmed At Acquisition Of Mexico Oil Lands By Negro Syndicates.

Louisville, Ky, 3-10-23

Mexico, City, Mexico, Mar. 6.—Alarmed at the headway being made by colored people of the United States in acquiring vast land holdings in Mexico and the migration of thousands of colored farmers to the Mexican republic; the white oil interests, thru their press agency, the Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service, is sending out propaganda to the daily papers stating that colored colonists are not wanted in Mexico, and that President Obregon objected to the colored people upon the grounds that they were not good prospective colonists on account of "the ethnic problem".

The opposition of the oil interests is chiefly against permitting the colored people to colonize in the Tampico and San Luis Potosi districts, which are in the heart of the Mexican oil belt.

On January 25 a colony of Oklahoma colored people started for San Luis Potosi, in the heart of tropical Mexico. Other colonists have gone to thte Santa Clara Valley district on the west coast of Mexico about 200 miles below Los Angeles, Cal. In this district the Lower California & Development Co. of Los Angeles, a Negro coporation, owns and controls a vast estate of over 5,000 acres of valuable farming, mining and oil lands.

In spite of the opposition of the oil interests this movement to open up the fertile valleys of Lower California to the colored people, has the hearty support of not only President Obregon but of the Mexican government as a whole, the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego and Los Angeles, California, and other influential interests.

* * *

President Obregon Meets Negro Delegation.

In July 1922 President Obregon met a delegation of twenty-two colored citizens of the United States headed by Attorney Hugh Macbeth of Los Angeles and Mr. B. Key of Okmulgee, Okla., an dstated in person to them, "That Mexico has r color line and the Mexican constitution forbids race distinction on the ground of race, color, creed or degree of wealth."

At Ensenada, Mexico, the delegation was welcomed by the mayor who said: "Mexico offers the greatest opportunity and future to any people on the face of the earth. We are inviting the American Negro to come and cast his lot with us, not because we know he is mistreated and unjustly dealt with in his own land, but because we believe that in the development of commerce, agriculture, and trade in our own country, he will be fair enough to taek some and leave some and not ry to take all as some Americans have done in the past."

Entertains Delegation In The Capitol

President Obregon received the colored delegation cordially at the "Mexican White House" and promised his support and that of the government to any legitimate colonization movement that would bring a desireable element of American Negroes into Mexico. He was especially interested in the colonization plans outlined by the Lower California Land & Development Co., in building up the fertile valleys of the district adjacent to the great Mexican Pacific seaport, Ensenada, 60 miles by auto from San Diego, California.

MEXICO NOT BARRING COLORED IMMIGRANTS

St. Louis Argus

False Statement Charged To White American And British Oil Interests

St. Louis, Mo,

Crusader Service. 3/16/23

MEXICO CITY, Max., March 14.—High officials in the Mexican Government brand as utterly false and malicious the statement appearing in the American press to the effect that Mexico has changed her traditional policy of friendship towards the Negro American and intends to bar Negro colonists henceforth.

According to these officials, Negro colonists are as welcome as ever and the statement that they are not is a canard, broadcasted by the white American and British oil interests who are alarmed at the headway being made by colored people from the United States.

The opposition of the oil interests is chiefly against permitting the colored people to colonize in the Tampico and San Luis Potosi districts, which are in the heart of the Mexican oil belt.

NEGRO TOWNSITE OPENED IN OLD MEXICO

Hall Gattler

Negro Syndicate Establishes Colored Townsite in Mexico within 100 Miles of Los Angeles, Cal.

(Pacific News Bureau)

Ensenada, Lower California, Mexico, February. — Thirty-seven miles from Ensenada, in the beautiful Santa Clara Valley the colored citizens of the United States have established the first Negro colony and townsite of record on the west coast of Mexico. In years past several unsuccessful attempts have been made to colonize the colored people of the States in localities situated in the heart of Mexico, but the handicaps of the Mexican tropics proved disastrous. 3/11/23

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City of Freedom

In the Negro colony in the Santa Clara Valley comprising 8,762 acres, 80 acres of choice location is being developed into a townsite known as "Ciudad De Libertad" (City of Freedom). Additional acreage adjoining has been plotted into acreage tracts, a town lot going with each sale of acreage. Several thousand acres of valley land is available for cash or crop rent. By this method the Lower California Mexican Land & Development Co. of Los Angeles claims that each colonist locating in "The City of Freedom" will be self supporting, as each will own some acreage, and a city lot, and can obtain as much additional land as he desires to handle, regardless of his financial circumstances.

Race Problem — 1923.
Mexico.

INFLUENCE OF THE NEGRO RACE IN THE FORMATION OF THE MEXICAN RACE

By LICENTIATE ALFONSO TORO

(Ethnos. Revista mensual para la vulgarizacion de estudios anhtropologicos sobre Mexico.)

Mexico, November, 1920. Marzo 1921, Tomo 1 No. 8-12.

(Translated by A. A. Schomburg, Esq.)

My esteemed friend the learned historian Mr. Louis Gonzalez Obregon called my attention to a number of censu: of the Viceroy of New Spain recently published by the Official Center of American Studies at Sevilla. Until today it was believed that the Negro race has had very little influence in the formation of the Mexican race. Dr. Mora in his important work "Mexico and her Revolutions" says: "The number of Negroes has been one of the elements that has entered to form its actual population (of the republic) has always been very short and today has almost disappeared, for the few that remained along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts are entirely too insignificant to inspire any feeling toward the tranquillity of the Republic not to have anv influence in the luck of its destiny." In like terms are expressed nearly all those who have taken up the Mexican population from Baron de Humboldt to Prince Roland Bonaparte have limited the influence of the Negro race to the coasts of Vera Cruz and Guerrero and to certain regions where sugar cane is cultivated and known as the torrid lands.

Sept. 1, 1923

Documents from Ancient Archives

When we radically modify such ideas the statisticians come forth like those whom I have mentioned and whose works have been published by Mr. Germain La Torre under the title of Census of the Population of the Viceroy of New Spain during the XVI century in the IV tome of the Colonial American Bibliography. Three are the documents contained under said title. The first is a "Relation of all the Spanish towns of New Spain." The second is a "Memoir of the Spanish towns and populated mines in New Spain" and the last is "Memoir of the Provinces and towns under control."

His Majesty in this New Spain who should not be offended of the Royal Crown without commending itself to any person in the Archbishopric of Mexico." These documents were found in the General Archives of the Indies at Sevilla. With the exception of the second which is subscribed by Mr. Louis Marban the others are not signed. The three documents referred to correspond to the second half of the XVI century without being able to tell with precision the year, except the third which is of February 25, 1560.

The most important of the three for our object is the first noted. From its results are gathered the population of the principal bishoprics of New Spain during the second half of the XVI century was as follows:

Archbishopric of Mexico—Spaniards, 9,495; Negro Slaves, 10,595; Mestizos, 2,000; Mulattoes, 1,050.

Archbishopric of Michoacan—Spaniards, 1,035; Negro Slaves, 1,765; Mestizos, 200; Mulattoes, 200.

Archbishopric of Nueva Galicia—Spaniards, 1,270; Negro Slaves, 2,375; Meztisos, 150; Mulattoes, 150.

Archbishopric of Tiaxcala—Spaniards, 1,531; Negro Slaves, 2,958; Mestizos, 100; Mulattoes, 100.

Archbishopric of Yucatan—Spaniards, 420; Negro Slaves, 265; Mestizos, 10; Mulattoes, 20.

Archbishopric of Oaxaca—Spaniards, 560; Negro Slaves, 481; Mestizos, 50; Mulattoes, 30.

Archbishopric of Chiapas—Spaniards, 400; Negro Slaves, 130.

If to these figures we add 3,000 maroons Spaniards we find them to have had in New Spain, without including Guatemala, Costa Rica and Veragua, where 3,000 more Spaniards radiated a total of 17,711 Spaniards. Against this, the number of Negroes, without taking into account the Maroons, amounts to 18,569, a number larger than the Spaniards.

The wish to save the Indians from slavery was the cause of the introduction of Negro slaves into America. The celebrated Cardinal Cisneros was the first who conceded permission for Negroes to be brought to the West Indies in 1516, and to this license many others followed in rapidly in the Antilles and several places on the continent to the point of inspiring serious concern to the Spanish colonials, and instead of suspending the importation of the human ebony. There was solely disposed, as the chronologist Herrera says, that no one could have Negroes without having the three-quarter parts more of Christian, and these were expected to be well armed. The Negroes at the arrival of the first Viceroy to New Spain were already numerous, not so much because of the many assientos or contracts which various individuals had made with the crown, but by the great contraband that was made by bringing them from Africa or from the islands.

So numerous they were that as is well known during the Viceroy ruling of Mr. Antonio de Mendoza, an uprising which was discovered on September 24, 1537, which gave cause to very bloody repression. The census which we examined explain the reasons and wherefore, without any doubt, of a greater number of Negroes present since a great many perished when the conjuration was discovered. The Spaniards must have seen their plight of losing the dominion in New Spain.

The Viceroy frightened before the danger that the white race was about to run into dictated various proclamations to prevent such occurrence in the future, and he thereby requested his monarch that arms and powder in large quantity should be sent him. A fort be constructed in Tacuba with prohibition to permit more Negroes to be forwarded to New Spain. This happened during 1537, and, if we have passed the middle of the century, the number of Negroes having so largely increased over the Spaniards. We must agree that it reached the point where they painted collections of pictures represented the various types of miscegenation within its ordinary occupations. These types were with a slight variation designated with the names of mestizos, lobos, albinos, sambayas, cambujos, albarazados, barcinos, coyotes, Chamizos, Alli to estan, No-te-entiendo, etc.

From the collection of paintings to which we have referred there exist in Paris, which has been described by Professor Blanchard in the Journal of the Society of Americana and two in the National Museum of Archeology and History of the City of Mexico, which has been explained in the annals of said museum and the Ethnos Review, and it is known that there are several similar pictures in Paris.

Negro Race Left Its Mark

If we take into account that the law XXI, title III, book VI of Recopilacion de las Indias prohibited Negroes and mulattoes to live in the cities of the Indians, especially those who were employed in the mining districts and in the sugar cane plantations and as domestics in the cities. It is proper to agree that it was very difficult for them to mix with the Indians than with the white race. It was natural to expect that in the large cities as Mexico, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, Pachuca should be where in their passage, the Negro race did leave a great mark, but any impartial observer can prove the contrary, nevertheless, the persistency of the ethnographic character of the African race is manifested in many of the mestizos of the Gulf and Pacific and in the regions of the torrid lands.

Notwithstanding what we have finished saying, perhaps, if the physical characteristics of the Negro have disappeared in the higher table lands and in that part of Mexico situated outside the Torrid Zone, it is possible that there is conserved a few of the moral characteristics of the Negro among his descendants.

A very careful ethnological study could explain many of the propensities of the Mexican people. The missionaries, and especially Father Mendiotta, paints the Negro as obnoxious hypocrites and always disposed to insurrection, and perhaps from there, from the Negro race, comes the indocility of the Mexican people to hold their govornors and their tendency to revolution.

All these problems are worthy of a careful study. I am not doing anything else but to call them to the attention of the learned whose time are taken up with these things.

Race Problem - 1923.

Mexico.

Obregon to be Recognized

The Washington Eagle

Negroes Barred from Mexico

8/4/23

Washington D.C.

It is generally understood that the United States Government will come to terms of amicability with the republic of Mexico early this fall, the administration then planning to put into effect the policies which the United States Government is interested in being developed below the Rio Grande.

Among the developments one of the most significant is to the effect that colored Americans cannot enter Mexico. Colored people from all over the world may enter as may persons of any of the nationalities of Europe. But those who claim American citizenship are barred from leaving America to enter Mexico.

In some cases there are husbands who entered Mexico last spring before the order went into effect, purchased property and established homes. Their wives at present are unable to join them, and if they return to America, they will be unable to get back into Mexico to look after the interests they have developed.

Many families are camped on the banks of the Rio Grande endeavoring to get permission from the Mexican government to enter. The situation has been exposed thoroughly and given due publicity through Dr. Arthur Holliday of Washington who is traveling in interest of the Holliday laboratories.

NegroMigrants toMexico Fail to Take Proper Papers With Them

Topeka Plaindealer

The Department of Interior has not given instructions to its Migration Inspectors an dAgents to restrict the entrance of North American citizens of the Negro race who intend to return to their homes located in Mexico, but rather when they have presented concrete cases of this intention they have been permitted passage to National Territory. There may be cited as examples: Henry Riley, Fred Sayt, Dot Barnei, and J. Douglas and their families.

10-19-23

Topeka, Kansas

Consequently the dispositions issued by the Department of Interior may be interpreted as absolutely not affecting the North American citizens of the Negro race who are in transit through Territory of Mexico or who are returning to their homes; but it is logical to assume that foreigners will be obliged to furnish the requisites specified by the laws, regulations and other dispositions on immigration and to exhibit to the Mexican authorities those documents which prove their statements. In some cases it has happened that the documents of these foreigners, who have intended to enter the country, have not been accepted on account of being incomplete or deficient; and the fault for this is due exclusively to those interested and not to the authorities of Mexico.

8-5-23

With respect to the dispositions issued over the general prohibition of immigration, Mexico, like all the nations of the world, and based upon Article 3 of the Immigration Law, which permits it to prohibit the entrance into the country of individuals who come o it to become charges upon society, gave instructions for the entrance not to be permitted to destitute day-laborers who come o cause disastrous competition with Mexican laborers; and on many occasions, the individuals of the Negro race who have intended to immigrate have been found to be precisely in this situation in a great number of cases, that is to say that they would constitute a real charge upon Mexican society in case their entrance were permitted; therefore the Migration Inspectors have worked with all energy in this matter.

Immigrants, and particularly Negroes, perhaps on account of their limited knowledge concerning the Immigration laws, neglect, in most cases, to exhibit those proofs of citizenship and nationality and the other documents required, for example: that which pertains to the proof of the fact that they are colonists and have concluded contracts over the matter an dover permission for entrering the country; those relative to proof that they actually have previously established their homes in Mexico, and that it is true they are returning to them.

There are cases in which individuals who intend to immigate claim relationship with families residing in the country, a relationship which is not supported by any fact and, therefore, which cannot be taken into consideration for permitting entrance, unless it is arranged upon other grounds.

As is observed, the intention of the Government is not to restrict the immigration of safe and industrious elements and those who are not going to become a charge upon society; but to free itself from the impostiion of undesirable element and those who do not produce the requisites required by our laws.

From the above considerations, it is to be inferred that Mexico rests upon the necessity of applying definite restrictions upon immigration, but it is certain that these are not going o be directed against one particular race or nationality, but that they have been adopted through being absolutely necessary for the protection and conservation of its internal order.

ORDERS REPORT FROM MEXICANS ON COLOR CASE

U. S. State Department Asks Data on William Vann, Who Was Kept Out of Colony

New York, N. Y., Nov. 16.—The United States department of State in response to a recent complaint forwarded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has ordered a full report to be made concerning alleged discrimination against our Race by the Mexican authorities at Piedras Negras. The following letter has been received by the advancement association from the state department:

Chicago Defender

Demands Report

"I am in receipt of your letter of Oct. 18, with further reference to the report that the Mexican authorities at Piedras Negras have been instructed to prohibit the entrance into Mexico of American Negroes and in particular reference to the case of William Vann, who asserts that he has been endeavoring, without success, to return to his property in the State of Durango since September 1, 1923.

11-17-23

"In reply, you are informed that the American consul at Piedras Negras has been instructed to submit a full report upon the case of William Vann.

"With regard to the statement that the American consul has failed properly to assist the persons discriminated against, you are informed that, under date of July 5, 1923, the consul reported that he had taken up the matter with the inspector in charge of the Mexican immigration service at Piedras Negras, suggesting that these Negroes of American nationality, who desire to return to their property in Mexico be given visiting cards for that purpose."

Had Large Colony

The complainant, William Vann, asserts in 1909, he carried a colony of 65 families into Mexico and settled them on a grant of 27,114 acres, leased for 99 years. In 1923, when President Wilson ordered all American citizens to return from Mexico, the colonists crossed the border, and are now seeking to return to their homes.

RACE MIGRANTS BARRED FROM SOUTH REPUBLIC

Courier

Amsterdam News

Advancement Association Forwards Particulars to Secretary of State Hughes; Letters Presented In Evidence.

10-27-23

New York, October 19—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again has received word of anti-Negro discrimination by the Mexican officials at Piedras Negras, just across the border from Eagle Pass, Texas, and has reported the facts to Charles Hughes, U. S. Secretary of State in Washington. The letter to Secretary Hughes is as follows:

"Referring to your letter of September 29, containing a report forwarded by the American Embassy in Mexico City, to the effect that there is no discrimination by the Mexican Government against immigrants of the Negro race: "I beg to advise that additional reports have come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the Mexican Government is still preventing the entrance of United States citizens at Piedras Negras and that we are informed discrimination is being practiced against persons of color.

Furthermore, we are informed that the American consul at Eagle Pass, Texas, has failed to properly assist the persons discriminated against.

The complainant is William Vann, who asserts that in 1909 he carried a colony of 65 families into the Republic of Mexico and settled them on a grant of 27,114 acres of land in the State of Durango, Mexico, leased to his company, The Durango Land Company, for 99 years from July 12, 1909. In 1913 the colony left their homes in Mexico and returned to the United States upon the order of the President of the United States that all Americans citizens were to leave Mexico. They listed their property with the American consul at that time.

Mr. Vann asserts that he has been in Eagle Pass, Texas since September 1 of this year and has not been permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico to look after his property.

We have a further letter from Mrs. J. A. Williams of Eagle Pass Texas, asserting that white American citizens are permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico at Piedras Negras but that this privilege is refused to colored citizens of the United States. Mrs. Williams further states: 'Mr. Louis Whitehead has been as far in as 65 miles from the border without a passport or anyone to vouch for him or any questions asked, but he looks like a white man.'

May we have your advice in this matter?"

MEXICAN GOVERNMENT AND NEGRO IMMIGRATION

No Restriction Practiced—All Races and Nationals Subject to Laws

Negro World

The State Department forwards a report from the American embassy at Mexico City with reference to the admission of Negroes to Mexico, stating that difficulty is sometimes occasioned by failure of migrants to equip themselves with the documents required by Mexican law. The report from the embassy is as follows: 10-27-23

"The Department of Interior has not given instructions to its migration inspectors and agents to restrict the entrance of North American citizens of the Negro race who intend to return to their homes located in Mexico, but rather, when they have presented concrete cases of this intention they have been permitted passage to national territory. There may be cited as examples: Henry Riley, Fred Sart, Dot Barnei, and J. Douglas and their families.

"Consequently, the dispositions issued by the Department of Interior ... be interpreted as absolutely not affecting the North American citizens of the Negro race who are in transit through the territory of Mexico or who are returning to their homes, but it is logical to assume that foreigners will be obliged to furnish the requisites specified by the laws, regulations and other dispositions on immigration and to exhibit to the Mexican authorities those documents which prove their statements. In some cases it has happened that the documents of these foreigners, who have intended to enter the country, have not been accepted on account of being incomplete or deficient; and the fault for this is due exclusively to those interested and not to the authorities of Mexico.

"With respect to the disposition issued over the general prohibition of immigration, Mexico, like all the nations of the world, and based upon Article 3 of the Immigration law, which permits it to prohibit the entrance into the country of individuals who come to it to become charges upon society, gave instructions for the entrance not to be permitted to destitute day-laborers who come to cause disastrous competition with Mexican laborers; and on many occasions, the individuals of the Negro race who have intended to immigrate have been found to be precisely in this situation in a great number of cases, that is to say, that they would constitute a real charge upon Mexican society in case their entrance were permitted; therefore the migration inspectors have worked with all energy in this matter.

"Immigrants, and particularly Negroes, perhaps on account of their limited knowledge concerning the immigration laws, neglect, in most cases, to exhibit those proofs of citizenship and nationality and the other documents required, for example: That which pertains to the proof of the fact that they are colonists and have concluded contracts over the matter and over permission for entering the country; those relative to proof that they actually have previously established their homes in Mexico, and that it is true they are returning to them.

"There are cases in which individuals who intend to immigrate claim relationship with families residing in the country, a relationship which is not supported by any fact and, therefore, which cannot be taken into consideration for permitting entrance, unless it is arranged upon other grounds.

"As is observed, the intention of the government is not to restrict the immigration of safe and industrious elements and those who are not going to become a charge upon society; but to free itself from the imposition of undesirable elements and those who do not produce the requisites required by our laws.

"From the above consideration, it is to be inferred that Mexico rests upon the necessity of applying definite restrictions upon immigration, but it is certain that these are not going to be directed against one particular race or nationality, but that they have been adopted through being absolutely necessary for the protection and conservation of its internal order."

Mexican Anti-Racial Ban On At U. S. Border

NEW YORK, October 25—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again has received word of anti-Negro discrimination by the Mexican officials at Piedras Negras, just across the border from Eagle Pass, Texas, and has reported the facts to Charles E. Hughes, U. S. Secretary of State in Washington. The letter to Secretary Hughes, is as follows:

"Referring to your letter of September 29 containing a report forwarded by the American Embassy in Mexico City, to the effect that there is no discrimination by the Mexican Government against immigrants of the Negro race:

"I beg to advise that additional reports have come to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the Mexican Government is still preventing the entrance of United States citizens at Piedras Negras and that we are informed discrimination is being practiced against persons of color.

"Furthermore, we are informed that the American counsel at Eagle Pass, Texas, has failed to properly assist the persons discriminated against.

"The complainant is Wililam Vann who asserts that in 1909 he carried a colony of 65 families into the Republic of Mexico and settled them on a grant of 27,114 acres of land in the State of Durango, Mexico, leased to his company. The Durango Land Company, for 99 years from July 12, 1909. In 1913, the colony left their homes in Mexico and returned to the United States upon the order of the President of the United that all American citizens were to leave Mexico. They listed their property with the American consul at that time.

"Mr. Vann asserts that he has been in Eagle Pass, Texas, since September 1, of this year and has not been permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico to look after his property.

"We have a further letter from Mrs. J. A. Williams of Eagle Pass, Texas, asserting that white American citizens are permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico at Piedras Negras but that this privilege is refused to colored citizens of the United States. Mrs. Williams further states: 'Mr. Louis Whitehead has been as far in as 65 miles from the border without a passport or anyone to vouch for him or any questions asked but he looks like a white man.'

"May we have your advice in this matter?"

Race Problem - 1923.
Mexico

MEXICAN ANTI-NEGRO PROPAGANDA EXPOSED

Norfolk Journal & Guide

Mexico City, Mexico,—Alarmed at the headway being made by the colored in Mexico, and that President Obrequiring vast land holdings in Mexico. and the migration of thousands of colored farmers to the Mexican Republic; the white oil interests thru their press agency, the Chicago Tribure Foreign News Service, is sending out propaganda to the daily papers stating htat colored colonists are not wanted in Mexico, and that Pres. Ogon objected to the colored people upon the grounds that they were not good prospective colonists on account of "the ethnic problem." 3/17/23

The following propaganda was recently published in leading American dailies. It was sent out by the Chicago Foreign News Service:

Mexico City.—Colored colonists are not wanted in Mexico is the notice which the department of the interior has sent to all customs houses on the border, ordering the strictest vigilance to prevent colored persons from entering Mexico.

Several months ago, President Obregon said that he was no respector of country or race on the puestion of immigration, provided that the people were moral and likely to become good citizens. In the same interview he asserted that colored people were not good prospective colonists on account of the ethnic problem.

Mexico already has the problem of assimilating vast bodies of native Indians, and the president felt that it would not be wise to increase the complexity of the question.

Talks for weeks past of extensive colored immigration to Mexico set the executive wheels in motion to prevent American colored people from turning their faces toward Mexico.

Opposition From American Oil Interests

The opposition of the oil interest is chiefly against permitting the col ored people to colonize in the Tampi co and San Luis Potosi districts which are in the heart of the Mex ican oil belt.

On January 25 a colony of Oklahoma colored people started for San Luis Potosi, in the heart of tropical Mexico. Other colonies have gone to the Santa Clara Valley district on the west coast of Mexico about 200 miles below Los Angeles, Calf. In this district the Lower California & Development Co. of Los Angeles, a Negro Corporation, owns and controls a vast estate of over 5,000 acres of valuable farming, mining and oil lands.

In spite of the opposition of the oil interests, this movement to open up the fertile valleys of Lower California to the colored people, has the hearty support of not only Pres. Obergon but of the Mexican Government as a whole, the Chamber of Commerce of San Diego and Los Angeles, California, and other influential interests.

President Obregon Meets Negro Delegation

In July 1922 Pres. Obregon met a delegation of 22 colored citizens of the United States headed by Atty. Hugh Macbeth of Los Angeles, and Mr. J. B. Key of Okmulgee, Okla., and stated in person to them, "That Mexico has no color line and the Mexican Constitution frobids Race distinction on the ground of race color, creed or degree of wealth."

At Ensenada, Mexico, the delegation was welcomed by the Mayor who said: "Mexico offers the greatest opportunity and future to any people on the face of the earth. We are inviting the American Negro to come and cast his lot with us, not because we know that he is mistreated, and unjustly dealt with in his own land, but because we believe that in the development of commerce, agriculture, and trade in our own country, he will be fair enough to take some and leave some and not try to take all as some Americans have done in the past."

Entertains Delegation In Capital

Pres. Obregon received the colored delegation cordially at the "Mexican White House" and promised his supoprt and that of the Government to any legitimate colonization movement that would bring a desirable element of American Negroes into Mexico. He was especially interested in the colonization plans outlined by the Lower California Land & Development Co. in building up the fertile valleys of the district adjacent to the great Mexican Pacific seaport, Ensenada, 60 miles by auto from San Diego, California.

NEGROES SEEK PROMISED LAND

N.Y.

Residents of Oklahoma Are Being Invited to Take Up Their Homes in Old Mexico—460,000 Acres Available

Negro World. 3/24/23.

OKMULGEE, Okla., March 2.—The Negroes of Oklahoma are being invited to a new "promised" land in old Mexico.

Whether it will be only a will o' the wisp, as many Negro movements have been, or a real exodus remains to be seen.

The movement is sponsored by the International Community Welfare League, with offices in Los Angeles, Mexico City and here. A local man, J. B. Key, a Negro, is president of the league.

The league claims that settlement rights in northern Mexico have been secured, which includes freedom and equality for Negroes, Latin-Americans and Indians.

Already 15 families of Negroes from this state have started for Mexico, the party consisting of tenant farmers and numbering 100 persons.

The local Negroes for many years have eked out only a bare living as tenant farmers, and had very little property. They took with them in their special train farming tools, livestock and household belongings. Their train had both passenger and freight coaches and routed to the southern republic via Laredo, Texas.

Key, the president, recently headed a delegation of United States Negroes which visited Mexico City and conferred with President Obregon. Settlement rights to 150,000 acres of land in the State of Sonora, 110,000 acres in San Luis Potosi, and 200,000 on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec were secured by the League, according to Key.

The Mexican government is wholly in accord with the colonization movement, and will welcome the thousands of Negro "Pilgrims," Key said.

Expenses of the trip to Mexico will be paid pro rata by the emigrants, it was said. Total expenses of the Okmulgee colony were $3,000, it was said.

Colonies of the blacks from other cities throughout the country are expected to "get under way" for the "promised land" in the immediate future, Key said.

NEW COLORED RACE FORMING IN MEXICO

Savannah Journal

WHITE EDUCATOR TALKS ON SUBJECT

4-7-23

New Race Be Composed of English, French and Spanish

San Deigo, Calif., April 4 (Pacific News Bureau).—"Within four or five generations hence an entirely new race will be formed in the Republic of Mexico," stated Dr. Edgar L. Hewitt, recent address before the College Wo famous author-educator-lecturer in a men's Club of San Deigo. "This new race," said Dr. Hewitt, "will have as its basis the North American Indian and will include the amalgamation of the Negro and the Spanish."

According to Dr. Hewitt, "This new race will have black personal characteristics, Indian ideas and a language that is a mixture of English, French and Spanish."

It is no secret that the various colored races who desire to live in America in happiness and without fear of presecution are slowly but surely migrating to the great Mexican Republic where they are welcomed without prejudice.

The American Indian, few in number, but wealthy, objects to the narrow bounds of reservation life and longs for freedom amid the vast expanses of virgin nature such as in only possible in Mexico.

The Hindu, no longer classed as white, the Chinese, the Japanese and other foreign colored peoples are to be barred from owning or leasing land in the United States.

Under the alien land laws in effect in most Pacific states, the Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, African and other aliens not eligible to citizenship in the United States, are not only prohibited from becoming citizens of the United States, but are also prohibited from acquiring control of farming lands either by drect sale, lease or through cropping contracts in the state of California and most states west of the Mississippi.

Assemblywoman Cora M. Woodbridge of Rosseville, California, whose amendment to the alien land law incorporating the above restrictions has been received and prepared by Attorney General U. S. Webb, recently received from Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., whose series of articles in the Hearst newspapers on the anti-Japanese propaganda have attracted considerable attention, the following telegraphic congratulation, "All success to you in your fight today for revsion of the alien land law. It is commendable and wonderful to feel that there are still patriotic citizens to battle for aspirations that will keep our Country white."

HONDURAS NOT BARRING NEGRO'S

The American

Consul There Writes AFRO Correcting Report; White Paper Carried Following Article Recently

4-14-23

White newspapers carried the following article recently:

"The Honduras Government has prohibited the further immigration of colored workmen in the banana plantations, after a protest by labor leaders, it was announced here last week by the Honduran Minister. Consuls abroad have been advised to cease viseing thse passports."

Asked to verify this report the American Consul of Honduras wrote the AFRO-AMERICAN this week as follows: Maryland

The Consulate is unable to learn of any exisiting regulation of the Honduran Government preventing the entry into Honduras of colored laborers.

It may be stated however that all of the large fruit companies operating in Honduras do so under concessions of one form or another and that these concessions almost invariably prohibit the importation of laborers of colored races for work on the plantations. This measure is stated to be economic in its inception rather than racial and may be compared in a way to the immigration laws of the United States as affecting contract labor.

ROBERT L. KEISER,
American Consul
Zegucigalpa, Honduras
March 28th

Governor Seeks Aid Of Race In Establishing Mammoth Health Resort

MEXICALI, Baja, Mexico, May 17 (Pacific Coast News Bureau)—Seeking an opportunity to bring about a better understanding between the Mexican people and the colored Americans through the establishment of a lasting memorial to the increasing friendship between the two races, one of the most important meetings that has ever been held between the two races was recently held in the beautiful San Francisco Cafe in Tia Juana, Mexico. Among those present were Lic. J. Inocente Lugo, Governor of Lower California; Louis G. Beltram, Mayor of Ensenada; H. D. Manriguis, Mayor of Tia Juana; W. P. Jorres, Mayor of Mexicali; Jose. J. Montes, Chief of Police of Tia Juana; Robt. P. Fite, of Los Angeles, formerly efficiency expert of the Ford Motor Co., of New York, and Hugh E. MacBeth, General Counsel of the International Community Welfare League of Los Angeles.

To Establish $100,000 Sanitarium

As a result of this conference plans were drawn and definitely concluded to erect a $100,000 health sanitarium at the sulphur springs in the Santa Clara Valley, Lower California. The sanitarium is to be built in units costing $10,000 per unit; the first unit having been subscribed by Mayor Louis G. Beltram, of Ensenada, in behalf of the Mexican residents of the Ensenada district, and who will be asked to purchase "bricks" at 50 cents each as a donation to assist in building this sanitarium which will be shared without discrimination by all citizens of Mexico, regardless of race or color. Other units will be secured by the Mexican citizens at the solicitation of Mayor Beltram, who has been appointed by Gov. Lugo as superintendent of the campaign throughout Lower California.

Under the supervision of Robt. P. Fite, formerly efficiency expert of the Ford Co., of New York, and later general distributor of the Chevrolet throughout Southern California, with a reputation as the only representative that has ever sold $1,000,000 worth of Chevrolets retail in 90 days, the citizens of Southern California and other communities will be asked to subscribe for the remaining units.

An Eleemosynary Institution

Ten acres upon which is located the noted sulphur springs has been donated by the Lower California Mexican Land & Development Co., a Negro syndicate of Los Angeles, and deeded to the Sanitarium Corporation, which is an eleemosynary organization and is composed of colored, white and Mexican personages, philanthropically inclined, who are interested in promoting a better feeling between the three races throughout Mexico where the Negro and other colored races are welcomed without prejudice.

An Ideal Location

The sulphur springs noted by the Mexicans for years for their medicinal qualities lie in the beautiful Santa Clara Valley ,about 40 miles by auto from the thriving Mexican seaport city, Ensenada; and 60 miles from the Southern California city of San Diego. Situated amid the mountains and only a few miles from the sea, the climate is equal to that which has made the state of California famous.

TULSA TOO ROUGH, HE SETS OUT FOR MEXICO

LOS ANGELES, Cal., March 3.—Mr. O. N. Gurley, one of the pioneer Negro merchants of Tulsa, Okla., and whose three-story brick building was totaled destroyed in the riot, is in Los Angeles enroute to the new Negro townsite and colonization colony a few miles across the Mexican border from San Diego, Cal.

Immediately following the Tulsa riot Mr. Gurley rebuilt his building and sold it. With a number of other prominent Oklahoma colored business men, he visited the various colonization projects in Mexico, going as far in the interior as Mexico City and San Luis Potosi.

Mr. Gurley favors the Lower California colonization project in preference to those far in the interior of the Republic, as he claims it is possible to live in perfect freedom and security, amid ideal locations for farming, yet within a few hours by automobile from San Diego and Los Angeles, Cal.

MEXICO AND THE NEGRO

MANY people are under the impression that the action on the part of the Mexican government in prohibiting American Negroes in large numbers from entering Mexico is due to prejudice against the race. We are of the opinion, however, that this is not the case. Mexico, in taking the stand which she has taken, is guided by the knowledge that Tio Sam has always cast envious eyes on the rich lands across the Rio Grande, and during the Wilson regime sought frantically for a casus belli with the smaller republic.

Mexico knows that for ways that are dark and tricks that are mean the Anglo-Saxon diplomats are peculiar, and having had rich lands taken away from her under flimsy pretexes she is exceedingly watchful and suspicious of Tio Sam's Negro citizens. Not that the Negroes themselves have any evil designs on the sovereignty of Mexico, but the diplomats, on the other side of the Rio Grande, know that very often citizens of one country are sent into the territory of weaker nations to settle, and are encouraged to disobey the laws and violate the customs of the weaker nation, and when the latter attempts to discipline these offenders the stronger nation steps in under the pretext of protecting her subjects and in many cases occupy the land permanently.

Mexico is taking no chances that these Negroes may be the unconscious tools of the man higher up. So that her action is not due to any prejudice against the race but rather in self protection.

MEXICO AGAIN BARS NEGROES AT BORDER-REPORT

Hughes Asked by N. A. C.P. To Investigate State of Affair at Peidras Negras

MULATTO UNQUESTIONED

Complainant Claims He has been in Texas since Sept. 1, and Not Allowed To Cross

NEW YORK, Oct. 19.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again has received word of anti-Negro discrimination by the Mexican officials at Piedras Negras, just across the border from Eagle Pass, Tex., and has reported the facts to Chas. E. Hughes, U. S. Secretary of State in Washington. The letter to Secretary Hughes, is as follows:

Referring to your letter of Sept. 29th, containing a report forwarded by the American Embassy in Mexico City, to the effect that there is no discrimination by the Mexican government against immigrants of the Negro race:

"I beg to advise that additional reports have come to the N. A. A. C. P. that the Mexican Government is still preventing the entrance of United States citizens at Piedras Negras and that we are informed discrimination is being practiced against persons of color.

"Furthermore, we are informed that the American consul at Eagle Pass, Texas, has failed to properly assist the persons discriminated against.

"The complainant is Wm. Vann, who asserts that in 1909 he carried a colony of 65 families into the Republic of Mexico and settled them on a grant of 27,114 acres of land in the state of Durango, Mexico, leased to his company, The Durango Land Co., for 99 years from July 12, 1909. In 1913 the colony left their homes in Mexico and returned to the United States upon the order of the President of the United States that all American citizens were to leave Mexico. They listed their property with the American consul at that time.

"Mr. Vann asserts that he has been in Eagle Pass, Tex., since September 1 of this year and has not been permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico to look after his property.

"We have a further letter from Mrs. J. A. Williams of Eagle Pass, Tex., asserting that white American citizeens are permitted to enter the Republic of Mexico at Piedras Negras, but that this privilege is refused to colored citizens of the United States. Mrs. Williams further states: 'Mr. Louis Whitehead has been as far in as 65 miles from the border without a passport or anyone to vouch for him or any questions asked, but he looks like a white man.'

"May we have your advice in this matter?"

Investigate Exclusion Of Colored Americans

(Lincoln News Service)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23. — The State Department has ordered an immediate investigation of the refusal of the authorities at Piedras Negras, Mexico, to admit colored American citizens. It is intimated here that this refusal might have some effect upon the negotiations in progress for American recognition of Mexico.

UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN MEXICO TAKING UP EXCLUSION OF NEGROES.

Refusal of Mexico to admit American Negroes at Piedras Negras, has resulted in an order to the American Embassy at Mexico City to investigat according to announcement today by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A letter to the Advancement Association from the United States Department of State says that the Embassy is instructed to take up the matter with the appropriate Mexican authorities in order that the restrictions against Negroes may be removed.

Race Problem—1923
Central America.

HONDURAS BARS NEGROES.

new York Times
2-13-23

Prohibits Further Immigration of Workers in Banana Plantations.

SAN SALVADOR, Feb. 12.—The Honduran Government has prohibited the further immigration of negroes to work in the banana plantations in consequence of a protest over the influx of such labor by the local labor leaders, according to an announcement by the Honduran Minister here. The Honduran authorities are said to have notified their consuls abroad to cease visaing the passports of negroes

HONDURAS MOVES TO BAR NEGROES

Norfolk Journal & Guide, Norfolk, Va.
2-24-23

(Crusader Service)

San Salvador, Feb.—The Honduaran Government has prohibited the further immigration of West Indian Negroes to work in the banana plantations in consequence of a protest over the influx by the local labor leaders, according to an announcement by the Honduran minister here. The Honduran authorities are said to have notified their consuls abroad to cease vising the passports of Negroes

NEGROES BARRED

new York American
2-27-23 news

San Salvador.—The Honduran Government has prohibited the further immigration of Negroes to work in the banana plantations in consequence of a protest over the influx of such labor by the local labor leaders, according to an announcement by the Honduras minister here. The Honduran authorities are said to have notified their consuls abroad to cease vising the passports of Negroes.

WORLD
APRIL 9, 1923

U. S. Charged With Instigating Revolt in Panama Selfishly

Banks Then Stepped In, and by Loans Bound Little Republic to American Imperialistic Policy With Golden Chain—"Pawns" in Great Game Collected Slowly.

The World herewith presents the second of a series of articles from the pen of Georg Brandes, famous Danish literary critic and publicist who, during the World War, was known as the "fiery neutral" of Europe. Born in Copenhagen in 1842, Mr. Brandes has lived in France for several months every year since his graduation from the University of Copenhagen; in Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, England and the United States. He therefore writes with peculiar authority upon "The World Engulfed in Imperialism."

By GEORG BRANDES
Translated by H. B. Hiller

THE small Republic of Panama, in behalf of the Panama Canal, was separated from Colombia by way of an uprising instigated by the United States. After the declaration of independence, control was gained, as always in such cases, by a loan by banks in the United States. Before the World War 400,000 inhabitants of Panama were under an indebtedness of $5,000, now they face a debt of $7,000,000, and it is contemplated to grant them another loan of $10,000,000.

It begins, as a rule, by the United States taking hold of the customs system of the small republics; from this a military dictatorship develops.

In 1909 the United States organized and financed a revolution in Nicaragua and removed the President. The new President-elect, however, was by no means persona grata to the American capitalist rulership. So, under the pretext that two North American adventurers had been killed in a riot, the Secretary of War sent 2,300 marines in order to enforce the election of a President who was subservient to the interests of the United States. The Congress of Nicaragua refused to recognize this dummy whereupon the Congress was dissolved with the help of brave American jackies and the independence of Nicaragua became a matter of past history.

Debts Are Compared.

Before the United States started its intervention the public debt of Nicaragua was $2,500,000. After the United States had reinstated law and order the country was mortgaged to the North American bankers for $15,000,000 and the customs system, the railroads and the finances of Nicaragua were being administered by the trusted agents of these bankers. Strange to say, these ungrateful inhabitants feel no affection whatsoever for their Northern benefactors.

Roosevelt and Taft inaugurated the imperialistic course of action toward the inhabitants of Central and South America. But it was pious Wilson, the pacifist, the idealist, who put an end to the independence of Hayti and Santo Domingo. Since 1905 North America has controlled the finances of Santo Domingo. In 1916 the Constitution was suspended, and an Admiral of the United States Navy became Military Goveronor with naval officers as officials. The poor Negro Republic of Hayti, too, stands under the protectorate of the United States.

This happened while Wilson was thundering against the imperialism of the German Empire. As everybody knows, it has been pronounced for a long time that the United States is going to withdraw from the islands as soon as the natives have fulfilled certain conditions, i. e., all customs duties are confiscated, a loan of $6,500,000 has been imposed upon Santo Domingo, another of $40,000,000 upon Hayti. The United States, in the country itself, is in possession of ample security for this money.

U. S. Has Collected "Pawns."

In this way the North American bankers with the politicians of the United States as willing helpers have collected pawns in a great part of South America. They use the same means as did the British imperialists of their time in Egypt and the Russian imperialists in Persia: under an imposed military administration they follow up one loan by another until the occupied state becomes perfectly dependent and helpless.

Perhaps you will say: Is there no press in the United States upholding the venerable traditions of liberty from the time of the Revolutionary War, those traditions which the fathers cast into the form of a famous Constitution?

The answer is that, indeed, the press in North America is a power. Before the war the United States had a circulation of 40,000,000 copies of daily papers and weekly and monthly magazines amounted to 200,000,000 besides. But this whole mass, excepting three weeklies, the Nation, the New Republic, the Freeman, which are excellently edited but without political influence, having only between 4,000 and 15,000 subscribers, is owned by capital.

American Journalists Scored.

Upton Sinclair, in "The Brass Check," has violently pounced upon America's journalists.

These journalists themselves are exceptionally nice fellows, as a rule, which, however, does not include newspaper kings, least of all the late Lord Northcliffe. The journalist most of the time remains anonymous. The power standing behind him and using him is responsible. William James, the philosopher, wrote in a letter: "as to our yellow press, each country has its criminals, and with us, the same as in France, following their professional development, they have simply turned to journalism." That is a bitter saying. James evidently wants to convey that ignorance and unscrupulousness have now a vote in literature.

The American journalist is expected by his chief to be efficient in unearthing facts, to have a clear way of expressing himself, the ability to hold the interest by making "a story" out of everything. Of course, the chief does not allow the journalist to mention or praise anybody whom the financiers controlling the paper do not wish mentioned and praised. But the paper is not subsisting on subscription, constituting an infinitesimal sum compared with the expenses, but on advertisements, and if the text is supposed to be sensational and entertaining, it is for the reason that the attention is to be directed to the advertisements where to buy the best razors and the best automobiles.

Race Problem – 1923
Moving Pictures Relating to.



ABOVE: —
The masked riders of the *Ku Klux Klan* bent upon a mission of vengeance, as portrayed in the picturization of the historical novel.

AT LEFT:
The night riders pause to punish a wrong-doer according to the primitive laws of justice laid down by the *Klan*.

N. Y. CITY MOVIE WEEK
JANUARY 6, 1923

"The Birth of a Nation" under fire by *Negro Alderman* who denounces it as part of the *Ku Klux Klan*

By T. Howard Kelly

"THE BIRTH OF A NATION" has created a new sensation.

A few days ago, and eight years after its premier, this fine old film startled blase New York into gasping interest, and the furore it created has not subsided since.

When Griffith announced that he would exhibit his world-famous picture for a revival run at the Selwyn Theatre for an indefinite period, the trouble started.

All the power of the organized negro race was suddenly directed against Mr. Griffith and "The Birth of a Nation." These colored men wanted the official board of censorship, headed by Joseph Levinson, to cut from the picture certain scenes which they considered derogatory to the black man.

The war was on. In defense and in condemnation of his celebrated picture, D. W. Griffith, its producer, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, argued pro and con, one working to preserve its integrity and the other striving to have certain portions destroyed. Out of this welter of hostile criticism the hand of the censor has risen to decide whether the "Birth," as it is called in the Griffith office, shall endure in its present and original form or whether a future generation shall witness a mutilated version of it.

Along the glittering path of a street called Broadway this stupendous spectacle of a vast continent steeped in the shadows of tragic travail is once more sweeping men to their feet with clamorous cheers; the clarion notes of its martial trumpets still sound high and clear—stirring men's souls; from a soft tremulo of love it is again reaching a crescendo of barbaric medley in the crackling cataract of battle, thus bringing tenderness and tumult into human hearts and throats.

The thunderous applause inspired by the revival of this screen masterpiece has already completely drowned the sinister rumbling of protests against "The Birth of a Nation" made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in an attempt to ban this historical drama. There is much to warm the hearts of movie fans in the way this premier picture has been greeted and acclaimed. The ringing cheers are far more than applause for a remarkably fine film; they are, in fact, a stinging defiance hurled by American movie-goers into the ranks of all those who sought officially, and unofficially, to entirely prohibit the exhibition of this dramatic historical document, or to distort and mangle it by the sharp, ruthless shears of censorship.

But, even though we may be carried along by the tempest of cheering which has welcomed the revival of "The Birth of a Nation," we must not allow the triumphant tumult of the moment to sweep us out of earshot of the protests which for a few weeks seemed likely to achieve the purpose of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. To do so will be fatal to our best interests in the present and future progress of the films.

The controversy created by Mr. Griffith's plan to revive his pictorial version of "The Clansman," Thomas Dixon's famous novel, is indicative of a situation in the films which reveals the menace of censorship as nothing else has ever done in the records of the motion picture industry. To describe this dangerous situation clearly and concisely, and in order to enlist your support as a movie fan against film censorship, it is best that we go over all the facts in this important case which show the potential evils of censorship.

GRIFFITH'S picture is, as you know, based upon the Civil War and that period of history which followed closely upon the heels of the peace at Appomatox Court House. According to eminent historians, authors, statesmen, soldiers and students of world events, Mr. Griffith has rendered an authentic version of history in his great film drama. Even in its most unessential details the story follows an unflagging line of truth.

Consequently, "The Birth of a Nation" is conceded to be an accurate account of the most uncertain period in the history of the United States of America. As such it must, of necessity, present both sides of a question which has been irrevocably settled—a question which brought to light the good and bad qualities of a conglomerate nation engaged in fratricidal struggle.

We might just as well tamper with, and distort, the text of our authentic, accredited American public school histories as cut out any parts of "The Birth of a Nation," which reflect the historical conditions of the sixties. On the other hand, it would be just as boldly preposterous to deny the privileges of exhibition to this picture as it would be to demand that all American histories be barred from our schools.

And yet, as preposterous and unreasonable as it may seem, there was an urgent, almost an impertinent clamor that the Griffith film be barred from New York theatres; or else censored to satisfy the whims of a partisan element while at the same time defeating the purposes of history! This clamor was carried directly to the Censorship Board of New York State. Now we are coming nearer to the situation which I have described as menacing to the best present and future interests of filmdom.

The censorship board, with full authority to regulate what may be shown and what may not be shown on the silver screen, was approached by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reinforced by several negro aldermen from New York City districts. The petition of the association and the officials was that the censors get out their scissors and distort history . . . or else prohibit Mr. Griffith from showing the picture.

WHY was this petition made?

I can answer my own question in the words of a Boston antagonist of "The Birth of a Nation," who said:

"This picture is against the negro. It makes him out to be a savage. It will hurt all of his ambitions to progress on a political and social basis with the white man."

Of course this was not the way the petitioners put their plea before the censorship board. They insisted that their present antagonism to the film was primarily founded on the grounds that the Ku Klux Klan figured very strongly in the Griffith spectacle. They contended that inasmuch as the Ku Klux Klan had been denounced as an unlawful, un-American organization which encouraged religious and racial hatred, no picture laud- the situation which arose when this petition was made:

"We were between the devil and the deep blue sea."

In other words, the board was up against pressure from two distinctly antagonistic sources. One of these sources was demanding the censorship, or the barring of a film because some portions of it revealed the negro in a bad light. In other words, it was asking the censors to twist, tear, snap, mangle and distort history for personal and class reasons.

The other source was demanding that history and truth prevail because those two things are vastly bigger and more important to human progress than personal, or class reasons. Now, it is at once obvious to the fair-minded, non-partisan person that the censors had only one duty in the matter after the two sides had both stated their cases.

That duty was to preserve authentic history at any cost. Censors may cut kissing scenes to 10 seconds in one state, and forbid the showing of a mother working on the clothes of an expected baby in Pennsylvania—but God forbid that they should desecrate or profane American history by swipes of their nonsensical clippers.

ing their work should be shown in this country. Also, they casually cited the character of the negro Gus in "The Birth of a Nation" as an example of why the film should be barred. Gus was the renegade colored Union soldier in the picture, who caused a white girl (Mae Marsh) to leap from a precipice to her death when he tried to attack her.

Let me quote one of the members of the censorship board as to

WHY then, should the Board of Censorship have felt that it was between the devil and the deep blue sea? The only reason I can find is that censorship boards all over the country probably feel they must react to whichever pressure is the strongest. If this theory of mine be even near true, then let's thank God again that David Wark Griffith's pressure in behalf of his "Birth of a Nation," was strong enough to gain exhibitional privileges for the film.

In defending "The Birth of a Nation" against the criticisms and allegations of those who sought to have it censored, or barred, Mr. Griffith told Walker F. White and Nathan Skingaon, who represented the colored society, that the Ku Klux Klan in his picture bore no relation to the society of the same name which is now appearing in portions of the United States. The famous director agreed to have announcements made in the theatre to this effect before screening the film.

To anyone acquainted with true history, it is apparent that the Clansmen of Dixon's gripping novel and the Ku Klux Klan of today are not the same. The old regime of the Klan died when the necessity for the southern organization ceased to exist. The Klan of old was the inspirational idea of brave, but defeated, white men, who saw in it the only way to save themselves and their Southland from the dark terror of reconstruction days below the Mason and Dixon line. As soon as their purpose was accomplished, the Fiery Cross turned out . . . the caravans of white-robed figures moved no longer at break-neck pace through the night spaces to bring justice in place of crime.

Whatever the K. K. K. of today is, I do not know. Suffice it for this story that Griffith's Ku Kluxers were of another time and kind.

AND then, Mr. Griffith went on to tell the Board of Censorship a few things about the complaint against the character of Gus, and other negroes who took parts in "The Birth of a Nation."

"When I make a picture showing the negro in a complimentary light, I never hear from you; but, when we make a film in which one of your race, or more, is not praised, then I receive complaints," he said.

I have seen "The Birth of a Nation" about ten different times. One of the most impressive phases of human interest in the great historical drama is, in my humble opinion, the love and respect of that fat old coal-black mammy for her "white chillun"; and, the devotion of those same proud, aristocratic "white chillun" for their big-hearted and big-waisted mammy. Why, that colored woman fought white and black soldiers for her folks! and in everything she did throughout the picture there was evidence of the faithfulness and honesty that pounded in a white heart beneath her black skin.

A society for the advancement of white people might just as properly have demanded censorship of the film because a Union political leader named Stoneman played a part which showed a white man to be both despicable and dishonest. The negro Gus was a renegade in the picture; and he was a drunken, savage brute in history. Most likely he would have been the same character in spite of white, black or green skin.

Well, such a defense of the picture, ably substantiated by Thomas Dixon, Jr., and Judge Laughlin, convinced the censors that there was no reasonable excuse for the use of shears in connection with "The Birth of a Nation." Consequently, a permit was issued.

Doesn't this controversy over "The Birth of a Nation" indicate very clearly and conclusively the sinister menace that exists in political, or any other kind of movie censorship? I am sure that you, as a staunch movie lover, see the censor's position when they were asked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to bar this great historical picture because negroes feel that it is antagonistic to their race.

MOVIE CENSORS AGAIN ASKED BAN BIRTH OF NATION

Request to Revoke the License of Noted Picture

New York
New York Times
1-26-23

NEW YORK, Dec. 26, 1922.

To the Motion Picture Commission of the State of New York:—

Since the action of your Commission in granting a license to "The Birth of a Nation," facts connected with the Ku Klux Klan have been brought to public notice that have stirred up public sentiment against that organization depicted so graphically in "The Birth of a Nation" that was not brought to your attention when viewing the picture when license was granted August, 1921, or when a hearing was held for a revocation of the permit Dec. 2-4, 1922.

These new facts show that the Ku Klux Klan has been revived in the South and has spread to all sections of the country that it has extended its purpose and desire of "regulating the niggers of the South after the Civil War," as depicted in the "Birth of a Nation," to "regulating" white persons as well, including Jews, Catholics and other groups of citizens who do not measure up to the ideas or requirements of the organization. And this "regulation" is to be done in a high-handed and lawless manner by masked men oath bound to secrecy as to what may be contemplated or done by any body of these masked "regulators."

The designs, purpose and acts of these masked mobs are against the rights and protection of persons and organizations protected by the laws of civilization as represented in the United States of America. Late investigations have brought to light the fact that these masked mobs will not stop at murder in carrying out their plans of "regulating" whites as well as blacks. No one may know what these rascals may be up to or do. No one may know when suspicion, religious or race hatred or other reasons may cause a person to be proscribed and "regulated" by these masked ruffians and outlaws. Unless this new danger is discouraged and put down by the enforcement of our laws no one will feel safe.

There can be little doubt that the exhibition of "The Birth of a Nation" has kept alive the Klan and encourages its extension at the present time. In the interest of public welfare and to sustain law and order in this country we the undersigned request your Commission to hold a hearing at an early date to consider reasons for and against revocation of the license of "The Birth of a Nation," and with this request that the license be revoked. (Signed)

T. DE QUINCY TULLY,
Secretary Law Enforcement Society.





***Gus*, the colored fugitive, seeks escape from the *Klan*.**

***David Wark Griffith*, pioneer motion picture producer, who was responsible for "*The Birth of a Nation*."**

Race Problem—1923.

United States,—Moving Pictures Relating to,

PARIS BARRED FILM UNDER AN OLD DECREE

The New York

Police Action Against Griffith Picture Is Based on Order of the 'Twelfth Messidor.'

Times 8-22-23

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Aug. 20.—The interdiction of D. W. Griffith's film—announced in THE NEW YORK TIMES yesterday—caused great surprise both among the public and in the film world, the police action being treated in many quarters as somewhat arbitrary, because the film had been regularly passed by the censorship and had been showing several days without provoking any incidents whatsoever.

Some amusement has been caused, too, by the fact that the interdiction was based on the "decree of the Consuls of the Twelfth Messidor, year seven of the Republic," and a law dated Aug. 6, 1790, empowering the police Prefect to forbid any show in Paris on his own discretion.

It appears the action must be explained as forming part of the recent campaign to protect colored French citizens from insult and to protect their rights. Parts of the Griffith film deal with the slave question, and it was feared in official quarters that there might be demonstrations here.

One evening paper humorously remarks: "Certainly it is quite right that colored Frenchmen should receive all protection. But French 'palefaces' also have some rights."

'BIRTH OF NATION' FILM BANNED BY POINCARE

The New York

Scenes of Ku Klux Conflict With Negroes Lead to Shutting Theatre Showing Picture.

Times 8-21-23

Copyright, 1923, by The New York Times Company.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, Aug. 19.—The motion picture "The Birth of a Nation," which has been shown at a boulevard motion picture house for the last few days, has been forbidden by the police, acting on orders received from the Prefecture.

The action was taken because of those scenes in which the Ku Klux Klan comes into conflict with the negroes. They were considered objectionable by the French authorities as likely to result in a demonstration on the part of the audience.

The theatre showing the picture—which already had been shown here during the war—was suddenly ordered to close this afternoon, the public being surprised to find the doors shut.

Copyright, 1923, by The Chicago Tribune Co.

PARIS, Monday, Aug. 20.—Premier Poincaré personally ordered "The Birth of a Nation" suppressed yesterday after official censors had passed on the film, the Matin reveals this morning. The Premier was actuated by a "desire to avoid race troubles between foreign visitors and French negroes."

PARIS BARS DIXON PLAY

The Evening Transcript

"Birth of Nation" Plays 2 Days Only—Dept. of Interior Declares Film Unfair and Prejudicial.

8-23-23

PARIS BARS DIXON PLAY "BIRTH OF NATION" PUT OFF STAGE AFTER 2 DAYS—DEPT. OF INTERIOR DECLARED FILM UNFAIR AND PREJUDICIAL FRANCE ACTS TO MAKE HER BLACKS FEEL EQUALS OF ALL OTHERS.

Boston Mass.

Paris, Aug. 19, 1923.—"The Birth of a Nation," which opened for the first time in Paris on Friday night and showed to crowded houses Friday and Saturday, was closed today by the police.

Griffith's film aroused the objections of the French Negroes, who number 60 per cent of the population of the French empire, with representation in the local and central governments. As the foreign affairs ministry explained, this measure, like others taken in the last three months, is meant to give the French Negroes full consciousness that they are equals of their fellow citizens of the white race in the eyes of the French government.

The department of the interior declared the film is unfair and prejudicial to the black race and is likely to create grave discontent among the French Negroes. Premier Poincare personally ordered the film suppressed.

France Bars Griffith's "Birth of a Nation"

The Billboard

Premier Poincare Bans Film for Political Reasons—Negro Subjects Object to It

New York City

9-1-23

Paris, France, Aug. 25.—Despite the passing by the French censors of "The Birth of a Nation", the first showing of the picture at the Salle Marivaux was stopped on Sunday by the police, under orders from Premier Poincare. The picture was submitted to the censors three times last year, and was finally passed upon two weeks ago, after numerous cuts and changes had been made.

When the picture was at last presented it drew big crowds, but on Sunday the police stopped it, on the ground that it was "disturbing to public morals". H. Fenston, an Englishman, owns the rights to the picture, which has been booked thruout France. He offered, early this week, to make any changes desired by the government, but it is doubtful if the Premier, acting on the strength of a law passed in 1790, will change his attitude.

The Premier is said to have been influenced by the Negro deputies from France's North African possessions, fearing the loss of their votes in the next election.

"Birth of Nation" Is Barred in Pari

Chicago Tribune

BY HENRY WALES.

[Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.]

[Copyright: 1923: By The Chicago Tribune.]

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Race Problem—1923
U.S. Moving Pictures Relating to,

"Birth of Nation" Is Coming Back To Iris Theater

Houston Post
Houston Chr.

D. W. Griffith's spectacular screen production, "The Birth of a Nation," starring Henry B. Walthall at the head of a stellar cast, will be brought back to the Iris theater by Manager Will Horwitz and presented Tuesday and Wednesday of next week in response to the continued requests from Iris patrons who did not witness this production when it was offered two weeks ago. 9-15-23

"Ever since 'The Birth of a Nation' concluded I have been deluged with requests from my patrons to bring it back so that those who did not see it while it was here can do so, and also some of those who did see want to witness this production again," declared Horwitz Tuesday night.

"The Birth of a Nation" offers a remarkable parallel in motion picture circles. Completed more than eight years ago, when motion pictures were practically in their infancy, today it still retains the immense drawing power and entertainment which featured it from the very start. "The Birth of a Nation" made D. W. Griffith, and it has made a decided impression upon the countless millions who have viewed it during the eight years it has been shown the world over." Horwitz said.

Bars 'Birth of a Nation' in Newark

Newark Star
10-25

William J. Brennan, Director of Public Safety of Newark, yesterday forbade the showing of "The Birth of a Nation" at the Goodwin Theatre there on the ground that the picture, which depicts the activities of the Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War, had caused trouble recently in other cities.

N.Y. CITY TO FIGURE NEW

Refuse to Ban "The Birth" in Washington

Efforts of religious leaders and colored sympathizers to have the police ban the further showing of "The Birth of a Nation" in Washington, D. C., are doomed to fail says Major Sullivan, police chief. The present run of the picture may continue indefinitely for all Major Sullivan cares to lift a finger.

"This picture has been running for seven or eight years, and, while it has been met with opposition at times, it has received generally the endorsement of representative cities," said the Major.

A strong protest was raised early in the week by International Brotherhood for the Uplift of the Negro Race, from its New York headquarters. Following the complaint the Chief sent Inspector Shelby to review the film again and report on the re-actions of the audience. The Inspector reported in the negative, as to any radical re-action, but policemen have been present at each performance.

Houston, Bars Pola Negri

Mayor Permitted Play To Be Shown Over Protest Of Censors. Objections Reminiscent Of Fight Against The "Birth Of A Nation"

By Afro's Screen Editor

Houston Texas, board of Movie Censors barred Pola Negri's film "Bella Donna" there recently, but the mayor of the city permitted it to be shown over their objections.

Colonel Mayfield, editor of Mayfield's weekly, stated that since the hero is colored and the heroine is white, the play should be barred from the South.

The resulting war over the play is reminiscent of the fuss colored people raised over the "Birth of a Nation" sometime ago. This time the objection is from Southern whites. Colonel Mayfield, whose paper is said to be pro-Ku Klux Klan says: coarse, contemptible and insulting. Vulgar, bestial and degrading.

That is the only discription I can give of Pola Negri's dirty play.

The first picture of the Polish vamp in America is an open insult to the nation.

It is a brazen propaganda for social equality. It is a stench in the nostrils of the Southland an affront to the Caucasian race.

Europe's alleged star should b sent back to Poland to twinkle among a people where the white instinct is not pronounced as it is in America, and with her should go the depraved second-hand clothing merchants who foisted the production on the American people.

The picture was barred from Houston by the local censor board and permitted entry, over their protest by the mayor of Houston.

Thank God for the censor board, and-well, you can guess my sentiments for the mayor.

Egyptian The Hero

The story of "Bella Donna"', Pola Negri's dirty play, deals with the mad infatuation of a white woman for a dark-skinned North African, yclept an Egyptian.

Those who saw the play witnessed the horrible and revolting spectacle of a white woman, clinging in the arms of a colored man. The white face of the woman melting into the passionate countenance of the black man, and those Jews made the Egyptian good and black, as if to vent some ancient grudge.

The picture is an insult to all American and a direct thrust at the Southland.

I told you some time ago that the depraved and degraded bunch of Kikes who control the movie industry of this country had deliberately and with malice aforethought planned to break down the moral life of Protestant America with the stubtle and convincing propaganda of the screen. I told you how, inch by inch, they dragged the heroes and heroines of the youth of this land into the utter depths of sin, depravity and human nakedness. I told you of the foul and immoral lessons they daily schooled into the children of this land and I predicted then that the day was coming when they would seek to carry that degradation to further depths by introducing the Negro on the screen to act in conjunction with white people and attempt to foist that on a white Protestant race for whom they seem to have nothing but contempt. I told you it was coming, and here is its approach. Already Negroes are being given roles in screen plays, more and more they are intruding into the plays and the latest step is the love affair of a white woman with a black man.

Ye Gods!

Is it conceivable that such a play could be presented in the Old South?

Worse than that, open insult follows rapidly on the heels of displayed immorality.

This bulletin is flashed on the screen. Read, white sons of the South—read it and reflect. Read it againg and again, and see to what revolting depths the depraved Jews have dragged the moving pictures.

Read And Reflect

"WHITE SKINNED LADIES WILL FLIRT WITH BROWN SKINNED MEN WHEN THEIR HUSBANDS ARE AWAY".—Pola Negri in "Bella Donna."

So help me God, that bulletin was flashed on the screen in the leading theater in the city of Houston. So help me God, that foul and blasphemous lie was sent over America by the depraved and conscienceless Jews of Hollywood.

Where are the thunderbolts of Jove?

Where is the manhood of the Old South?

The South has never been safe from the Negro rape fiend. We have hung them by their necks, we have burned them as the stake, and still no woman is safe beyond the range of her husband's rifle.

Jews Criticised

Conditions have ever been deplorable in the South, watch as we would along this line, and now comes the Jewish propaganda that "White-skinned ladies will flirt with brown-skinned men when their husbands are away."

That brutal lie and that dirty play will lead more Negroes to the funeral pyre than all of the other influences that ever combined to lure the black man to death for ravishing.

That dirty lie will play upon the lips of ten million Negroes now dreaming of social equality; that dirty play will stir up more turmoil and strife than all the influences of rabid Negro papers ever published in the history of America.

At this time when the colored man is chafing under the lash of incendiary writers, goading him to impossible dreams of social equality, Pola Negri's dirty play will lure him to extremes that lead but to the tomb.

Jews Hate K .K. K.

And that is but the beginning of the Jewish assault upon social equality. They hate the Ku Klux Klan; they have no interest in nor love for the Gentile race, and the batteries of their tremendous power are turned to social equality. They think, in their money-crazed lunacy, that they can get away with it. They will send out kindred pictures to Pola Negri's bestial act. They will have white men wildly infatuated with saddle-colored women; they will do anything under God Almighty's sun to degrade the Protestant people.

Pola Negri's play was barred from Houston and Mayor Holcombe overrode his censor board and permitted it to be shown here.

Falls Madly In Love

It is the story of a white woman who falls in love with an Egyptian coon, and is despoiled by him in his tent, and then goes madly in love with him, meets him nightly, and to make the picture more hellish, if that were possible, the white woman is spurned and kicked by the coon, while she swoons pleading at his feet.

Pictures of that kind are going to cause more bloodshed in the South than flowed during the Civil War.

The manhood of the South will not stand for such stuff.

It is a specie of propaganda that must and will be stopped RIGHT NOW.

There is a line beyond which the propaganda of the depraved Kike can never pass, with all of his power and wealth.

Those pictures shall not be shown in the South.—Col. Mayfield in "Colonel Mayfield's Weekly," Houston, Texas, Saturday, April 14, 1923.

KANSAS GOVERNOR ASKED TO BAR "BIRTH OF NATION".

The Richmond Planet

Upon receipt of the news in New York, that protest had been made against a new attempt to show the "Birth of a Nation" film in the State of Kansas, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, at once telegraphed Governor Jonathan M. Davis, endorsing the protest and urging that he prevent the film from being shown. The N. A. A. C. P. telegram reads as follows:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with four hundred and forty branches and membership of one hundred thousand white and colored citizens endorses protest against showing in Kansas of film 'Birth of a Nation' by R. G. Leggett, President Kansas Organizations of Motion Picture Theatre Owners. This dangerous film in its deliberate distortion of known historical facts and its glorification of the infamous ku klux klan has caused numerous racial clashes and is largely responsible for present day revival of klan. We urge you continue splendid example of former Governors of Kansas in forbidding exhibition of this film capitalizing and spreading as it does vicious racial prejudices which should have no part in American life."

FRANCE IS ANTI-DIXON

The Guardian
Boston Mass.

GOVERNMENT AGAIN BARS BIRTH OF NATION UNLESS ALL BLACK FOLKS AND ALL KU KLUX LEFT OUT—CO. THREATENS SUIT.

Paris, Oct. 12, 1923.—The authorities have again forbidden showing of the motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," until all scenes containing Negroes or the Ku Klux Klan have been eliminated. 10-20-23

Such censorship of the picture, which was to have been exhibited today, would make it valueless, say the owners of the film as quoted by the Herald.

Unless the government's decision is reconsidered they intimate that they intend to enter suit against the government for an indemnity of f.2,000,000, inasmuch as they have entered into contracts to the amount of f.3,000,000.

PARIS SUPPRESSES AN AMERICAN FILM

THE PARIS POLICE suppress Griffith's film, "The Birth of a Nation." Why? ask some wondering Americans. *Pourquoi?* query some indignant French, including the manager of the theater who stands to lose a goodly number of hundred thousand franc notes. The French newspapers can not answer why. It was M. Poincaré, says one facetious journal. A police official explains: "The assassination of Lincoln might put it into some one's head to assassinate the President of the Council." From another source comes the reason that the film was ordered stopt in deference to the colored citizens of the French Republic. There was an "affair" in the Montmartre district in which Americans refused to tolerate the presence of colored Frenchmen in an amusement place. *Le Petit Journal* (Paris) pursues the story:

"To exact the respect due to black men who were loyal to France and whose war record credits them with innumerable deeds of heroism and devotion, the Government took the proper measures.

"Thereupon, complaints reached the police regarding Griffith's film. One and all, they argued that 'The Birth of a Nation,' both in its spirit and in its action, was an insult to the black race.

"Day before yesterday M. Bouteiller, divisional commissary, was detailed to sit out a public showing at the Marivaux. Yesterday, much to his surprize, the manager of that establishment received orders to withdraw the film.

"Is Griffith's work really an insult to colored Frenchmen?

"'It is out of harmony with French policy in such matters,' say the authorities.

"'It is a historical work, absolutely impartial,' retorts M. Lecocq, manager of the Marivaux Theater, and concessionaire of the film.

"In point of fact, it is a film depicting the War of Secession, which, from 1861 to 1865, ranged the American slaveholders against the Abolitionists—in other words, the South against the North. After the assassination of President Lincoln, the liberated slaves were guilty of certain abuses, asserts Griffith, who acts not only as producer but as historian. These abuses, when set forth on the screen, were what shocked colored people in the audience. Complaints followed, resulting in the suppression of the film."

The trouble, still unsettled, has some further exploitation:

"'We presented the film with only the best intentions,' say the Marivaux people. 'If we had imagined that it could affront the dignity of colored Frenchmen, we should never have accepted it.'

"The money loss inflicted upon the Marivaux by its suppression amounts to about 200,000 francs. As for M. Lecocq, concessionaire for France and the colonies, he paid 550,000 francs for the rights. Like the Marivaux people, he decided to appeal.

"'At any rate, I shall bring suit for damages,' says he. 'As the exploitation of my film was entirely legal, I can not put up with the loss involved in its suppression—a thing it was impossible for me to foresee.'"

L'Oeuvre, another Paris paper, shows that the film went safely through the censor's hands and emerged with only minor modifications. The word "bloodthirsty" was deleted, and also the phrase, "as in the days of the Inquisition," with perhaps a few other quite unimportant changes. The audiences that happened to see the film are enthusiastic. Then the end; whereupon August Nardy, the writer in *L'Oeuvre*, remarks:

"It amounts to this, then. A film announced two months ago, and a success in America and England for several years, has been abruptly suppresst—for what reason no one quite knows.

"It does not reflect upon the morals of the negroes. It reproduces with complete impartiality the various phases of the War of Secession. Moreover, care was taken to warn the public by announcing that the war broke out in 1860. . . .

"But of what use, meanwhile, is the board of censors that passed 'The Birth of a Nation'?"

"Birth of Nation" Film Again Banned in France

PARIS, Oct. 15.—D. W. Griffith's motion picture, "The Birth of a Nation," has again been banned by the French Ministry of the Interior, despite promises that its showing would be permitted after two months of prohibition, during which the French Government hoped changes would be made which would not arouse the antipathy of French colored citizens.

For several days the agents had been promised that they could present the film here, but in the last minute they were notified that their plans must be cancelled until every reference to Negroes or the Ku Klux Klan has been entirely omitted.

PARIS PLACES BAN ON "BIRTH OF NATION"

Paris, October 12.—The authorities have again forbidden showing of the motion picture "the Birth of a Nation" until all scenes containing negroes or the Ku Klux Kan have been eliminated. Such censorship of the picture which was to have been exhibted today would make it valueless, say the film men, as quoted by The Herald. Unless the government's decision is reconsidered, they intimate that they intend to enter suit against the government for an indemnity of 2,000,000 francs, in as much as they have entered into contracts to the amount of 3,000,000 francs.

Protests Showing Of "Birth of a Nation"

Kansas Daily Endorses N. A. A. C. P.'s Efforts to Keep Film Out of the State.

An editorial published in the Topeka Daily Capital of June 19 1923 endorses a protest by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the showing in Kansas of "The Birth of a Nation" film. Commenting upon the Association's telegram to Governor Davis of Kansas, urging him to prevent the film being shown, the Topeka Daily Capital said:

An Encourager of Race Hatred

"Not only state and local, but national action has been taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People aganist the new attempt to show a vicious Southern race film, "The Birth of a Nation," in Kansas. In Gov. Capper's and Gov. Allen's terms permission to show this picture in the state was refused. When the Association named heard of the appeal for an exhibition of the film to Gov. Davis it telegraphed the Governor urging that you continue the spllendid example of former Goverenors of Kansas in forbidding exhibition of this film, capitalizing and spreading as it does vicious racial prejudices which should have no part in American life.

"It is difficult to see any purpose to be served by the revived attempt to show this picture. There are no conditions in Kansas warranting it. The picture is biased as to history and sectional in its appeal. It can not claim art as its motive, for propaganda sticks out all over it. Evil can easily come of it in its power of stimulating passion, and this is a sufficieent objection against any picture to which it applies. "The Birth of a Nation" has been kept out of Kansas for reasons as strong today as at any time in the last five years."

The Topeka Daily Capital is published by Senator Arthur Capper, who is a member of the Board of Direectors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

GOVERNOR SEES LITTLE HARM IN VICIOUS MOVIE

"Birth of a Nation," Known as Riot Breeder, Gains Favor With Kansas Executive

Kansas City, Kan., Dec. 14.—A new fight over "The Birth of a Nation" film has broken out in the state of Kansas, with Governor Davis said to be favoring the film and the citizens here fighting to prevent its being shown in the state. During the governorship of Arthur Capper, now U. S. senator and a member of the board of directors of the N. A. A. C. P., showing of the film was forbidden.

On Dec. 3 the national office of the N. A. A. C. P. received the following telegram from Andrew Wilson of the Kansas City branch:

"The censor board has released 'Birth of a Nation.' Governor Davis favors same and told our committee he thought he would sign."

Thereupon the N. A. A. C. P. at once wired Governor Davis as follows:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is informed that Kansas state censor board has released 'Birth of a Nation' film and that you favor such release and are inclined to sign. This organization composed of representative white and Colored citizens wishes to register with you vigorous protest against releasing this film, which has done so much to create discord and bitterness between the races. We respectfully urge that you do all in your power to prevent the showing of this film."

At the same time all Kansas branches of the association are being urged to make it clear to Governor Davis that their votes will show disapproval of his course if he persists in releasing the "Birth of a Nation" film.

In a letter commenting on the report of Governor Davis' contemplated action Senator Capper writes:

"I had seen in the newspapers that the board had approved the picture and I am very sorry that they are inclined to take that view of it, for I feel now, just as I did when I was governor, that this picture ought not to be shown in our state. It seems to me that there is great danger that it might arouse racial animosities."

PICKENS GETS HIS FIRST CHANCE TO GO TO HELL

New York, June 16.—"If you don't believe Shreveport is hell, come down here and see, you nigger defender," is a paragraph of a letter received at the local Urban League office last week, evidently from a butcher, postmarked Shreveport, La., who simply signed "A Knight sheriff and the gang."

The foregoing sounds rather odd, but nevertheless it is true. The letter further stated that the sheriff and chief of police of the city had been expecting some "nigger" there to speak on social equality named "Charley Pickett." "You remember the Mulch case. Well, we whipped him and run him out of town. That is what we were going to do to Pickett. We weren't going to kill or hang him, but start him out of town on the run."

From authoritative sources information was secured to the effect that the "Charley Pickett" that this cracker referred to was none other than Dean William Pickens of the N. A. A. C. P. When our reporter called on Dr. Pickens and explained the situation he said: "A few weeks ago I was asked to come to Shreveport to speak at a convention of the State Medical society. I was busy at the time with N. A. A. C. P. business in St. Louis and could not make the trip. I have spoken there on many occasions, especially before Dr. Booker T. Washington's death, and before I became connected with the National association."

Dr. Pickens' inability to attend the convention probably prevented a bloody riot, as another paragraph of the poorly constructed letter reads as follows: "If that nigger Pickett ever comes here we will make it hot for niggers all over the South, and it will be worse than the Tulsa riot. We do our own business here and don't allow any Northerners to butt in. If you don't believe it let the chief of police know when Pickett is comin."

MERIT ONLY WILL WIN RECOGNITION

Solution Of Race Problems Lies In Economic Advancement, Declares Dr. Woodson.

"The future of the American Negro is not bound up in any political party, but in what the Negro does for himself," declared Dr. Carter G. Woodson of Washington, D. C., author and historian, speaking before a large audience on the subject: "Democracy and the man far down," at St. John's A. M. E. Church on Sunday afternoon last.

Outlining the different forms of government under which different peoples of the world have lived and citing causes which brought in existence these various modes of government, Dr. Woodson, declared that the Negro is not so much concerned as to what form government may take as he is concerned that every element in that government share equally its dispensation.

It is a mistake, he said, to assume that democracy came to America in 1776, as it was not until after the war between the states that democracy was born in this country.

Turning his attention to the accomplishments the race must make for itself Dr. Woodson, stressed the importance of economic efficiency. Intellectual efficiency alone is not enough said the speaker, but economic efficiency, economic co-operation are essentials to be obtained by any people who may hope to build for success.

Declaring his love for the soil of Virginia, his birth place, and his devotion to the United States of America, Dr. Woodson said that he stood ready to defend the nation against any foreign foe. He said that better treatment for the Negro in America would not be obtained by a successful overthrow of this government by any foreign nation, but its assurance lies in the accomplishments of the race itself.

The address was a literary treat in American and Negro History. The speaker urged his hearers to study the history of their race. It is replete with chronicles of brilliant achievements by Negroes of centuries ago, said Dr. Woodson.

Dr. Carter G. Woodson is the editor of the Journal of Negro History and has written several creditable books on the history of the race.

His appearance at St. John's was under the auspices of the Book Lovers Literary Club. Lawyer J. Eugene Diggs the ex-president of the club, in outlining its work paid a splendid tribute to the efforts of Dr. Woodson. The Lawyer said that the whole Negro race is greatly indebted to Dr. Woodson for his scientific achievements in historical research in behalf of the race.

Prof. E. P. Southall presided at the meeting and splendid solos rendered by Miss Blanche Smith and Mrs. Johnsie Churchill added much to the occasion.

NINE SENATORS VOTE RECALL OF U. S. MARINES

Government Defeats Move 43 To 9 To Withdraw Forces From San Domingo and Haiti

FRANCE VOTES NAY

Borah and King Flay Administration for Outrages Upon Natives

Washington, D. C., June 29—Staff Correspondence—Resolutions introduced in the Senate by Senator King (Rep.) of Utah, to secure the withdrawal of the United States marines from Haiti, San Domingo and Nicaragua before December 31, 1922, failed in the Senate Monday by a vote of 43 to 9.

Those who voted for the measure included Senators, Borah, Johnson, King, Ladd, La Follette, Norris, Overman, Walsh, (Mass.), Walsh, (Mont.). Senator France, of Maryland, cast his vote with forty-three Republicans against the measure. Fourty-four Senators mostly Democrats, did not vote.

Subsequent effort of Senator King to cut the $11,000,000 appropriation of the marines to $8,000,000 also failed.

1,300 Marines In Haiti

Senator Poindexter, (Rep.) of Washington, declared that there are nearly 2,100 marines in San Domingo, approximately 1,300 in Haiti and 107 in Nicaragua.

Senator Borah who led the fight for the measure declared the United State invaded Haiti without cause and because they were helpless to resist the invasion of the American marine and the American navy. One of the first things this Government did, he said, was to wipe out that provision in the Haitian constitution that prohibited foreigners to hold land. It is a question of 110,000,000 people with a great army and navy fighting 3,000,000 people without an army and navy.

Americans Own 200,000 Acres

Following our invasion, Senator Borah said, Americans have rushed in and acquired illegally or by force over 200,000 acres of the richest and most fertile soil in the world. He quoted President Harding's pre-election pledge not to use the marines against the little Republics of the western hemisphere, or interfer with their domestic affairs.

Mr. Borah also attacked the administration plan of forcing a $14,000,000 loan on Haiti, reading figures to show that after the loan is discounted, the French debt of six and one-half million dollars is paid, and a debt of some three million dollars or more to the National City bank of New York, Haiti would ... less than $2,000,000 with which to make improvements.

NEGRO RACE RADICAL

By Bishop Robert E. Jones

"The Negro Race is shot through with radicalism," and is being spurred into action; and it is losing faith in Christianity, and losing faith in politics. The solidarity of the races is being talked, but that will not answer. Twelve million rats solidified would be dangerous to any country, to say nothing of 12,000,000 human beings, men and women, filled with hatred. I teach my people to hate nobody.

"The Negro wants the recognition of his place in the brotherhood of man, which is his by divine right. He wants one standard of American citizenship applied alike to all. The Negro approves heartily of the movement for inter-racial co-operation because it recognizes first of all the right of the Negro to state his own case, and a case he has. No programs however benevolent, for the solution of racial difficulties, will stay put unless the Negro has a hand in the making of it. And no Negro can lead our group unless chosen by our group he must have confidence. He must hold his place of leadership by our suffrage."

MARINES' WORK IN HAITI IS PRAISED

Senate Committee Justifies Occupation And Recommends Its Continuance.

Atlanta Georgian 6/27/22

(By International News Service.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26.—American military occupation of Haiti was completely justified in a report submitted to the Senate Monday by a committee which visited the island republic to investigate serious charges brought against the rule of United States Marines.

The report, made by Senator McCormick, Republican, of Illinois, declared American occupation of the island was "absolutely necessary" to uphold the Monroe Doctrine and to prevent military intervention by Germany and France. The committee urged retention of marines in Haiti, but asserted military courts should be abolished.

ENDED ANARCHY.

The landing of marines, the report states, ended chronic anarchy in the republic and brought law and order to the island for the first time in its history. The occupation, it was contended, should be maintained until the natives were capable of self-government. Charges of illegal executions by marines were partially supported, the committee submitting evidence of 10 such cases. The commitee also declared there was evidence of innocent Haitians being slain in marine attacks, but the blame was placed on the nature of the fighting.

Touching on charges of torture and cruelties, said to have been inflicted by marines, the committee exonerated the American force, declaring there was "grave doubt" of their guilt.

MARINES PRAISED.

"To the credit of our country nearly all the marines performed their duties admirably," said the report. "There were, however, some few exceptions where they failed in their duty."

The committee reviewed at length the history of Haiti, disclosing that although it is as large as Cuba, internal conditions were such that its foreign trade was only one-tenth as large as Cuba's. Especial praise was rendered the American force for its work in rebuilding roads, establishing an educational system and promoting foreign commerce for the island industries.

Particular attention was paid to conditions existing prior to American occupation, when, the committee said, the people were burdened with taxes, but offered no educational facilities, no police protection and no sanitary improvements.

"Before American occupation, there had been no popular, representative government in Haiti," the report said. "Public finances were in disarray, public credit was exhausted and public revenues wasted or stolen. Highways and agriculture had given way to the jungles. The people, living in wretched poverty, were illiterate. They were always at the mercy of banditry.

BIG CHANGES.

"Now conditions are changed. With very rare exceptions, the peasant class realizes for the first time they are free from impressment into military service. They are no longer plundered by bandits. They are secure in the possession of their families and homes.

"Testimony shows that the threatened intervention of the German government and the actual landing of French naval forces, all imperiled the Monroe Doctrine and led this government to take the successive steps to establish order in Haiti, institute a government as nearly representative as possible and to assure collaboration between the governments of the United States and Haiti for future maintenance of peace and development of the Haitian people.'

The committee urged consummation of the Haitian loan "without delay" in order to pay off a $14,000,000 French debt and to finish proposed public works.

OUR HAITIAN POLICY

New York Times 6/26/22

In the fact that the Haitian policy of the Harding Administration was defended by a Democratic Senator, Mr. POMERENE, in the debate upon the King amendment there is a significance that will not be lost upon fair-minded men. The King amendment of the Naval Appropriation bill was as follows:

> No part of the said sum shall be used for the purpose of maintaining or employing marines, either officers or enlisted men, in the Republic of Haiti, or the Dominican Republic, or Nicaragua, after Dec. 31, 1922, except in the event of an uprising in either republic menacing the lives of citizens of the United States or the lives of subjects of a foreign Power or Powers friendly to the United States, and then only for the purpose of affording protection to said citizens or subjects.

The effect of this amendment if adopted would have been to terminate the duty of the Marine Corps in the countries named as the year ended. The debate was begun by Mr. BORAH of Idaho, who wanted that very thing to happen. He devoted himself to the Haitian occupation. In his judgment there was no sufficient reason for it. He made this extraordinary statement: "When you examine the rec-"ord of robberies and murders in "great cities, the lynchings and burn-"ings in this country, and compare "them with lawlessness in Haiti, you "will find little excuse for our going "to Haiti." Hardly anything that had been accomplished in Haiti by the military administration under instructions from a Democratic President, and later from a Republican President, had Mr. BORAH'S approval: Changes in the Constitution, pacification, the election of a new President, reorganization of the finances. Over all he found the stigma of illegality, and he discerned in the American policy a design to stay in Haiti and possess it. "I think it most unfortunate," he exclaimed, "that a republic which "had stood for 111 years through all "the vicissitudes which accompanied "its history should be destroyed by "its sister Republic, the great Repub-"lic of the West." American capitalists were appropriating the lands of the Haitians, evicting them in cases from squatter holdings of long duration. He believed, from what he had seen "in print," that 200,000 acres had already been acquired.

Senator POMERENE, who defended the American policy, was a Democratic member of the Senate subcommittee that recently visited Haiti to investigate the military occupation. "It is easier," he said, "to get mis-"information than it is to get infor-"mation about Haiti." As to the cruelties charged against the marines, in a very few instances true, "they "were inconsequential compared with "the cruelties that would have been "perpetrated under the same circum-"stances upon the Haitians by native "Haitians." Senator ODDIE interrupted to say that in the ten years before the American occupation there had been eight Presidents of Haiti, of whom three fled the country, one was blown up in his palace, one was presumably poisoned and two were murdered. Haitian Presidents are supposed to serve for seven years, so that these eight Presidents should have ruled for fifty-six years. "Senators," said Mr. POMERENE, "talk about Constitutional Government in Haiti." The Haitians, he went on, were always having new Constitutions, after elections that were seizures of power by "saviors of the people." Mr. BORAH had been very much worked up about the constitutional rights of the Haitians. Mr. POMERENE said the subcommittee had found a large number of Haitians, "not of the political class," who regarded with dread the withdrawal of the marines. These Haitians were weary of chaos, oppression and massacres. "My belief is," declared Mr. POMERENE, "that if we "get out of Haiti on Jan. 1, 1923, "we shall have to go back." He added:

> It is our duty to stay there long enough to permit the Haitians to organize a government which will be truly representative of the Haitian people.

The Ohio Senator contended that the loan proposed for Haiti was really in its interest—one effect of the loan would be to save the country a considerable sum of money. The occupation, he maintained, had been beneficial; in fact, a boon to the people. Hundreds of miles of good roads had been built where there were only dim trails before. The sanitation work was of the first order. To the peasants and merchants protection in their occupations had been given. There was peace in Haiti. The debt had been scaled down by honest accounting. If more had not been done for the Haitians, it was because the treaty with them was limited to actual necessities. Mr. POMERENE challenged Mr. BORAH to find anything in the policy of the Administration that was "susceptible of the construction which "the Senator has placed upon our "action." What the Senate thought of Mr. BORAH'S moral indignation the vote on the King amendment showed. It was lost, 9 yeas to 43 nays.

A NEW RACE NAME.

The time-honored fad of finding a new name to pin upon the American of African descent still continues with unabated zeal. The latest attempt is reported by the Detroit Independent as follows:

Editor George M. Smith, of the Michigan State News, is arousing considerable interest by championing a new name for the race.

The editor states a proper name for us is "Ethican."

He defines "Ethican" as follows

"Ethican"—An American citizen of the United States, of Ethiopian descent, commonly, though incorrectly called "Negro," being a combination of "Eth," the first syllable in Ethiopia, and "ican," the last syllable in American.

This reminds us of the white novelist, who had one of his characters express her sentiments on racial nomenclature, as follows: "When you like me, call me colored; when you hate me, call me 'nigger'; but for Gawd's sake don't call me Afro-American." The same popular distaste would probably apply to the various terms of "Afrimerican," "Libranian" and this late suggestion, "Ethnican." The present tendency to capitalize "Negro" and treat it as a proper noun, as practiced by such New York papers as the Nation, the Globe, the World and the Illustrated Daily News, has done much to recommend its acceptance as a simple and sufficient racial designation.

The above clipping was taken from the New York Age, issue of June 17th. It has been ours to observe that for a long time there have been those who have tried and are trying to find a new name for the American Negro. We have also observed that there are many of us to whom the word Negro is repulsive. But both are mysteries that we cannot fathom.

The above clipping tells of the efforts of Editor George M. Smith, of the Michigan State News, to have adopted the name "Ethican" for the Negro of America. There have been numerous other efforts to have adopted some name that might eliminate the name Negro, but more frequently have we noticed the efforts of many Negroes to free themselves from the address of the name.

Possibly the latter class is repulsive because of the definition as laid down in Webster's Dictionary which states that a Negro "Is a black man; especially one of a race of black or very dark persons who inhabited the greater part of tropical Africa, and are distinguished by crisp or curly hair, and thick, protruding lips; also any black person of unmixed African blood wherever found."

If this is in their minds, then there are no Negroes in America. But, while generally accepted, Webster may be as wrong as anybody else.

The Negro of America is of mixed blood and minus a great many of the physical characteristics of Webster's definition. Mr. Webster also has listed in his dictionary, or possibly the revisions, the word "nigger," and he defines such a word as Negro. Further, Mr. Webster has listed in his dictionary, or possibly the revisions, the word "Negress," which he defines as a "black woman," all of which, if accepted, might justify anyone in becoming indignant of the name.

But the more intelligent Negroes of American do not accept Webster upon the ground that possibly all of the people here of African descent are of mixed blood and more largely minus the physical characteristics as stated by him. They contend that the Negro of America is that part of the population of this country of African descent, which part has very nearly, and in particular cases wholly, reached the highest point of civilization.

The Negro of America has every reason to be proud of his race, not because of the height to which he has ascended, but because of the depth from whence he came, and he should never wish to lose his racial identity.

The Jew was once a slave and suffered as great persecution as did the Negro. He has climbed and is never offended at being called a Jew. There is no race under the sun that takes offense of the name of its racial identity except the Negro, and may he not do so always.

We, along with others, take offense at the abridged extractions—"nigger" and "Negress." They are obnoxious in that they smack of inferiority, but we take great pride in the word "Negro" and we know no word better suited to designate our racial identity, notwithstanding the fact that its present definition is quite foreign to our present physical, moral and intellectual status.

CHICAGO ILL BLADE
JUNE 17, 1922

BLACKS NEED MORAL TRAINING

Federal Judge Says "Little Education" Is Dangerous.

Federal Judge Henry D. Clayton, holding court in Montgomery, Ala., recently sent a negro woman, Bertha McDonald, to jail for three weeks for sending an obscene letter through the mails. The letter was so vile that the Judge refused to hear all of it read.

"This is an example of where a little education is a dangerous thing," Judge Clayton is quoted as saying. "We have been trying to educate the negro, to teach him to read and write; we mean well, but I do not know but what we are proceeding the wrong way. What they need is education in the right ways of living and right morals."

Judge Clayton referred to the New England theory that a Hottentot or a Senegambian can be brought to America and in three hundred years made into a white man in all except color. He expressed the opinion that it cannot be done. "There is as much difference between the negro and the white race as there is between a jackass and a race horse," he declared.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

SHALL DEGENERATES DESTROY CIVILIZATION?

White Americans Must Wake Up and Put a Stop to the Mingling of Pure Caucasian Blood With That of Mongrels

The illicit, indiscriminate, and God-cursed association between alleged white men, and mule-nigger wenches in San Antonio, should be stopped—and stopped forever—if the "Cradle of Texas Liberty," has the slightest ambition to remain a White Man's town.

A casual view of the surging masses of alleged humanity, that crowd our side walks, is enough to disgust any decent man or woman, for it is a moving picture of mongrel misfits, advertising to the world, the white man's lechery, and a shame to civilization.

It is not necessary to reiterate the world-known fact, that not an atom of chastity enters the composition of the average African female. If any shallow-brained enthusiast doubts this fact, let him—or her—make an excursion into the home of the negroes, and then reply to the above statement. There you will find them in every shade, from strawberry roan, to jet black—all in one family, for while one drop of African blood makes a negro (or mulato) out of the owner for eternity, the progeny of a mixed race plays idiotic pranks backwards and forwards—but in all the multiduinous transformations, Natures never brings forth a white man, from negro or mulato ancestors.

The man who doubts this, is a driveling fool, a conscious liar, or a mental and moral miscarriage—who seeks to camouflage, and hide his lechery from the eyes of God, and an accusing world.

From the most noted scientific sources of the world, comes the statement that "there is not a pure blooded negro today, in the United States, as a descendent of the ex-slaves." While there still remains a limited per cent of jet-black negroes in America, they all have more or less white blood in their veins, and this fact is proven by finding more or less black-and-tans croping out in families, where both man and woman are as black as the hinges of hell.

Dependable and truth-telling ethnologists, will tell you that there were originally two creations in human form—the white, and the black man. In the beginning, it was easy enough to tell one from another, for there were no mule-niggers, to puzzle the careless, and feeble minded, or to tempt the lechery of mental and moral perverts. Even with the now varying shades, from pure white, to pure black, there is no need for error, for Nature has made detection easy. If in doubt, whether it is a white man, or a mulatto, stand him in the July sun for ten minutes—and then take a close-up position on the lee-side of the subject. If your nose is "hitting regular," you won't have any trouble in solving the problem.

Remembering the fact, that in the beginning, there were two creation—white and black—you will have no trouble in accounting for the different tribes, that now inhabit this globe.

The Jews never recognized the negro as anything but a lower creation—a species of animal—made in human form. No well-informed man denies this, for he who has read the Bible, understood it— and let's it go at that. The Jews called the negro, the "beast," and not a man. They considered him a creature made in human shape, who possessed enough brain to be useful—and anything that is useful to Ikey, he instantly grabs it. He certainly never permitted the negro to ever "come before the altar of the Lord"—for there was a law, that prevented any man "with a flat nose," ever doing so (Levit. 21.18.) In the book of Jonah, we find that the Jews called the negro the **"beast,"** yet ordered him to **put on sackcloth,** and **"repent of the sins in their hands." (Jonah 3.8)**

When you place white men upon an isolated Island, and breed them for ages, you will never find anything but **white men there.** The same is true of the black man. Furthermore, when you place **a mulatto race** upon an island—or in any country where no more white men come, the entire layout will finally become a "type," resembling each other in no unmistakable degree, just like we find in Japan, China, and many of the Islands of the sea. But there is **one thing certain**—they **never again revert** to the Real White Man—**and never will.**

Now don't get gay and deny this, unless you are prepared to dispute the Bible—and when you do that, our contention ends, for the Bible tells me how to act under such circumstances. (Matt. 7.6) I never argue any question with any man, who does not believe the word of God.

Coming back to our good old town—the "Cradle of Texas Liberty," and what do we find? Read the following local item, from the daily paper, and you will see what ails San Antonio.

"Four persons were taken into custody by San Antonio police, between 10 and 11 o'clock Thursday. Two negresses and two white men, one of which is being held for Federal officers, were among those apprehended. Violation of the City's **Vice Ordinances,** were charged against the other three."

Are the real white men and white women of this good old town, ever going to wake up, and at least attempt to put a stop to the beastly and un-Godly crimes that are being perpetrated? Worthless cur dogs are roped, and promptly put out of commission, then why not put an eternal stop to these lecherous alleged white men, who are mingling with the dirty black wenches in this White Man's Town, and doing more harm to society, than all the thieves, and robbers, on earth? When you lose your money, you are inconvenienced, but not ruined for life. When you permit Society to become rotten, and the poison is permeating every pore of the body politic, you are **ruined beyond repair,** and civilization is gone glimmering.

I admit that the good people are striving to chase vice, and immorality from San Antonio, but they are not using the proper force. The illicit mingling of the pure blood of the white man, with that of the mongrel, is a poison, that sooner or later, will destroy White Civilization to a certainty—and you know it—yet we merely toddle along in a desultory manner, temporize with this greatest of all vices, and matters grow worse.

Something must be done, that will strike terror into the hearts of these miserable, lecherous, debauched and damnable two-legged white hounds in human form, who are transforming White America, into a dirty, damnable, mess of miserable misfits—plain mule-niggers—neither Man nor Beast, but only something that can wear pants, and scent the air like a covey of turkey buzzards.

It is not the fault of the brazen wenches—for the crime is on the part of these alleged **white he-bawds,** who disgrace the pure white mother and father who gave them birth, in order to gratify a lust that would make a trans-Rio Grande jackass, blush with shame.

This town is full of them. They ought to be put out of business—and they are **going to be put out of business.**

The first move should be the compilation of a full roster of that breed of cattle, put the law to them like a branding iron—give them publicity till it stinks—and watch them reform, or migrate.

San Antonio is a **White Man's town**—and will continue to be—until we have forgotten those brave and daring patriots, who gave their lives, that Posterity might be WHITE, CLEAN, AND HAPPY.

The White Man's Burden.

In a revolutionary outbreak against constituted authority in the Philippines 50 Moros were killed and many wounded.

This clash comes on the heels of a recent demand by Filipino lawmakers for the recall of Gen. Leonard Wood. Native officials resigned in protest against the administration of Gen. Wood.

Perhaps the real motive behind the action of the Filipino senators was revealed by the words of their leader, Manuel Quezon, president of the Senate, who said there was no intention of casting a personal reflection on the governor-general, but that in view of conditions he didn't believe it humanly possible for Gen. Wood to co-operate with the Filipino members of the government. And then he made this rather significant statement:

"If possible, the president should appoint a Filipino governor-general."

The upper classes of the Filipinos are very intelligent. Many of them have enjoyed and profited by educational advantages. It is but natural that in this select circle there are to be found those who are ambitious. After centuries of existence under the Spanish yoke and a quarter of a century of comparative freedom under an American protectorate, some of the Filipinos who rank high in official life probably look with covetous eyes upon the chair that has been occupied by American appointees of the president of the United States.

Quezon's suggestion of a native governor-general inspires the belief that Gen. Wood stands in the way of Filipino ambition. This belief is strengthened by advices that the governor-general has a strong native following, despite his differences with the president of the Senate.

Several weeks ago we were advised in cables from Manila that the resignations of the legislators had developed into a political partisan embroglio, with the Democrata party supporting Wood and the Collectivista party opposing him.

Aguinaldo, who as a revolutionary leader at one time gave the United States much trouble, says there is no reason for the people to become excited, as the question can be settled without detriment to the rights of either side.

The battle between the savage Moros and the constabulary has nothing to do with the differences between Quezon and Gen. Wood, but it emphasizes the fact that the time is not ripe for the United States to weaken its protectorate over the islands by turning the most important office, that of governor-general, over to a native. If this were done, the probabilities are that there would be a steady drift toward the confusion existing at the time the Spaniards relinquished control. It would be only a matter of time until the United States would again have to send armed forces into the islands to restore order.

Gen. Wood is a strong man. He is a disciplinarian. In addition to innate ability he has had the advantages of military training and long years of experience. For these reasons there is little probability of his recall, despite the demands of Quezon and his political associates.

The United States has dealt fairly with the Filipinos and accomplished great things in the islands. Its work of sanitation alone, almost making impossible repetition of devastating epidemics, stands as a momument to the nation's solicitude for its wards. Occasional complaints from Filipino leaders will not alter this government's determination to fulfill every obligation assumed when the fortunes of war placed upon us what Kipling so aptly termed "the white man's burden." In the years following the Spanish-American War we have learned to appreciate those words of the British poet:

"Take up the white man's burden—
The savage wars of peace:
Fill full the mouth of famine,
And bid the sickness cease.
And when your goal is nearest
(The end for others sought,)
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hopes to naught."

Race Men Did Not Invade Hall and Snatch White Women from Male Escorts

Wild, Hair-Raising Story Published in Chicago American Nothing But a Lie, Investigator Finds.

Pittsburgh Courier

CHICAGO, Ill., Sept. 27.—Following an investigation by Morris Lewis, Regional Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Chicago of an alleged riot on July 30, at Worth, Ill., when, it was charged, Negroes appeared at a community dance hall and snatched white women from their partners before being driven off by the police, the Associated Press issued a refutation of the story as follows:

9-29-23

"Chicago, August 23 — Morris Lewis, Regional Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, denied today the report made by a Chicago newspaper, July 30, of an alleged raid on a community dance hall in Worth, Illinois.

"The circulated story told how colored workmen had entered the dance hall and snatched white women from their partners and how they were driven off by the police.

"'No such raid occurred,' said Mr. Lewis. 'In the first place, there is no community dance hall in Worth. There are some 75 colored laborers there. The story had its origin in an attempt by several colored laborers to hold up the commissary of the company for which they were working. Four or five men were arrested. That is the whole story.

"'City officials and local newspapers corroborate the findings of my investigation and declare that the majority of the colored laborers in that vicinity have always been orderly.'"

The Mokena News-Bulletin (white) of August 3rd said of the incident:

"The Chicago American came out with a wild hair-raising story stating that the colored men had appeared at a dance and had pulled guns on the white men and took their girls from them. All this was bunk and in fact the whole story has caused a reflection to be cast on the colored people that is harmful.

"Fully 95 per cent if not more of the men are said to be as orderly and law-abiding as any white men and the actions of a few hard-boiled members should not condemn the whole camp. Many of the men have been employed by the construction company for ten and even fifteen years. It is said that there is not any more disorder to be found in this camp than there would be in a camp of white men of this size.

"The people of Worth greatly resent the wild story published in the Chicago paper and wish to have it understood that it would not stand for anything of the nature as described in the Windy City paper.

"The hot air story was the product of a sensational reporter, who had more regard for scandal than for truth."

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

KELLY MILLER TAKES ISSUE WITH KING

Declares Editorial in Christian Advocate Shameful

KING CHARGES GRAFT

Miller Charges Article Implies that Negro Church only safe under White Leadership

The South Western Christian Advocate, in the issue of October 25, contains a very serious indictment of the integrity of the ecclesiastic autonomy of the Negro race. It quotes from the Young Alenite, an official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal church a most scathing denunciation of graft and corruption, which it is alleged prevails throughout the wide reaches of this great Negro denomination. It is interesting to note that this arraignment appears in an official organ of the church under condemnation which of itself indicates that the evils complained of are in the right way to correction. Evil deeds flee the light as the Devil the break of day. Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil. When such a discussion is tolerated, in a church organ, it clearly indicates that the people are ready to rise up and condemn unworthiness, even when entrenched in high places.

Charge Rests on Rumor.

One wonders how it could happen that such flagrant denunciation of a general character could find its way into the public prints. The whole charge as presented in the extracts quoted rests upon rumor and hear say. Colored writers are too prone to be prodigal in praise and abundant in abuse. He makes up for his paucity of logic and analysis by profusion of praise or blame. There is too often wanting the caution of wisdom and the restraint of prudence. There is a wholesale denunciation of the bench of Bishops which puts every member thereof under suspicion of graft and corruption. Not a single scintilla of proof is presented. This is a serious abuse of the freedom of speech. No sanely regulated journal of public opinion would permit such reckless utterance. Righteous journalism requires the publication of definitely ascertained facts regardless of where it leads or whom it hurts. But even here in Advertisement of such facts is required by sound wisdom and seasoned judgment. The true criterion is to be determined by what useful end is to be served, and not by momentary sensationalism. For the life of me I cannot see what racial or public good is accomplished by holding up to public scandal our highest ecclesiastic dignitaries. We do not find this propensity in any other people except our own.

KELLY MILLER'S RETREAT.

Washington, D. C.,
August 17, 1923.

Mr. Dear Mr. Davis:

Your editorial of August 9th seems calculated to prolong indefinitely the controversial issues involved in the all-race conference. If my two letters to you do not clarify the situation in your mind, I fear I would be unable to do so though I should indite a volume. I am chiefly concerned in promoting an all-race conference, not an all-race controversy.

You call upon me to speak out. I will do so definitely, specifically and finally.

1. On August 13th I held a conference with the Race Front Conference in New York city. The outcome was clear and unmistakable so that neither you nor anyone else could have any grounds of misunderstanding. The committee on arrangements for the All-Race Conference, however originated, will function fully and freely without any ulterior coercion or control.

2. I did not call the session of the constituent civil rights organizations, but was invited by the chairman to meet with them, with a view to their indorsement of the All-Race Conference, as already proposed by Atlanta, Ga. The constituent organizations did not include the Garvey movement, for reasons of their own, with which I had nothing to do. I didm however, have a personal conference with Mr. Garvey, and learned that he was not inimical to the movement. The All-Race Conference committee had sent invitation to the U. N. I. A. to participate on precisely the same terms as other national organizations.

3. You call upon me to vouch for the character, reputation and calling of the personnel of the several civil rights organizations which united in backing the All-Race Conference movement. It is not my function or prerogative to give or to take away the reputability of any organization. I am no more responsible for the character, reputation and status of the organization in question than for that of The Atlanta Independent. I am trying to unite existing agencies into one comprehensive program of racial welfare, and therefore must deal with them just as they are, without one plea.

4. You profess to fear the element of graft. If the reputation and competency of the treasurer do not assure you of the honest and efficient management of contributed funds, I will appoint you on the auditing committee to make sure that not one penny is wrongfully applied.

5. The inclusion of a limited number of representative names on the enlarged committee was for the purpose of broadening the basis of the committee beyond the purely local and organizational membership, and to give it a national character, in substantial harmony with your own suggestion. The membership of the committee, at most, will constitute only a small part of the conference.

6. The committee on arrangements does not attempt to determine the deliberations or outcome of the conference. It merely lays out certain inevitable lines of procedure which is the necessary function of any preliminary management. The Race Front Conference will exert no more control over the deliberations than the Odd Fellows or the A. M. E. church. An all-race conference must be for all of the race, and not under the manipulation of any clique or faction, or group of cliques or factions.

I shall proceed to develop the conference as indicated in my several communications to The Independent. The task is arduous and taxing. I do hope that I will not be required to waste any more of my time and strength in bootless and fruitless controversy.

Yours truly,
KELLY MILLER.

Damage to Clergy.

It is particularly unfortunate that the Southwestern Christian advocate would lend its columns to the propagation of such wholesale slander. All scandal is slander until judicially established. The columns of the Advocate are eagerly scanned by a wide circle of white readers who are proned to believe any allegement of imperfection on the part of the Negro in high station. They will not be critical of the truth. The fact that the accusation appeared in so reputable a journal will serve as confirmation as strong as holy writ. The damage done to the reputation of Negro religious dulership in the mind of the white critic is irreparable. There is the undertone of implifications through the editorial treatment on part of the Advocate that the redemption of the Negro church lies in white leadership which is perfect and altogether to be desired. The editor seems to forget that as between the races, it is only a question of relative imperfection. The white clergy has been widely scandalized by reason of conspicuous lapses spread out in the public press. In any closely guarded system, we may rest assured that for every public exposure there are many suppressions which never reach the public eye or ear. I doubt whether there is a journal of either the religious or secular press that would lend itself to like scandalization of any branch of the white church as the Christian Advocate has unwittingly permitted it self to do. Not satisfied with quotation from the Alenite blasting the reputation of the A. M. E. connection, the editor extraneously lugs in a quotation from the Afro-American indicative of the extravagance and inefficiency of the Negro Baptists. The A. M. E. Zion and the C. M. E. churches under Negro self-direction are obliquely referred to. All branches of the Christian estate under Negro control are brought in implied comparison. The editor is unable to conceal a certain sort of veiled satisfaction at the discomforture of independent denomination of Negro churches. The implication is strong that it is not safe to entrust the Negro with rulership too far removed from the oversight of his white lord and master. Of course no such conclusion is reached in open declaration, but the sinister query is the most effective affirmative.

For more than a hundred years organized Negro independent churches life has been existent in the nation. For that period of time Negro ministerial has been put to the test of developing an ecclesiastical technique and organization for insuring christian character and ethical religious experience of members of the race. Can it be that these efforts have proven abortive?" This interrogative indictment, based upon unsupported rumor is a challenge and a defiance to every independent branch of the Negro church. If the independent Negro church has failed who has succeeded? Tell us this.

Independent Churches Strong.

The whole world is asking the question—Is Christianity a failure? Our hearts and our hopes answer in the affirmative, while the head shakes a double response. Success and failure are relative terms. In order to determine the influence and effect of the independent Negro churches for the past sixty years we must compare them with the denomination where the Negro has been overshadowed by white overlordship. In the city of Washington we have a number of churches of various denominational types. No fair observer can say that those under independent control suffer one whit by comparison with their competitors under white supervision. In respect to the character and qualifications of the ministers, the spiritual and moral tone of the membership and the influence upon the social welfare of the community, the superiority of white overseership is not apparent. On the otherhand this type of church control seems to fail utterly in reaching the mass life of the race. The Baptist church outnumbers all the other branches combined. Naturally enough it would show the larger measure of grossness and imperfection which adhers in the great masses which it most effectually reaches.

Race Prejudice Anti-Christ.

By some strange twist of logic and amazing surrender of Godly selfrespect, the tditor suggests that the Negro might give up the attempt at managing his own religious estate in order that there might be no schism

in the Church of Christ. He seems to forget that race prejudice is the anti-Christ of the present day. The Negro had as well surrender to the domination of the deveil in order to keep peace, harmony, and unity in the world. In order to be consistent the Advocate would have to advise against Negro banks. insurance companies and order business enterprise, in order that the business world might not be divided along the color line. The A. M. E. church makes no discrimination on account of race. The M. E. Church does. Which of the two then, respects the spirit of the Christ.

The attitude of the editor justifies the exclusion of the Negro from governmental participation because it upsets the equation of political unity and race harmony. This attitude also justifies the basic claim of the Ku Klux Klan which sets forth that the white race and the white race alone is fit and fitted for the rulership of mankind. and that the Negro should not aspire to have any part or parcel in it: I am sure that the Advocate will shrink from the logic of its own suggestion. Nor can I elieve that it calculated the consequencee of giving the wide influence of its circulation to certain internal disgruntle men of the A. M. E. church.

The policy suggested y the Advocate would be suicidal of racial self-espect.

There is but one line of manly procedure. Whenever the prejudices of race restricts the Negro to separate circles, the opportunities of such segregated arenas should be utilized and exploited by Negro physicians for the Tuskegee hospital on the ground that the medical profession should not be divided along the color line.

The race has a right even to make its own mistakes. The only way to learn to swim is to swim.

Impotence may struggle up to power ignorance may put on intelligence. crudeness may acquire culture: corruption may give way to incorruptibility, but the racial soul once hypothecated can never be redeemed.

(Sgd.) KELLY MILLER.

ALL RACE CONFERENCE.

The public is well-informed as to the Independent's viewpoint of the All Race Conference and of the controversy between Prof. Miller, chairman of the Conference, and Editor Davis, as to its merits.

The Independent made specific charges against the movement, when we understood that Mr. Miller's Sanhedrin idea had been taken over by certain allied civic organizations, which were of questionable service to the race, alleging that Mr. Miller's big idea had been captured by the same old gang, in self-defense, which had been exploiting the people for the last twenty-five years, without authority, and had satisfied Mr. Miller by giving him a temporary minor place in his own movement, and that the race could not expect any benefits from these self-appointed and self-constituted leaders. To all of which Prof. Miller took exceptions and started the controversy, which he now seeks to break off abruptly, without satisfying the public as to the authenticity or integrity of the conference he and his assistants are promoting.

Well, if Mr. Miller is willing to leave the public in the dark, under the charges we have brought against the Front Race gang, to hide behind the length of the controversy he himself provoked, we are willing to accept his cowardly retreat as proof conclusive of every charge we have preferred against the men promoting the All Race Conference.

We carry in another column of this issue a letter from Prof. Miller in which he signifies his intention of running away from the fight he voluntarily challenged us to engage in. Brother Miller, in giving notice that he was going to take to his heels, rather than to face the facts, remarked, "Your editorial of August 9th seems calculated to prolong indefinitely the controversial issues involved in the All Race Conference, and I hope that I will not be required to waste any more of my time and strength in bootless and fruitless controversy."

Whether Mr. Miller intends to discuss the matter further or not, we propose to continue to advise the public of the effort of all self-appointed and self-constituted leaders to exploit the people for personal gain. In this communication, we are going to put up to Brother Miller the same questions we put up to him in our editorial of the 9th. He can answer these questions or he can dodge them. The public is the jury and will render the verdict upon the charges we have made. We asked Brother Miller some questions in the editorial in question, and he, in his answer, failed to meet the issue, as he has done in the entire controversy.

In proof that Prof. Miller has at as yet discovered the point at issue or risen to the dignity of helpful argument, we quote from a letter which appears in this issue from the Rev. Dr. M. A. N. Shaw president of the National Equal Rights League and president of the United Front Conference. Dr. Shaw says, "since reading your editorial, I must be frank in saying that I do not consider Dean Miller's reply at all satisfactory; not that he has not said some most excellent things; but his manner of dealing with your editorial, to my mind, as I purpose to show, misses the point by a very long mark."

Dean Miller says that we called upon him to vouch for the character, reputation and calling of the personnel of the several civil rights organizations which united in promoting the All Race Conference movement. "It is not my function or prerogative to give or take away the reputation of any organization. I am no more responsible for the character and reputation and status of the organizations in question than I am for the Atlanta Independent."

Dean Miller gave us the names of the following so-called civic organizations: The National Equal Rights League, Jefenegan's Race Conference, the International Uplift League, the African Blood Brotherhood, the N. A. A. C. P. and the Friends of Freedom, as organizations which met in New York March 23, 1923, to form the United Front Conference, which took over his big idea. We had charged that these men were self-appointed leaders and represented nobody, made up most largely of clerks, idlers, demagogues, politicians and other irresponsibles, all of which Prof. Miller disputed and entered a vigorous defense. We did not ask him anything about the moral character of these persons. But on the other hand, we asked him to give us the following information about these organizations, excepting the N. A. A. C. P. First, will you be good enough to give the public the names of the officers of the five institutions, telling where and when they were elected, giving the membership of each. Second, the location or headquarters of each and the occupation of their presidents and secretaries. Third, if they have any visible means of support, tell the public what they are engaged in and where. The N. A. A. C. P. was excepted.

Now, if this information is inquiring about the moral character of the men composing the other five organizations, we do not understand plain English, and we repeat, for the benefit of Prof. Miller that if these men met him and took over his idea and are now calling on the public for $5,000.00, the people have a perfect right to know who the men are and whether they work or loaf. It is up to Prof. Miller to tell the public who constitute each of these organizations, giving the name of the president and secretary, where they work, a roster of their membership, so the public will know the character of the men and the membership of the organization they claim to represent and know whether they are worthy of their support. And we now add that if we did not ask about the moral character of these men, it was the duty of Prof. Miller to give the public the benefit of their moral worth, as he had the light and the conscience to discover it. Yet he brushes the question away and says the character and reputation of the men is of little concern to him; that it was neither his function nor prerogative to give or take away the reputation of an organization.

We put other questions, as follows, to Brother Miller which he failed and refused to answer:

First, You say you need $5,000 to cover expenses. Have you a budget itemizing the expenses, or are you guessing?

Second, if you have a budget, give the public a statement.

Third, we asked you what would be the result if your seat-selling scheme brought more delegates to the convention than the people sent as their representatives, and what would become of the will of the people.

You answered none of these questions, but seek to brush them all aside by complaining that our editorial was calculated to prolong indefinitely the controversial issues involved. You showed a willingness to promote your conference by selling seats at $5.00 apiece, but you decline to discuss your right to so exploit the people or tell what you are going to do with the $5,000.00 when it is handed over to you, or to tell the public the character and employment of the men whom you are advising them to follow.

These questions are put back to you with all the interest and sincerity of our soul, and it is up to you to answer or admit their correctness by your silence. You will not be able to sell many seats at $5.00 apiece, when the public understands that you are not interested in the character or employment of the men who constitute the United Front Conference. Nothing could be more dictatorial or arbitrary than a set of men to set themselves up as leaders of a self-constituted, hand-picked, self-selected gang and call upon the people to give them $5,000 to be spent for purposes that the chairman and chief promoter of the scheme refuses to explain, when called upon by the public for an explanation.

According to the facts developed so far, the All Race Conference is planned and called at the instance of a United Front Conference, of which Rev. Dr. Shaw of Boston is president, and the United Front Conference is composed of certain organizations mentioned above which called themselves together in New York last year at the instance of Dr. Shaw and not at the instance of Dean Miller, and organized themselves into a United Front Conference. In other words, a close corporation of self-constituted, self-appointed, self-selected organizations, each without a following or a constituency, got together for mutual protection and planned a kind of holdings concern for the purpose of controlling every movement which had for its purpose the exploitation of the public for personal gain.

The questions are up to you to answer; but according to the testimony of Dr. Shaw, president of the United Front Conference and the National Equal Rights League you have not yet, my dear dean, discovered the points at issue or risen to the dignity of helpful and logical controversy.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JUN 29 1923

THE CHANGE IN THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

For many years The Chicago Tribune has been the most unreasonable paper in all the country in its attitude toward the South, especially so far as every phase of the negro problem has been concerned. Everything the South did or said in that connection was wrong. It had no charity for the South, no sympathy with its hard struggle to be just to both races, in the honest efforts of the stronger race to protect and help the weaker.

But, finally, The Tribune's eyes have been opened through the growing negro colony in Chicago and through the increasing difficulties of the white majority to adjust themselves to the new conditions there. Chicago has become the mecca for negro fugitives from justice from the South, though, of course, many orderly, industrious colored people have gone there. Nevertheless, so fearful has become the problem of handling negro criminals in Chicago that quite recently The Tribune chronicled the transfer of 400 additional policemen to the negro district to clean up vice and to maintain some show of order. And thereby comes the opening of The Tribune's eyes and this virtual confession of its past blindness and bitterness:

If the whites of the South are to live the way they want to live they must disregard the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution. If they did not nullify them they would have an entirely different life, and one they would not tolerate. Federal officials and federal troops made them stand for it during part of reconstruction, and consequences were barely endurable.

It is a momentous question and the North virtually tells the South to proceed in its own way, regardless of the Constitution, to live as it wants to live, although it might not make a great deal of difference to the North if Georgia had a negro Governor and a negro State judiciary and a negro Legislature.

The North does not impose its will upon the South and has not since the passions of Republican radicals wore themselves out in the seventies. The whole attitude of the country confesses that a mistake was made in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

A mistake was also made in putting a rule of private conduct in the Constitution. Some States which adopted the eighteenth amendment now regret it. They show their change of mood by their votes and by acts of their Legislatures. Under the eighteenth amendment they do not live as they want to live, just as the whites of the Southern States could not live as they want to live under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

The man in the North who wants a glass of beer finds that he is an enemy of the Constitution and an anarchist. The man in the South who does not want a black man to vote, and sees that he does not, is untainted of disrespect for the Constitution, and has no contempt for American law.

Fortunately for the harmony of the whole country, the negro problem is no longer a sectional one—it is a national one. And with this situation comes a greater responsibility and opportunity for the good men of the colored race as well as of the white. There are many negro leaders who are good men, thinking men, and they must recognize the great dangers to their own people in these new artificial congested conditions in great cities. They should think out safe and sane remedies, and show their capacity for leadership by suggestions to and co-operation with thoughtful, sympathetic white leaders, to the end that both races can live together in harmony and mutual helpfulness.

The situation in St. Louis has not yet approximated the desperate one in Chicago. But the heavy movement of negroes here from the South, fifteen hundred or more per month, is leading in that direction, and now is the time for constructive methods of preventing the domination of the St. Louis negro colony by bad men.

Something can be done? What is it? Who will point the way?

OCT 9 - 1923

"NORTHERN TRADITIONS."

What is the "Northern tradition" about the negro race? Saturday the president of Washington and Jefferson College refused to take a negro player off the college team so that it could meet the objections of Washington and Lee University of Virginia and play a football game. He said he was "upholding Northern traditions" when he did that. Washington and Jefferson College is at Washington, Pa., which is not a hundred miles from Johnstown, where not long ago more than a thousand negroes were ordered out of town by the mayor and where on last Friday a committee of residents issued a statement denouncing an effort by negroes to erect a church in a white residential section. A story in the Philadelphia Public Ledger from Johnstown goes on to say:

> Pointing out that the location of the new negro church is far from sections of the city inhabitated largely by negroes, the statement issued today declares that public support would gladly be given to "any negro church that would look after the welfare of negroes at such places as Rosedale, Franklin and Conemaugh, so that such episodes as the killing and wounding of police and detectives might never occur again."
>
> That the value of real estate will materially decrease if the negro church is established is emphasized in the statement.

Maybe Washington and Jefferson College is upholding Northern traditions, but certainly Johnstown, Pa., is making some new ones. It begins to appear that in a few more years "Northern traditions" as they bear upon the race question will all be new. If the North is so much the friend of the negro, if he is received as a brother, why should the mere building of a negro church in a white residential section cut down the value of the property there? Or do friendship and brotherhood stop where property values begin?

SOUTH IS SOLVING

H. L. Mencken says the Negro question 'far from solved." One regrets he does n state what, in his opinion, constitutes "tl Negro question," and suggest some method of solution.

But the "problem" is being solved; the South is making steady progress—thanks to the aid of intelligent Negro leaders.

One method looking toward solution is the migration that has been in progress the last several years. The restless and dissatisfied Negroes have found a way to actively express their discontent, and that is by migrating to another section. This distributes the "problem" over a larger area of the nation. A man from Brooklyn said yesterday that the North is inwardly crying out against it, and also outwardly to an extent, although the North is ashamed to admit it cannot handle the question after having given so much gratuitous advice as to its handling.

Another method looking toward solution—and the really legitimate one—is education—constructive industrial and basic education. Teach the colored man the essentials in the art of making a livelihood and the fundamentals in academic education that the average man is in need of, and he will make a good, law-abiding citizen. If he wants further education, let him have it; education never hurt any mortal, some prejudiced folks to the contrary. The imparting of truth sets communities and sections free rather than handicaps them.

Some say that all the streets in the Negro district should be paved and the section otherwise improved. This will be done eventually. Whenever it is done, taxes on the houses in which the Negroes live will advance, perhaps double, and high rents will be the logical result. This would present an uncomfortable problem for the Negro now. As cheap labor, the average colored man competes against all comers and holds the field. But cheap labor cannot afford high rents. And the average Negro of today cannot or will not compete as high-priced labor.

However, Negro standards are being improved as time goes by, and this is to the inestimable benefit of all those white families who employ cooks, washerwomen and nurses. Education is responsible for this raising of standards and betterment of service; and it must be said that the Negro churches also are doing much along the line of enlightening the race.

The other day, an ex-slave visited Macon—a colored man of that kindly, respectful manner that characterizes most of the old-time, ante-bellum Negroes. He came on a mission, that of doing something concrete for his people.

Incidentally, this man was at the bedside of that great Georgian, Alexander H. Stephens, when he died. In fact, he was the property of Judge Linton Stephens, brother of the noted Georgian, and the slave was educated by the latter. He had with him letters written to him by Mr. Stephens from Washington. His name is Linton S. Ingraham.

Ingraham is founder, moving spirit and principal of the Sparta Agricultural and Industrial Institute, which is doing a splendid work for the Negro youth of the State. It occupies fifty-three acres of ground, and has two buildings in the school plant proper. The school is now 13 years old and is valued at about $35,000 to $40,000, and is out of debt with the exception of a small mortgage of $1,500.

Ingraham was in Macon to open a campaign by which he hopes to raise from $75,000 to $100,000 as an endowment for his school. The Atlanta Constitution says of his institution:

> There are now 210 pupils in the school. He has more applicants than he can make room for every year and next year he is anticipating 500. He wants to buy, through this endowment, additional farm acreage adjoining his school, where the students can raise more crops, thus making room for more boys and girls. He wants also to erect a new building, a dormitory for boys.
>
> Ingraham believes that the work he is doing will do more to keep the colored people in the South, by teaching them the way to prosperity, contentment and comfort, than any other one thing. On this basis he is asking for help.
>
> To help him in his solicitations he has letters of indorsement from many prominent white citizens. To begin with there is his former benefactor, Judge Alexander Stephens. Then Judge Samuel Lumpkin, of Rome, has added his commendation, in writing. Others supporting his institution and his campaign include C. W. Moran, of Sparta, county superintendent of schools; Judge John M. Graham, of Atlanta, and many other prominent Georgians.
>
> He asks all who feel that they can con-

tribute to make checks payable to C. W. Moran, treasurer, and a member of the board of trustees of the school, at Sparta, Ga.

This is simply one instance in several in which the solution of the so-called Negro problem is going forward. There are, of course, in both races some who pull against any solution, and who do not want a normal rightful situation to exist. That is only to be expected. And these factors are the very ones most in need of right education.

NEGRO BISHOP TO MEMBERS OF RACE

Advises Respect for Law, Home Ownership and Honesty in Industry As Essential

The 45th session of the Central North Carolina Conference of the Zion church is marked by unusual interest. In his episcopal address Bishop L. W. Kyles who presided over this conference declared: "I am not in favor of organic union with any one negro church.

"We are beginning to realize more clearly than ever before that the one permanently abiding institution in our civilization is the church of Jesus Christ, and the one indestructible foundation for the hope of individuals, races and nations, is faith in the ever-abiding principles of the gospel of the Son of God." Further, the bishop said, "I believe that all human problems will eventually be laid at the door of the church to be worked out by the principles of Christianity. Speaking of the negro and his problems, Bishop Kyles said: "I have large faith in the possibilities of my race in this country. We must work out our future in this country. I submit that the growth and development of our group toward its ideal is contingent upon its adherence to Christian principles and its alliance with the Christian forces of the world. The church has marked the path for the race which has led to its present moral growth and material prosperity.

Home-Owning.

"Negroes should own their homes. Home-owning negroes are a community asset anywhere. Property ownership lines up with the best interests of the community and pledges us to the protection of those interests. It is the landless, homeless, restless, roving and irresponsible negro who disgraces and endangers our civilization. Statistics show that no lawless, homeless race can be socialized civilized or Christianized."

Migration.

Referring to the restlessness and migratory movements of the race he said: "I do not think there is any cause for serious fear on this score so far as this movement is to affect adversely either the welfare of the negro, the South or the sections of the country to which they go. But I feel it an encumbent duty as a leader among my people to advise that they exercise wisdom and prudence in the matter of migration. Tidal movements which are the result of enthusiasm not based upon facts discovered after intelligent research have never resulted in any material good to any people.

"But in my opinion this tidal movement can be stopped by better treatment, better opportunities for the education of our children and more favorable conditions under which to rear our families.

"The youth of the church should be cared for. I believe in the union of Sunday school and Christian endeavor departments—a unified program, a department of religious education at Livingstone College and a specialist in the employ of the church school board."

Law Enforcement.

Attention was given to law enforcement and prohibition. He said all laws must be respected and enforced, even those laws which we may judge inimical to us. "No negro church did more to put over the 18th amendment than the A. M. E. Zion church. I call upon my people to co-operate with federal, state and municipal officers in the enforcement of this law.

"The white race has about as much religion in this country as any and they are buying property and building institutions and accumulating wealth, and we must do the same. Christianity as a mode of life produces character, and character produces capital. The negro will not have anything worth while that he does not win for himself. Fords and silk shirts mean nothing for people, white or black, but homes and a bank account give character and standing to a man."

In The Grip of Monotony

(Special to The Baltimore American)

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 24.—Reports from over the country, indicate that the public generally is getting tired of William Pickens and a number of other platformers who are making frantic efforts to escape the oblivion resulting from excess publicity, wearied audiences and readers.

Thoughtful people in various cities where Owens, Pickens, Bagnall and other "New Negroes" have appeared too frequently, are beginning to show a marked disinterestedness in the public expressions and writing of many Negroes roaming the country with no apparent aim except "a large gate" and to sell propaganda having no constructive program behind it.

William Pickens has lately added another weight to his difficult job of keeping in the public eye, by another stroke at Marcus Garvey. He is being roundly criticised for not having common sense enough to know that Negroes can become bored by any man who seeks to keep in the public eye by kicking a fellow man of his race—especially when his kick is administered through the medium of a white publication under the pretense of seeking good for his race. Chandler Owen—Messenger editor—is also receiving a good share of merited criticism for a foolish editorial asserting that the U. N. I. A. should be destroyed as a menace.

Owen, Pickens and Bagnall have made the impression that they are seeking some sort of alliance for selfish purposes only and emphasis is being made upon the conclusion that they are ending their period of usefulness rapidly. The influence of Pickens and Bagnall as representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. has been seriously impaired by their evident co-operation with Chandler Owen who is falling rapidly in public favor because of the reputation he has made as an opportunist without aim, who cannot be depended upon as having a firm conviction on any matter. The public is becoming firmly convinced of the belief that the program of Chandler Owen is being financed by white people, and that the editor messenger has little real interest in his race beyond exploiting it for money reasons.

Would You Like It?—There is no argument about it. We all know that Jesus taught that we are to do unto others as we would like for them to do unto us and everybody knows that this is right. But the practice of it is not so easy. If, for instance, you were an Italian (whether from Italy or Sicily), would you like for people to call you "Dago"? If you were a Jew, would you like for them to call you "Sheeny"? If you were a Mexican, would like you like to be called "Greaser"? If you were a black man would you like to be called "Nigger"? Try to think of yourself in the place of these 'others" and treat them as you would like for them to treat you if you were in their place and they in yours. If you fall short of this, you violate the principles of Christianity.—*Baptist Advance.*

HENRY FORD, THE PHILANTHROPIST, AND THE NEGRO

Henry Ford is a power in America, and in the industrial world, whatever is said for and against him, he is a benefit to humanity. He is no partisan; he is a humanitarian and a believer in impartial justice for all mankind.

He does not place a man-made creed above principles which are eternal and should be adhered to irrespective of party, race, condition, or color.

He is not too big to overlook the "Race Problem", and not too little to speak the truth and nothing but the truth. When touching the "Race Problem" he said this:

"There is no need of race hatred in America, even if there is a race question. The race that calls itself superior can prove its superiority only by superior ability to help others, and can attain its racial destiny only as helper of others. The Negro is a human being capable of integrity, loyalty, domestic peace and prosperity, and as a human being he is entitled to opportunity to develop and exhibit those qualities and enjoy his natural human rights. Where the Negro has been given an opportunity he has proved a community asset*****Race correction by education is always the superior way, and not coercion."

According to his practice in his great industrial plant he practices what he preaches, hence his words are like pure milk from the cocoanut, and what he says is not blotted out because of what he really is; and such coming from Mr. Ford is worthy of commendation because he is no man's man and needs not be subject to anybody.

When men of Mr. Ford's standing and power; lawmakers and statesmen; those whose very words are the breath of power throughout our great country, with united effort and public declaration for impartial justice, speak out to the point touching the "Race Problem", times will be better and the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" will no longer be like a "sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal".

Race Problem — 1923.
United States

NEW ANGLO-SAXON CLUBS DRAW COLOR LINE. IN FEAR OF 'CIVILIZATION'S END'

John Powell, Composer, Champions Movement Declaring Negro Amalgamation Will Destroy White Race and Urges Speedy Action.

NEW YORK CITY WORLD
DECEMBER 2, 1923

NOVEL ORGANIZATION FORMED IN RICHMOND, VA.

Every People That Has Crossed Blood With Blacks Has Decayed, He Says.

John Powell is a well-known pianist and composer. He was born in Richmond, Va., which is still his home and which was the place of organization of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs, Inc. These clubs represent an extremity of opinion regarding the Negro in which The World does not in any way join, and in presenting this exposition of their purpose The World does so entirely as a matter of information to its readers, to most of whom, perhaps, the knowledge of such a project will come as a surprise. The World purposes in later issues to present replies to the argument of Mr. Powell by a representative Negro and by a representative white friend of the race.

By JOHN POWELL

During the last year a movement of momentous historic possibilities has started in Virginia, a movement no less important in its potentialities than that which led to the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the American Republic—for it is equally as important to preserve as to initiate and sometimes it is more difficult.

The stress of the World War, while calling forth fine qualities of unselfishness and heroism, at the same time displayed in a relentless glare certain deficiencies and weaknesses which must give serious pause to all thinking and patriotic Americans.

See Grave Dangers.

The rapid submergence of the original American stock in many parts of the country; the existence in our midst of more or less well organized alien groups; the intensification of racial frictions and animosities; the increase of foreign language and race newspapers, threatening to make of our country—in the words of Roosevelt—"a polyglot boarding house"; the rapid breakdown of the traditional American virtues and principles, both personal and political, must fill all real Americans with grave alarm for our future.

In recognition of these dangers a group of patriotic and broad-minded citizens of Richmond, Va., organized Post No. 1 of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America in September, 1922. The movement spread rapidly in Virginia and was taken up with such enthusiasm that posts were organized in twenty-five other localities, including all the foremost educational institutions of the State—the University of Virginia, the University of Richmond, William and Mary, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Hampden-Sidney, Virginia Military Institute, Washington and Lee and Randolph-Macon.

Last month a State convention was held in Richmond, at which a constitution was adopted providing for further expansion throughout the Nation. Widespread interest has shown itself all over the country. Letters of congratulation and requests for charters have come from States in all sections—Massachusetts, Texas, New York, Georgia, New Hampshire, Missouri, New Jersey, California, Oregon, West Virginia, Washington, North Carolina, Minnesota, Maryland.

The choice of the name, "Anglo-Saxon Clubs of America," was made after serious deliberation. The term "Anglo-Saxon" is to be taken in no narrow racial sense, but rather in a cultural sense, and would not imply the seclusion from fellowship of individuals of other than Anglo-Saxon extraction. Ethnologically, the term has no right to existence. In fact, there never was an Anglo-Saxon race. But there is no doubt in the mind of any as to the meaning of the words "Anglo-Saxon Civilization"—the civilization which embodies the ideals of the founders of our country.

The fundamental purpose of the organization is the preservation and maintenance of these ideals in America. This purpose is to be accomplished by facing frankly the dangers which threaten us, by studying the pressing problems of the day, and by seeking solutions in the wise and liberal spirit of the Fathers of our Republic.

Their Three Aims.

In practice this purpose is to be effected in three ways:

First, by the strengthening of Anglo-Saxon instincts, traditions and principles in members of the organization and by influencing in the same direction all other representatives of our original American stock as well as all citizens of other extraction who are capable of reacting to these ideals. If Anglo-Saxons aspire to leadership in America, they must make themselves worthy of leadership, else their predominance will degenerate into oligarchic tyranny.

For the basis of all Anglo-Saxon ideals is the spirit of good sportsmanship and fair play, on which rest all decency in personal relationships, all liberal political progress, even practical religion—good sportsmanship and fair play being merely the Anglo-Saxon expression of the Golden Rule.

The Anglo-Saxon spirit must be strengthened in ourselves by holding in grateful memory the achievements and ideals of our past, by maintaining the sense of historical continuity, by giving the immigrants who are capable of becoming one with us the opportunity of absorbing the spirit as well as the letter of our traditions, by cultivating a pride in the beauty and glory of the English language and insisting on its general use.

Second, by intelligent selection and exclusion of immigrants. For no amount of steadfastness and loyalty to Anglo-Saxon traditions and ideals can preserve our civilization if we allow our people to be swamped in a quagmire of unintelligent and unassimilable immigration. Consequently, the Anglo-Saxon Clubs advocate sensible and scientific limitation of immigration, the conscious selection of beneficial elements and the exclusion of harmful and dangerous population.

Third, by fundamental and final solutions of our racial problems in general, most especially of the Negro problem.

Broad and Generous.

Although taking a strong stand on these questions, the Anglo-Saxon Clubs insist that they be handled in the most liberal and humanitarian spirit. They are definitely and explicitly opposed to all religious hatred and intolerance, as well as to racial prejudice. Their broad and generous attitude has been generally recognized and has called forth expressions of commendation and offers of assistance from individuals of the most divergent racial groups, who see in these activities the best hope of attaining for our country a cohesive and organic national consciousness.

In a letter to the Richmond Times-Dispatch, approving the aims and activities of the clubs, the head of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association writes:

"I wish to say through your paper that we are very much in favor of the proposed plan of the Anglo-Saxon Clubs, and will render them every co-operation and assistance possible. Our organization, extending over two-thirds of the United States, is in a position to do a missionary work of great value, and you may assure these gentlemen in particular that we stand ready to aid at any time."

"Similar expressions of commendation have come from Italians, Jews, Germans, Scandinavians and others. This shows that representatives of other groups than the Anglo-Saxon are suffering under our present national incoherence. At no time in the history of our country has there existed a keener or more general desire to attain a national consciousness and a cohesive national organization. The innumerable schemes of Americanization, the stressing of the so-called "100 per cent. Americanism," show the tendency of the day.

"Nor is this tendency merely the result of the wave of patriotism aroused by our participation in the World War. Already, in 1912, Theodore Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" swept over the country, arousing intense enthusiasm in all sections and breaking down the most inveterate party ties.

"A newer and deeper tone is making itself evident in the traditional "scream of the eagle," a tone with less of self-complacency and braggadocio and more of seriousness and humility. This tendency, without exaggeration, can be said to constitute the most important and characteristic sign of the times, giving us a right to hope for a return of the spirit of the early days of the Republic. In those days we were a Nation, although less well organized politically than we are to-day.

Goes Into History.

"When this country was first formed it was composed of thirteen separate and distinct States—not States in the sense in which we use that word to-day, but "sovereign States"—so recognized by England at the close of the Revolutionary War. We do not deny that they were jealous of each other; that there were serious differences in regard to political, economic and industrial matters; that they were brought together with difficulty and kept together with even greater difficulty.

"But these States did consist of a people homogeneous in blood, speaking a common language, with common ideals and traditions of liberty and law. And these ideals caused them to attain to a height of magnanimity that no other race than the Anglo-Saxon has ever achieved.

"They said this: We have fought for our liberty and won. We will use this liberty not merely for ourselves, but dedicate it to the whole world. We will throw open our gates to the oppose and downtrodden of every nation. We invite them to come to us and share with us this great gift which has been vouchsafed to us. And they came, those who were drawn by our ideals, at first slowly and then more rapidly; their first idea being to become one with us, to assimilate our language and our traditions, to share with us our obligations and responsibilities as well as our rights and privileges.

"The very best the outside world had to offer came, people already swayed by ideals similar to our own; sturdy pioneers, industrious, freedom loving, filled with admiration and gratitude for what we had given the world—and them. We had little difficulty in assimilating those men and women. They brought much of value, materially and spiritually. We are grateful for what they brought.

But as time went on people of a different type began to swarm to America. The land of millions began to attract by its wealth rather than by its ideals. They came, not for the ideals and aspirations, but for "the loaves and fishes."

The Two Race Problems.

And we Americans have been largely to blame for this invasion. In our eagerness for growth and expansion, in our insolent haste to amass wealth and to exploit the illimitable resources of our country, we have often sacrificed fundamental racial and spiritual values on the altar of quick results.

Why should we yield to this senseless impatience? We have all the future before us. America and its resources are not going to run away from us. There is plenty of time for their development. It is of more importance to build soundly than to build rapidly. It is suicidal to incorporate into our structure elements unsound and dangerous to our present and destructive to our future.

Far more important than the general question of immigration are the

wo outstanding race problems. The ecent decision of the Supreme Court hows that not only are the Pacific Coast States aware of the dangers of he Asiatic problem, but that the Fedral authorities are also alive to the situation, and ready to support all just measures of alleviation.

Not so, however, with the Negro problem. It is a national tragedy that this problem, which should always be considered calmly and without prejudice should have been thrown into the cockpit of party politics. Both great political parties have been responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs. Each has used the Negro question as a political asset. The result of this is that few people in any part of America have been able to view the matter dispassionately, or to go to the root of it.

Even in the South, attention has been so largely centred on the preservation of the white supremacy that the far graver danger of racial amalgamation has been relatively ignored. More than half of the United States, many of them not in the South, have laws against miscegenation. These laws prevent intermarriage of whites and blacks, but they do not prevent intermixture.

Always Absorbed.

The inadequacy of these laws has already manifested itself. Mendel's law of heredity shows that in crossing two varieties the more primitive, the less highly specialized, variety always dominates in the hybrid offspring. This is true not merely physically but mentally and psychologically as well. This is why every race that has crossed blood with the Negro has failed to maintain its civilization and culture. Sixty centuries of history from which we can draw inferences are at our disposal.

The Negro problem is not a new problem. It has occurred and recurred in past times. In no single instance has any race lived in contact with the Negro without eventually absorbing him, and this in spite of social, political, religious and caste barriers. Even massacre has been resorted to—all to no avail.

Also, no race even slightly admixed with Negro blood has failed to decay culturally. In all cases the danger was realized too late to be combatted effectively. In America our hope lies in a timely recognition of the threat.

History, ethnology and biology all bear out the Anglo-Saxon instinctive conviction in favor of racial integrity. In this conviction there lies nothing defamatory, or even derogatory, to the Negro, but merely the recognition that under the laws o heredity he is a predominant strain He is what he is through no virtu or fault of his own.

And, in considering the problem his presence in America entails upo us we must always remember tha he did not come here willingly. H was brought to America by force an violence, under inconceivable hard ships and sufferings. He was forced to undertake the hardest and most disagreeable tasks, which, although necessary to our progress and development, white men were unwilling to undertake. His presence here is the direct result of the white man's impatience to achieve quick material results and his unwillingness to engage in unpleasant menial labor.

His faults and deficiencies were known. The dangers of injecting into a white population a mass of primitive savages were recognized. This is proven by the repeated protests of colonists against the African slave trade. However, the sordid and material advantages of slave labor were sufficiently obvious to overcome all qualms, and slavery became an established institution.

Absolves Negro.

The Negro is innocent of responsibility for the existence of the Negro problem. We cannot be too grateful for his docility and fidelity under slavery, especially during the War of Secession; nor should we ever forget that his brawn and muscle enabled us to accomplish in decades that which otherwise might have taken centuries.

These considerations should compel us in any settlement of the matter to treat him not only with meticulous fairness but also with large generosity. Noblesse oblige would permit no less. And yet it would be no kindness to the Negro to fail to preserve the color line. For in the resulting amalgamation that civilization would be destroyed which is his only guarantee of decent and fair treatment in any part of the world.

The Anglo-Saxon Clubs do not propose any categorical or dogmatic solution of the Negro problem. Their purpose is to arouse, to awaken the mind and conscience of our people; to cause a general realization of the true state of affairs as it exists in the present and the recognition of the unspeakable threat with which the future is pregnant.

The manifest difficulty and, to the minds of many, the apparent impossibility of any ultimate solution of the Negro problem have induced among our people a state of mental and moral inertia which is appalling. There are many who say: "It will not come in my day. Why should I concern myself with such distant possibilities?" I will tell you why we must concern ourselves with this matter.

We of to-day are in a position of peculiar responsibility. What is still possible to us will be impossible to even the next generation. To us is intrusted the most sacred of all cultural heritages. It is not alone ours, deriving from a glorious past; it belongs equally to the present and to the future. We are merely the trustees in whose keeping it has been placed. And the first duty of every one of us is to measure up to his responsibilities under this trust.

It is inconceivable that we should allow to be sullied all that is highest and holiest, for which through countless generations our forefathers have lived, have worked, have prayed, have fought, have bled, have died. We may not, we dare not, prove faithless to our charge.

LYING ABOUT NEGROES

The Christian Recorder, of Philadelphia, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, asserts that "newspapers in the South are printing all sorts of falsehoods to try to keep Negroes from moving North. Instead of trying to better conditions there, they are exaggerating bad conditions here. Nearly everything they write is false." This is a very severe charge, and we do not believe it can be sustained.

Christian Recorder

"Instead of trying to better conditions." The churches in the South are trying to better conditions, and the newspapers tell of their work. Many of the Southern newspapers speak out fearlessly against lynchings and other injustices toward the Negro. The newspapers of Nashville and many other Southern cities carry columns of news about colored people, telling of their social and church life, their business and industrial life. Most of what they publish about the Negro is not "all sorts of falsehoods." Our esteemed Methodist editor of Philadelphia has fallen into the bad habit of seeing the bad rather than the good.

But after saying this we must admit that he has much ground for complaint. Some of our Southern papers, be it said to their shame, do publish falsehoods, do misrepresent facts about the Negro, and they do it seemingly to keep "the Negro in his place," to keep him from going North, and to make him as useful as possible as a ducer for the white man. The edi- of the Christian Recorder publishes article that appeared in two leading Southern newspapers purporting to have been written by a Negro in Philadelphia. In this article the hardships of the Negro in the North are described as being bad indeed. The Recorder has made investigation and produces proof to show that the article was not written by a Negro in Philadelphia. We accept the proof as conclusive. 12-20-23

The rank and file of white people in the South will join the editor of the Christian Recorder in his condemnation of such practices "to frighten" the Negro and keep him in the South. Conditions for the Negro in the North are undoubtedly bad enough without publishing such unreasonable things as are contained in the article complained of. It is simply unbelievable that conditions are as bad as they are described. We are heartily ashamed of the fact that in the South conditions are not better than they are for the Negro and have no words with which to express our contempt for men who will publish "falsehoods to scare Negroes." But it is poor policy to publish a falsehood in trying to refute or correct a falsehood.

It is not true of Southern newspapers in what they publish about the Negro that "nearly everything they write is false." There is enough that is false and unjust. This we should fight. And while we are fighting it let us see and commend and encourage that which is good.

Since writing this editorial we have come across an article in another Philadelphia paper, the Presbyterian, an organ of the Northern Presbyterian Church, on "The Race Question." It will be interesting to publish that editor's view along with what we have said:

A colored brother in one of our Presbyteries, speaking in the interest of the work among the colored people, said that the exodus of colored people from the South was due to the lack of the practice of the golden rule among the white people of the South in their dealings with the colored people.

Some white gentleman present who had been born or bred in the South and some who had been born and bred in the North took exception to this colored brother's statement. One of these men said that the boll weevil in the cotton fields had much more to do with the exodus to the North than any social relations or conditions. He further declared that the colored people had nowhere any better friends, who were more interested in their interests for time and eternity than were the Christians and the citizens of orderly life in the South.

Formerly his mule and his cotton were the Negro's chief source of production and income. When the cotton was destroyed by the weevil, the bottom fell out of the South and the Negroes' interest. Thus left alone, under the encouragement of big wages in the North and the persuasion of employment agents, he came to the North. But in the North he learned that, while the wages are high, the cost of living is much higher, and some prophets have predicted that by winter time he will return to his native South, whose climate and customs and practices and people he better understands.

We think there is much truth and wisdom in this view of the case, and we believe the good colored brother and his fellows would do well to avoid the prejudice and injustice which are being bred by this furore over the race question.

The time has come when all Christian people of whatever race should remember that they are brothers in Christ, and, ever cherishing the purpose to maintain the rights of each and all, should seek as they have opportunity to do good to all nen, especially to those who are of the household of faith. Above all should they seek the eternal salvation of men, regardless of the temporary factor of race or color.—Christian Advocate.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

WITH ESOP ALONG THE BLACK BORDER

By
Ambrose E. Conzales.

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THE HEN AND THE GOLDEN EGGS.

One time uh man en' 'e wife bin done, still yet one de fowl loss. De berry po'. Dem lib een one leetle 'ooman say, "Eh! eh! somebody house, en' sometime dem done eeduhso wil'cat, mus'be ketch one mo fuh hongry, 'cause dem kacely kin git fowl!" en' 'e biggin fuh cry. bittle 'nuf fuh eat. De man nebbuh De man yeddy'um, 'e come out. "Wuh hab no mule, needuh no oxin, tuh use fuh cry?" 'e tell de 'ooman. "You plow, so w'en him fuh bruk 'e groun' cyan' hunt fuhr'um duh night-time. fuh mek crap, 'e yent got nutt'n' fuh Maybe so him duh wisit 'roun' 'mong de 'pen'pun, 'cep' de two han' wuh Gawd navuh fowl," en' 'e tell'um fuh wait g'em, en' da' hebby hoe wuh 'e buy tell tomorruh mawnin', den 'e kin frum de Jew to de Cross-road. Duh saa'ch fuh de fowl mo' bettuh. So de summuhtime, 'e knock grass 'tell de ooman wipe 'e yeye 'pun 'e apun, en' pyo' watuh wen run out 'e skin, one een 'e house fuh cook. wash'um down lukkuh him bin een Tomorruh come. De fowl fly out branch! le tree soon duh mawnin', en' gone

En' de po' creetuh ent got uh cow bout dem bidness. Dem all scattuh to 'e name, needuhso no hog. De obuh de neighbuhhood, en' nobody only t'ing him hab 'bout 'e yaa'd iz nebbuh shum 'gen, 'tell attuh sun- fowl. Him en' 'e wife hab nuf fowl down. W'en fus' dus' come, dem big- but dem nebbuh git chance fuh nyamgin fuh come een de yaa'd, one-one none, 'cause dem haffuh sell all de en' fly'up fuh roos'. De 'ooman binnuh chickin wuh dem git, to de Cross- watch fuhr'um, en' soon ez de fus' road, en' de aig, alltwo, fuh git bakin one fly'up, him staa't fuh count. 'E fuh greese dem mout', so da' dry count stan' shawt, 'gen, same lukkuh cawn-hominy ent fuh jam een dem de night befo', but him ent sattify 'roat en' choke'um. so 'e do'um two time, en' w'en 'e done

De time so haa'd, en' de man en' gitt'ru, 'e stan' same fashin', one de e wife so po', 'tell dem nebbuh bin fowl done loss. De 'ooman ready fuh hab no money fuh buy cawn fuh feed ery 'gen, but, jis' ez 'e staa't fuh hice de fowl, so dem haffuh tu'n'um out e ap'un fuh kibbuh 'e yeye, 'e t'row fuh range 'bout de neighbuhhood fuh e gaze 'pun de gate een de palin pick grass-seed, en' ketch bug, en fench wuh run 'roun' de yaa'd, en' 'e grasshoppuh. n'aa't biggin fuh sing! 'E see de fowl

Fall uh de yeah come. Grasshop- wuh him bin 'f'aid 'e done loss, com- puh wing git strong, en' w'en de n' een de gate, jis' ez sattify ez ei fowl chase'um, dem fly fudduh, en' im nebbuh bin run'way fuh agguh- w'en de fowl folluhr'um, dem'self, haf- uize 'e missis een 'e mine! fuh trabble fudduh frum home, but, "Ai, ai, gal!" 'e missis tell'um. "You soon ez de sun down, dem all come binnuh sleep'out, enty? You oughtul back, en' fly up een de tree fuh roos', shame fuh lef' your own fambly en weh no Fox, needuhso no wil'cat neb- you own roos', en' peruse 'roun' 'mong buh fuh ketch'um. de navuh, lukkuh you bin roostuh!

All de fowl wuh de man en' 'e wife You done fuhgit you iz pullet, mos hab, stan' black, de hen en' de roostuh, big 'nuf fuh lay, enty?" Pullet nebbuh alltwo, en' duh wintuhtime w'en de veddy'um. 'E gone to de t'ree, 'e fly'up tree ent hab no leaf, ef you look 'pun- pun uh high imb, 'e poke 'e head top de fowl, moonlight night, attuh nduh 'e wing, 'e gone sleep. dem fly'up fuh roos', you fuh t'ink de Two-t'ree day done pass. De pul- tree full'up wid crow! But, fuh all de et comb tu'n berry red. 'E biggin fowl stan' so black, de aig wuh de hen uh sing. W'en 'e missis yeddy'un lay, w'ite ez milk. Berry well. done fuh glad, 'cause him know de

One night, attuh fros' fall, de fowl pullet duh mek plan fuh lay. At las' haffuh trabble so fudduh fuh git bit- w'en de fo' day come, pullet fly of tle fuh eat, 'tell dem nebbuh git home ie tree 'fo' sun'up, 'e nebbuh say 'tell late, en' w'en de 'ooman yeddy'um utt'n', but 'e walk 'traight to de biggin fuh fly'up een de Sickymo' tree ul'h'us en' he'p 'esc'f to one de nes to dem roos', him op'n 'e do' en' gone ame lukkuh him bin hen, fuh true out een 'e yaa'd fuh count'um. W'en 'e De 'ooman come out 'e house,

pick'up chip, en' gone back, 'e me uh cheat, but w'en dem sto'keepuh bin to de 'ooman house, 'cause, w'en- fire, en' 'e pit de hom'ny pot 'pun git t'ru wid'um, ef 'e hab 'e skin 'pun ebbuh uh meet'um to de chu'ch, 'e too top'um fuh bile. Befo' 'e done gitt'ru 'e back, 'e toenail 'pun 'e foot, en' 'e biggity, but Uh mos' t'ink, all him 'e yeddy de pullet woice. 'E du topknot 'pun 'e head, fuh pull woolfowl iz yalluh, 'cause da' 'ooman cackly lukkuh him duh de fus' ma w'en 'e meet 'e maussuh een de bigbinnuh wu'k to de buckruh yaa'd, en' fuh lay aig sence Adam fowl sprou road, him haffuh t'engkful. You yeddy de buckruh hab yalluh fowl, en' you fedduh! Ki! "cuck, cuck, cuck, cuck suh Jew kin smaa't, but some uh we know how nigguh stan'. Ef de buckruh cuckaa!" 'e say. "Cuck, cuck, cuck soon po'buckruh smaa't mo'nuh Jew! hab yalluh fowl, black fowl, eeduhso cuckaa!" en' de roostuh jine'um. Ef you ent watch'um, dem fuh cheat w'ite fowl, howebbuh de fowl fedduh

W'en de 'ooman yeddy'um, 'e t'row- de Jew 'self, en' shame'um! W'en you stan', eb'nso ef 'e bin green, de nig- 'way de broom out 'e han', en run shum medjuh muhlassis, eeduhso gun wuh wu'k fuhr'um fuh hab de same lukkuh him nebbuh bin yeddy hen kyarrysene, dem hol' de quawt medjuh berry fedduh 'puntop him fowl! Da' cackly befo'. Him en' de pullet, all- high w'en dem staa't fuh por'um, den mek'um berry cunweenyunt w'en de two, lone fuh glad. Him gone een dem drap'um down sudd'nt, mos' to de 'ooman tek fowl to de Cross-road fuh de coob, 'e pit 'e han' een de nes' en' bucket mout', same lukkuh hawk drap sell, en' sto'keepuh quizzit'um, 'Hukkul w'en 'e pull'um out, 'e yeye pop, 'cause out de sky 'puntop'uh fowl, den, dem you happ'n fuh hab fowl wid fedduh de aig hebby ez lead, en' 'e yalluh rise'um 'gen, quick, en' some de muh- sukkuh de buckruh's own? You mus'be buckruh house! De 'ooman holluh lassis, eeduhso de kyarrysene, lef' een iz t'ief'um, enty?"

'tell de man come out de do' fuh see de medjuh fuh sell to de nex' man! "Who? Me? Enty me wu'k een de wuh 'smattuh. 'E ax 'e wife "'Smattuh Ef 'e gwine cut clawt', him fuh twis' buckruh yaa'd, en' w'enebbuh dem fuh 'ooman? You iz hen, enty? You duh de caliceb roun' de yaa'dstick dat kill fowl, eeduhso cook aig, Uh tell'um, cackly sukkuh fowl! Lemme shum, swif', 'tell you eye cyan' folluhr'um. 'Missis, Uh shame fuh kill shish'uh lemme shum!" You yeddy'um staa't fuh tayre de stylish fowl, en' bile shish'uh aig clawt', befo' you t'ink him gitt'ru lukkuh you'own, en' please, ma'am, fuh

De 'ooman say "Yuh 'e yiz, yuh 'e medjuhr'um, en' de place weh him swap'um fuh my'own en', 'cause you'- yiz!" en' 'e hol' out de yalluh aig, tayre'um, stan' two foot frum de place own big mo'nuh my'own, Uh fuh swap but 'e han' trimble so, 'tell, befo' de weh him medjuhr'um! Duh so dem do. t'ree uh my'own fuh two uh you'own, man kin graff'um, 'e drap out alltwo En', ef dem fuh cut bakin, w'en de man en' fuh swap de aig same fashi'n. Da' dem han' 'puntop de du't! You t'ink maa'k'um off 'long de knife, you fuh fuh mek'um eb'n en' needuh one fuh 'e bruk, enty? 'E nebbuh bruk, but 'e t'ink him fuh cut'um off deestunt, but tek no exwantidge obuh todduh one.' roll sukkuh desey'uh black waw'not w'en de' knife bite de meat fuh true! En' de buckruh do'um fuh 'blige me, off de waw'not tree! De man en' 'e Ki! De piece wuh 'e pit een you han' en' fus' t'ing, de buckruh done eat all wife, dem alltwo 'stonish! Dem say, stan' shawt ez rabbit tail! 'E yent big my'own, de fowl en' de aig alltwo, "Eh! eh! wuh kinduh aig dis? 'E 'nuf fuh bait catfish! Dem lib off Nig- en' my yaa'd full'up wid fowl wuh haa'd, en' 'e hebby, en' 'e yent fu' guh enty? Nigguh duh dem meat! stan' same lukkuh de buckruh own." bruk!" Berry well. "Yaas," sto'keepuh tell'um. "'E

De 'ooman gone een 'e house en' pit De man en' 'e wife ent tek berry stan' so. 'E stan' so, fuh true!" de valluh aig 'pun de shelf, den 'e gone long fuh trade out de aig en' git dem

'bout 'e w'uk, but w'ene huh 'e hab leetle bit uh gritch en' bakin', en' w'en Den, all de Nigguh een de sto' chance t'ru de day. 'e run een 'e house. dem gitt'ru, de 'ooman ontie da' yalluh haffuh laugh, 'cause Nigguh hab uh tek dat t'ing een 'e han' en' mek uh t'ing out 'e apun en' knock'um 'pun de berry good ecknowledge fuh onduh- great 'mirashun obuhr'um. 'E bodduh countuh. De nigguh wuh dey close'um stan' dem todduh Nigguh trick, en' de man 'bout'um 'tell, bumbye, w'en tu'n dem head fuh gaze. One de Uh dunkyuh how schemy dem iz, Uh ebenin' come, dem lock'up de house 'ooman say, "Tittuh, weh you git de dunkyuh how 'e fool de buckruh, Nig- en' dem alltwo gone to de Cross-road. buckruh do' knob?" guh ent fuh fool 'e own colluh, dem De 'ooman hab two dozen en' t'ree "Do' knob, de debble!" 'e say. "Enty fuh folluh 'e track, nemmine how 'e aig fuh sell, excusin' de yalluh one, you see 'tis aig?" twis' uh how crookety 'e gwine! en' 'e pit'um een de tin bucket en' 'e "Ef da t'ing fuh call aig, de do', W'en de sto'keepuh look 'pun de yal- g'em to de man fuh tote, but 'e neb- eeduhso de lock, mus'be lay'um! Hen luh aig en' hol'um een 'e han' fuh buh' low'um fuh tetch de yalluh aig. nebbuh lay'um!" see how hebby 'e stan', him biggin fuh 'E tie him een 'e apun, en' dem gone. "'E yiz lay'um! Enty Uh yeddy'um 'spishun wuh 'e yiz, but 'e nebbuh say W'en de man en' 'e wife git to de cackly w'en 'e fly'off de nes' en' gone nutt'n', en' 'e try fuh fool'um out de Cross-road, 'e bin full'up wid nigguh, fuh gitt'um? Dis de fus' aig dish'yuh 'ooman, but de 'ooman ent fuh trus' en' two-t'ree buckruh dey dey. 'cause pullet ebbuh lay, da' mekso Uh bin po'buckruh tummuch, en' w'en him 'e bin Sattyday, en' dem all come to de watch'um so puhtickluh. Todduh day see uh quality buckruh een de sto', sto' fuh trade, en' buy bittle en' t'ing. him 'gone 'way en Uh 'faid Uh bin 'e ax him wuh de aig mek outuh. De De 'ooman en' de man gone eenside, loss'um, but 'e jis' binnuh wisit 'mong buckruh weigh'um een 'e han' en' 'e en' de place so jam, dem kacely kin de navuh. Attuh two day done gone, say: "Dishyuh t'ing ent no brass 'e git to de countuh, but dem push en' 'e come back en' fly'up 'pun 'e own duh gol', en' ef you sell um 'e fun dem shub, en' dem moobe de nigguh roos' 'gen." mek you rich." out de way 'tell, attuh w'ile alltwo git "Him binnuh sleep'out, enty? Uh bin nigh'um, en' dem sattify. Fus' t'ing t'awt' so! Wub colluh you fowl iz?" W'en 'e yeddy dat, de 'ooman glad lem do iz fuh sell de two dozen en' "Dem all iz black, de roostuh, en' de 'tell 'e yeye shine, en' 'e grin so free aig out de bucket, en' buy dem hen, alltwo. W'en you shum 'pun de strong, 'tell 'e cyan' shet 'e mout'. 'E bittle Dem know suh 'e yent fuh fetch tree, you fuh t'ink dem is crow!" gone to de sto'keepuh en' ax'um hum- berry much, 'cause de Jew en' de "Berry well. Wuh colluh de fowl much de t'ing wu't', but de man tell'um po'buckruh to de Cross-road, dem cut stan' to da' house weh you pullet gone him ent hab no cunweenyunce fuh shawt, dem medjuh shawt, en' dem fuh wisit?" 'zammin'um to de Cross-road, so him weigh berry light! Nigguh 'self lub "Uh yent know fuh sho', Uh nebbuh haffuh scn'um Town fuh sell, en', wuhebbuh 'e git fuhr'um, him fuh tek half, en' de 'ooman fuh git half. De 'ooman tell'um t'engky, en' 'e gone

home, him en' de man.

W'en tomorruh mawnin' come, de pullet fly off de roos', en' pick 'bout de yaa'd 'tell 'e git ready fuh lay, den 'e gone een de coob, en' bumbye, 'e come out en' holluh fuh tell de roostuh en' ebb'rybody wuh 'e done do. 'E missis yeddy de news, en' run out hasty fuh see how de aig stan' dis time. Soon ez 'e gitt'um, en' shum stan' same fashi'n lukkuh de fus' one, 'e jump'up en' holluh loud mo'nuh de fowl. "We fuh rich!" 'e say, "We fuh rich!" en' him en' de man, alltwo, dem done fuh glad.

Attuh de pullet done lay, 'e gone'way fuh wisit 'gen, en' dem nebbuh shum no mo' 'tell 'e come home duh ebenin' to 'e roos'. 'E do da' same t'ing ebb'ry mawnin' t'ru de week, but ebb'ry day de Lawd sen', him gone 'een de coob en' lay 'noddub one dem cu'yus yalluh aig, 'tell, w'en Sattyday come, de 'ooman hab seb'n fuh tie een 'e apun, w'en him en' 'e man staa't fuh de Cross-road.

W'en de 'ooman gone een de sto' en' ontie 'e apun en' pit all dem yalluh t'ing befor'um, sto'keepuh 'stonish, en' 'e yeye greedy, 'cause 'e done yeddy de news frum Town, en' 'e know suh dem t'ing iz wallyubble tummuch! So, 'e mek baa'gin wid de 'ooman, en' tell'um de man een Town write de papuh fuh say no money ent fuh pass, so him haffuh trade'um out De 'ooman see suh him done tie eer de po'buckruh han' 'tell 'e cyan' d nutt'n', so 'e tell'um berry well, en 'e biggin fuh buy. Sto'keepuh tell'um ebb'ry one de gol' aig wu't' twelbe dozen uh de common aig, wuh kin eat, so de 'ooman feel rich, en' 'e git so 'laa'gin', 'tell all dem todduh 'ooman wuh look 'puntop'um, jallus 'tell dem swell'up sukkuh toadfrog, 'speshly w'en dem see how puhlite sto'keepuh yiz, 'cause, w'en nigguh hab money een dem han', deseyuh po'buckruh sto'keepuh treat'um berry mannusubble 'tell de money done gone. De nigguh nebbuh know suh de soon buckruh mek dem mannu. to de money wuh de nigguh got, 'e yent mek'um to de nigguh!

Een de fus' gwinin' off, de 'ooman study 'bout buy frock, but de man duh stan' to 'e elbow, en' 'e dat hongry him mek'um fuh buy bittle fus', so dem buy all kinduh free-nigguh bittle wuh dem nebbuh eat befo'. W'en dem todduh 'ooman shum, dem haffuh laugh. "Look 'puntop da' cegnunt cawn-hom'ny nigguh," dem say. "Watch'um duh t'row'way 'e money fuh buy saa'deen. Saa'deen! Uh kin tek me tin bucket en' gone een de spring branch, eeduhso de ricefiel' ditch, en' ketch dem same leely minnuh fish wuh da' nigguh duh buy een dem can, enty?"

But de 'ooman nebbuh bodduh 'bout de talk. 'E h'aa't too busy wid de bittle. 'E done fuh buy bittle! All kinduh t'ing wuh him nebbuh bin eat befo', 'e buy him. Ef 'e belly ent want' um, 'e yeye want'um, 'cause, w'en 'ooman got credik een de sto', da' 'ooman eye iz uh hongry t'ing! W'en de 'ooman load de man down wid bittle, 'e tu'n 'roun' fuh buy frock, en' shoe, en hat wid fedduh 'puntop'um—eb'nso him haffuh buy cawsett! W'en de todduh nigguh see DAT, dem haffuh laugh 'gen, cause da' 'ooman fat sukkuh t'ree bushel uh peas! but 'e nebbuh say nutt'n', but him en' 'e man walk out de do' berry swonguh.

Anodduh week done pass. De man en' de 'ooman wuh bin nyuse to wu'k so haa'd w'en dem bin po', nebbuh do uh lick uh wu'k no mo'! De hoe lean up een de fench cawnuh. No, man! Rich people ent fuh hol' hoe! Dem iz rich, enty? Dem seddown all day een de sunhot, en' liss'n fuh da' pullet fuh cackly. Sattyday, dem gone back to de sto' en' spen' all wuh dem fow g'em! Den, dem tu'n fool. 'Steadul 'engkful fuh all wuh dem done git dem hongry fuh mo'! W'en Monday come, dem say: "Wuh use fuh wai 'pun dish'yuh pullet fuh lay w'en hin git ready? Him mus'be full'up wi gol'. Leh we chop off 'e head, e len we feh git all one time." S dem 'gree to dat. De man ketch d po' pullet wuh bin fetch'um shishui good luck, 'e chop'off 'e head, en' w'e 'e cut'um op'n, 'e see suh 'e stan same lukkuh all dem todduh fowl. D man en' de 'ooman heng dem head Dem berry shame, but de shame en de sorry come too late, attuh dem done t'row'way all wuh Gawd g'em. Now dem pray, but de pray yent ansuh, en' dem haffuh po', wid hoe een dem han', 'tell de Jedgment day come, 'cause, seem lukkuh none dem todduh hen een dem yaa'd nebbuh hab no appetite fuh wisit 'bout en' yeddy ne yalluh roostuh crow!

INLOOK AND OUTLOOK.

(The Pittsburgh American)

The general forward movement of American Negroes witnesses a struggle between two ideas. The strife is stirring the conscience of some and arousing interest among others. Self-dependence or independence upon others are the two ideas in question. Which is right and which is wrong? This group's praying to the same God for victory and supremacy represent one or the other of these ideas. All other movements and activities of the race in this country can be traced to one or the other.

Those Negroes who are prone to depend upon the progress of other races fight against anybody and everything emphasizing self-dependence. Their idea of racial development waits upon the initiative and creative efforts of the white man. Their plans are hazy. They proceed in a zig-zag course as if life is a drifting tide which will throw the race up somewhere on a shore of permanent prosperity.

Those Negroes who depend upon themselves and think this way should characterize the mind of the entire race, are fighting for the survival of the Negro race through self-help and self-government. Their idea of racial development is founded upon the encouragement of the initiative and creative instincts as essentials to achievement which will ultimately give Negroes consideration as the equals of other races of mankind. Their plans are daring. They shoot straight ahead aiming at a particular goal. They have a passionate belief in the righteousness of their cause; A fight for the mental emancipation of the race as a first step in winning its larger freedom and opportunities.

This struggle between two ideas is going ahead until one or the other of these movements die. Both cannot survive. One must live but the other will surely die. On the result hinges the future of the Negro in America and the world. There are elements of good in each of the two ideas represented by the contending forces. This should and must be preserved. Each could do its work tunhindered and ungrudged by the other if the officials of both so decided. But a different way was chosen when the officials of one movement turned aside from their main work to fight the progress and growth of the other. Then it became a struggle for survival of the two ideas. It is important that the followers of both ideas do some better thinging.

The utter dependence of American Negroes upon the environment created for them by the daring, dazzling, pushing and conquering spirit of the white race must never be disregarded by either of the two contending schools of the race. A nation within a nation can never be in America. This nation is still a democracy in the making and no Negro minority can ever hope to dominate a white majority in this country or that it will share its benefits and opportunities equally with Negroes. These cold facts should be written in the notebook of every Negro in America indulging vain hope of some day enjoying an equal share of the blessings and benefits of American citizenship with its white population.

THE WHITE EXODUS

Few people seem to realize that for fifty years there has been a constant and increasing stream of white folk from the South into the North. Statistics covering the number of these people are not available. Nevertheless the casual observer knows that they are in large and noisy numbers. They always stand up wherever they are, on every occasion, and under every condition, boasting with true Southern gusto "We are from the South." They are as proud of that boast as they could possibly be with the honor of being graduates from one of our great American or foreign universities. They are always propogandists for the prejudices of the South and create frequent scenes by their insistence upon them. The fact is that this Southerner has a neurosis on the Negro and seems to feel a holy call to come North and preach the doctrine of racial caste.

There are two or three interesting features of the white exodus. No great hue and cry has been raised about the white man coming North. If wages were low in the South; if the boll weevil were over-active; if educational facilities were limited; if the Southern white grew tired of the hell he had created; if he felt he had to go to work and wished to escape the disgrace involved in his locality, he had only to get himself together and migrate. The white man can go and come in this country without causing a riot of public opinion. Secondly, in many instances, the white migrant from the South has proved himself a disturbing element, a mischief maker and a rebel against law and order. As a worker in shop and factory, as a clerk, agent, travelling man, and owner of small business enterprises, as a member of the church, student in srhool, participant in civic and social organization no occasion is overlooked, where the Negro is concerned, to demonstrate "how we treat 'em in the South." He dictates the policy of the hotel and restaurant keeper on the Negro. He decides the amusement houses the Negro may not attend. He attempts to run the industrial institutions. He runs the association of real estate dealers, the City Hospital, the churches, the Y. M. C. A.'s and the Chamber of Commerce, always concerned about keeping the Negro in his place. Thirdly, he is the tireless proponent of segregation, racial discrimination and is back of every race riot and lynching. Happily he does not at home or abroad represent the best white people of the South.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

RALEIGH N. C. Observer

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BION BUTLER ON RACE QUESTION

Has Lived In North and South and Knows Conditions In Both Sections

SAYS NEGRO WILL GO WHERE HE WANTS TO GO

But Best Place For Him Is In The South; Suppose a Southern City Had Done To The Negro What Johnstown, Pennsylvania, Has Done

BION H. BUTLER.

In July one Sunday evening I drove through Johnstown, Pennsylvania. It so happened that the place is in a county adjoining Clearfield, and Clearfield is the county in which many years of my earlier life were passed. So I have known Johnstown for half a century. There are the famous old mills of the Cambria Iron Company, built by men of great skill and ability. There are the by-product coke-ovens that represent years of scientific experiment and operation. Brainy men are numbered among the people of Johnstown. Excellent people are there. On the hill top above the city is a cemetery in which lie over 3,000 victims of the flood of that Mayday thirty-five years ago when the city was wiped out by one of the most disastrous deluges ever known on this continent.

All these things we looked at and talked about as we drove through Johnstown on that recent Sunday evening, up by Conemaugh, over the hills and out into the country, for Johnstown as an American city of over half a hundred thousand representative people is interesting from many view points. I spoke of Cyrus Elder, of the steel company, Swank, one of the greatest statistical steel men the country ever knew, Tom L. Johnson, who gave Cleveland three cent car fares, John Fulton, the widely known mining engineer, John Rose, who helped Hoke and Cumberland county folks to get the money for their claims for Camp Bragg land, for he was an influential member of Congress from Pennsylvania when the delayed payments were up, of the growth of the mills, of Johnson's rise, and the big town he built at Lorraine, Ohio, and other things concerning Johnstown.

A few days ago in the DuBois Courier, a paper I established 45 years ago in the adjoining county, I read of the ban laid against negroes in Johnstown. In what had been a long time ago my own paper I read this thing, that Johnstown was ordering negroes out of the city, Johnstown, that town of fine old memories, and fine men, and great industries, and progress and prosperity. And I thought to myself, suppose that had been Charlotte, North Carolina, instead of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, ordering away all negroes who had not lived at least seven years in the town, for that is what the Pennsylvania paper that was once my own paper told me Johnstown had been doing, ordering away all the negroes who had not lived in Johnstown seven years. But it does not surprise me, for I know the situation better than the man of the South does. I know it better than the negro who thinks the North is the paradise for colored folks. I know that the North is not the place for the colored man to expect those conditions that he hopes to find in the North, for the North is just as human as the South, and the North has not lived with the negroes as long as the South has, to acquire that friendliness that comes of long years of contact and association.

Race Question An Old One.

The race question is not a new one to me. I have seen it just as emphatic on the Pacific coast where the Chinaman and the Jap and the Indian have fallen under the prejudice of race hatred fully as grievously as the negro has in the East. I have seen in the West more inexcusable manifestation toward the Asiatic than I have ever known in the South toward the African. The American Indian has a pretty raw bit of evidence to offer as his heritage from the white man all over this country. In Turkey and Armenia I encountered the terrible animosities exhibited by the Mongol Turks and Kurds for the Armenians, climaxing in the most dreadful bloodshed and massacre and persecution I have ever been in contact with any where. It is all the same. Race jealousy is immeasurable in its animosity, North, South, East or West, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania, is only conspicuous because the time has arrived when the numbers of the different race types are large enough to bring on clashes.

To me the relations between the white man and the colored man in the South seem singularly cordial. Certain things the white man insists on, and because he is the majority he is granted his demands. But these things curtail the negro's privileges and happiness much less than the treatment the negro gets in the North. If a North Carolina city the size of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, should announce to the negroes within its borders what my old paper in Pennsylvania tells me Johnstown has told the negroes, that those not seven years in the city must move on, all the rest of North Carolina would rise up in defense of the negro. But in Pennsylvania probably the larger part of the people are with the white ultimatum givers of Johnstown. Johnstown does not mean to be as narrow and bigoted and cruel as the paper says. But Johnstown is in the first stages of its first race encounter. Johnstown has a motley population of all manner of origin, including English, Irish, Welsh, German, Italian, Hungarian, Polack, Russian, Syrian, and a dozen different lines of racial cleavage meet there in that city of 60,000 people. Not only is the white man's antagonism to the black man shown, but the antagonism of one nationally against another. All the primary sub-divisions of mankind into race types is there in evidences, but the mixture of the races, the crosses, the compounds, the amalgams, and any other combination that injects fresh differences of blood alignment and nationality. And when the negro from the South comes among that bunch he is met by the most gorgeous mob of jealous inhabitants that civilization has ever gathered to oppose a newcomer.

Theory Versus Practice.

And with it all the negro has no friends. The big industrial concerns that brought negroes from the South to work in the Johnstown shops have no interest in them except as they are on the pay-roll and expected to do so much work each day. When business slacks up and the employe is laid off he is his own unfortunate, and not the company's. He has no white folks that he can go to and unload his griefs and get a basket of things to eat, and some old clothes to help him keep winter away. The North theoretically is wonderfully sympathetic on the negro question. The North wants the negro to vote at long range, and to have much to say in the South, and to be handled according to Northern theory. But as for helping him to get a load of wood if it is cold weather, or getting him out of trouble if he gets in, or doing anything for him that involv any personal effort, and as for toleration that is another story entirely.

I know the North and I know the South and I know the East and the West, and I would infinitely rather be a negro in the South than any where else in the world. And I would rather be a negro in the South than be some of the foreigners I have known in the North. The North weeps over the negro cabins in the South, but we have nothing that was ever so famous for dreadful home conditions as the old "Yellow Row," in Pittsburg, a region that was known from east to west as about the most abominable example of vile housing in the whole United States. We have negro cabins, but the State of North Carolina has no slums. If the negro lives in the cabin he has a real friend in the big house, and I doubt if there is a negro in North Carolina who cannot go to half a dozen white men and ask and be cordially granted a hundred favors that many a negro in Johnstown or any other Northern city would ask in vain.

I am not undertaking to criticize the people of Johnstown. They are the victims of a provision of Nature which has raised up warfare between races and species and types of individuals and stocks throughout all creation. In the South the two chief members of the human family, the white man and the black man have lived together until they have adjusted their relations, and more harmony is in evidence than any other place where I have seen race contacts. In Johnstown this problem is too new to be adjusted. Johnstown folks are excellent folks, but they are faced with something that is new and not understood. They rise up against what seems to threaten disaster, and the do not now how to handle the situation. It is the same way all over the North. Northern folks are just like Southern folks, just the same human attributes, and sentiments and emotions and friendships. But it takes time to build up a friendship with something that is new. We are always suspicious of anything we do not know. And so Johnstown is suspicious of the negro from the start and instead of trying to solve the negro's problem, which is Johnstown's problem, and the State's problem, and the nation's problem, Johnstown takes the short cut in the attempt to dodge the whole affair.

But that can't be done, for Johnstown is paying wages that attract men from any section that is paying lower wages, and the positive law that wages tend to equalize themselves, one section with another, will draw negroes from the South to the North. This thing will continue to go on, and more negroes will go North, and as a result wages in the South will go higher, but in the meantime a diffusion of colored folks will mix the northern population with a still further combination of race medley in the industrial centers and from what I can see the negro problem is becoming more the problem of the North for the future than it is of the South. It is a pity, for if the North could see what the two races are doing in the South, how the one yields to the other, and helps the other and how they get along together, breaking out here and there occasionally but in the great general way working together, the North would be spared a great tribulation that it is destined to face because it will not see these things. It is all right for the negro to go North if he wants to. This is his country far more than it is the country of the Hun, the Slav, and the others who come to America for a brief stay and neither speak the language nor share in its traditions or its strugle.

The negro has a black skin. That is neither my affair nor his, but the affair of the creator. He has in this country the best chance he can have any place. He is an American, and he has undertaken his share in the defense of the flag. His hands have helped to build this nation. He has as much right to go to Johnstown and to live there, or in any other state of the North as any other American has, and instead of being driven out of the town it is the business of Johnstown to see that those disposed to break the law are made amenable to the law. Unfortunately Johnstown cannot see this thing in the right way, and cannot enforce the law if the people saw the right. It is one of the conditions that must work itself out in its own way, and it is evident that the problem involves a lot of trouble for the industrial centers of the North. The negroes could help some by staying away from the crowded centers of the North. The North could help some by more kindly help to the negroes. But as both will do what they like the results will be what they will. I see no way to avoid what is coming. And grave as it is going to be I get a certain satisfaction always in seeing a Pharisee, excellent fellow though he may be in a general way, get what is coming to him from his conceit over his self-righteousness. The negro might be treated somewhat better in the South than he is. The white man might be treated better. We all might treat each other better. But the negro is treated better in the South than in the North now, and he is treated better than he is going to be treated in the North. In attracting many negroes North the North is about to learn an unhappy lesson, and while it is unfortunate no way seems to point the road out of the trouble. And while the North struggles with the problem the South will find greater prosperity for both whites and blacks in higher wages and generally bigger income in the South for all, white and black.

Easley to the Rescue

BY HUBERT C. HERRING

The incident related below is an actual happening. The name of the institution is suppressed at the instance of the author, who writes: "My good friends at the University of ——— are having a very difficult time inducing any men of liberal tendencies to come down into their country."

THE Stars and Stripes still fly over The University.

Thanks to Mr. Easley and his Civic Federation.

The National Student Forum, in its effort to promote friendship and understanding between European and American students, arranged a tour of the colleges by a select group of students. They came to The University. A brilliant young Englishman. A Czech filled with enthusiasm for the student Renaissance movement of his own country. And—tread gently—one of our late enemy, a brilliant lad of twenty-one years from the University of Heidelberg. They came to tell of the spiritual ideals of the youth of Europe. They came as harbingers of a new Europe, in which youth shall come to its own.

Thanks to Mr. Easley, their heresies did not foul the pure air of The University. The redoubtable Easley issued an encyclical. It told the dreadful truth. He waxed eloquent over the youth movement of Europe. He saw them leading in a concerted protest against war. They were, they must be . . . red . . . pacifists . . . socialists . . . anarchists. It was a delightful bit of literature. It fairly oozed with that unflinching, die-if-I-must-but-here-I-stand-so-help-me-God patriotism which has led friend Easley in his brave assault on windmills throughout his naive career. It reached The University. Faculty and students fairly lapped it up. They licked their chops over its fine phrases. They tightened their belts and cleaned their guns.

Enter the villains.

They were summoned into executive session. Faculty and students were represented. The cordial atmosphere of a juicy bit of beefsteak with twenty dogs looking it over.

The Inquisition was on.

They asked questions. "You would recommend that mere freshmen be lectured by Bolsheviks?" No answers were needed. It was not a trial—simply a conviction. It was made perfectly clear that The University would allow no foreigner to come over and tell us native Americans how to run our country. Not by a long shot.

The Inquisition continued.

A student approached the leader of the party, one of the officers of the Student Forum. He asked him about religion. It must be regretfully recorded that the answer indicated a shattered faith in Jonah, or something of the sort. This was enough. It was announced that these visitors not only refused to believe in the everlasting curse of war . . . but that they were heretics. The University may have faults . . . but it is firm for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch . . . and the doctrine of the Trinity.

To aggravate the situation, one of the group remarked that a Negro college in Washington was equal to any white college which they had visited. We believe in keeping the Nigger in his place down our way.

Retribution was swift.

The University newspaper came out with emphatic headlines. "Parlor Bolshevism Fails To Impress Students." Naively it went on to say that "the four men's ideas did not meet with approval here." The four were reported as being "individualists, which is generally regarded here as synonymous with 'parlor Bolsheviks'."

Again they were summoned into solemn conclave.

They were firmly informed that the students were too young . . . that they were not prepared to hear such doctrines . . . and that, furthermore, the students did not wish to hear them.

Perfectly lucid.

The Y.M.C.A. secretary also made it clear that his organization was having difficulty getting on its feet . . . and that if it got the reputation of harboring Bolsheviks . . . it would suffer financially.

The spokesman concluded: "We are not telling you when to go . . . but we must tell you that there is danger that the students might get excited and throw you out." The spokesman for the students frankly answered: "This is a friendship tour. We have no other aim. If you do not wish to meet us on this basis, we gladly leave."

They left. In peace.

The University is at peace. No enemy breaks her tranquillity. She is free to believe in the divine sanction of war . . . and the eternity of confusion . . . and the Trinity . . . and the blood atonement. The president can peacefully continue his educational task of coaxing a few more unwilling dollars from a reluctant legislature.

But—where will the boys and girls get educated?

It whets my curiosity. What kind of two-headed calves are these dreadful students? I hear Antonin Palecek tell of the spiritual urge and intensity of the students of Czecho-Slovakia. Their vision of the new republic's mission. Their enthusiasm in intellectual pursuit. Their glowing idealism. I hear Joachim Friedrich pleading for a new age in which all of the beauty of life shall not be crushed out by the ponderous mechanism of modern industry. I hear him explain his own ambition—politics in his own country. "Each nation, after all, must clean house for itself." I hope it is true . . . that the youth of Europe . . . are looking to the stars.

But *the* Easley is undoubtedly right. It is dangerous doctrine . . . to talk about new worlds. So is Christianity dangerous. I suppose that is the reason it is not taught . . . very widely.

I am on the train. Four boys sit opposite me. Students from The University. One of them is reading the *Outlook*. I ask him: "Did you meet those foreign boys last week?"

"Huh, we kicked 'em out!"

"You don't stand for any new-fangled ideas down there, do you?"

"I should say not!"

Conversation lagged.

"Say," says he, "see that Nigger up there in this white coach?"

"Yes?"

"Well, we wouldn't stand for that in our State! Would kick him right out."

I wager that he believes in the inerrancy of the Scriptures . . . and the Ku Klux Klan. . . .

But where can he get an education?

Race Problem—1923
United States

IS THERE A NEGRO PROBLEM?

IF SO, WHAT IS IT?

Star of Zion
Charlotte, N. C.

By Jesse O. Thomas.

The social and economic situations and different experiences in human relationship suggest or create different terms or phraseology. Some of them grow out of scientific analysis; others of them come down to us through age old traditions. If one took the time to scientifical y inquire into the basis or justification of many of our modes of expression with reference to specific situations, we would doubtless discover that many of our over-worked, mouth-filling terms or phraseology would be misnomeous. 2-1-23

Take the expression, "Negro problem;" I am not sure that there is a Negro problem. I am not sure that there is not a Negro problem. I doubt seriously if there is anybody in this country who is able to state with any degree of undisputed authenticity that there is or that there is not a Negro problem. That is to say, there may be somewhere along the lines of our human progress some conditions that are peculiar y racial that are shot through with racial instincts, impulses and idiosyncrasies. This may be true of all racial groups in a corresponding degree. But what America has learned to regard as a "Negro prob'em" has little or no racial significance. The fact that the Negro death rate is almost twice as high as the death rate of white people living in the same communities is referred to as a "Negro problem." The fact that a larger percentage of Negroes are ignorant than is correspondingly true of white people, constitutes another "Negro problem." The lack of paved streets and adequate lights, water supply, sewerage disposal facilities or what not become, again, a "Negro problem." When large numbers of foreigners are brought together in any American community who are without education and unable to speak the English language, they do not produce or create German, Irish, Italian, Polark- French, Jew, Russian, Greek or what not problems. They simply make necessary a problem of Americanization, of education. The conjested and overcrowded housing conditions and other evidences of lack of economic efficiency do not produce race or racial problems, simply problems in economic and social adjustment. And if any gr up, whether in America or elsewhere, becomes so impoverished that charitable aid is necessary because of starvation or hardship or otherwise, they are not racial problems of the group involved. When the American white man is ignorant and economical y unefficient, he does not produce a white race problem, but a prob em in social and economic adjustment. In the city of Atlanta, out of the 14,000 Negro children who are enrolled in our public schools, less than 2,000 of them are on full time schedu e. None of the Negro children are attending high schools provided for by public school funds of the city of Atlanta, as is true in many other cities throughout the south. This is not a "Negro problem;" it is simply a failure in the educational system to provide adequate educational facilities for Negro chi dren, and in the last analysis a problem in education. Negroes live in worse houses, more unsanitary and more hazardous to health and well being than the white people, taking it in mass by and large. But here again, this is not a race problem—a problem in economics. Because of the lack of education, lack of training, the lack of opportunity, the double economic standard together with racial prejudice, the average Negro's earning capacity is very much lower than the average white man's earning capacity. But this is not a "Negro problem." It is a problem of education and training, of elimination of racial prejudice and proscription. The Negro does not vote for the officers who are to make and administer the laws that he is empel ed to obey. But this is not a "Negro problem." It is a problem of enfranchisement or the result of disfranchisement, a matter of denying a group the right guaranteed them by the Constitution.

What I would seriously like to see is the Negro given the same advantages and opportunities, the same opportunity for training and development, a chance to earn and spend his money in a manner that will mean the highest possible development to himself and family, unrestricted, unmolested and undisturbed, and a chance to move about to serve and spend himse f and his energies to the advancement of human progress without interference in so far as he remains in harmony with the law governing other individuals; the same chance for education, the same chance for economic development; the same guarantee for protection of life and limb and then see whether there still remains a problem peculiar to his racial group. In other words, let's take out the educational, economic, social and political prob ems and see if there still remains that which may be called a "Negro problem."

Editorial Excerpts

Savannah Tribune

A PLEA FOR NEGRO GIRLS

"In the matter of the Negro, especially the Negro in the South, have you ever considered what the Negro race accomplished in half a century?

Savannah Tribune

Have you ever considered the handicaps under which the race has labored, lived, survived and progressed?

Have you compared the race with that of the Indian? The Negro race of half a century, the Indian of five hundred centuries? 3/15/23

Have you ever considered the helplessness of the Negro?

Have you considered him a part of the human race as much a part of it as yourself and so entitled to the best he can get out of life as much as you are entitled to it?

Have you ever thought of his courage in trying to improve himself and his race?

Have you ridiculed him and his efforts? Or have you given him a word of encouragement when you could?

Have you thought of him as a fool for having ambitions?

It might be well for everyone to consider all of these things in regard to the Negro. It might make for a better world; it could not make for a worse one. It must be a terrible thing to face the great God, sometime, bearing the crime of wrong against a helpless, inoffensive Negro.

Not long ago there came to this desk a little book written by a Negro, among other things, the writer appealed to white people, especially to white men, for protection for young Negro girls.

It was a tremendous appeal; simply made and quietly—inoffensively. But under the quiet simplicity of it throbbed a gigantic menace, gigantic force.

But did you ever think about the helplessness of Negro girls? There are some very nice Negro girls, virtuous, modest, intelligent, ambitious. Did you ever come in contact with some of these? If not, you should sometime go out to some of the Negro educational institutions of Nashville, and you will be astounded at what you will find.

Among those girls, also, who go out to service, there are some very nice girls; not so well educated as some, still, many of them, most of them, fairly well educated, and well behaved, honest, ambitious and—helpless.

The helplessness of the Negroes is a serious thought. The helplessness of the Negro girls is a gigantic tragedy.

Think about it, sometime; preach about it; appeal to men, also to women for protection for Negro girls. It will be a fine missionary move on your part; a fine thing in the sight of God, when you shall come before him—that day.

How often is a Negro youth killed while trying to protect a Negro girl with whom he is in company? And what else could he do, when danger threatens that girl, but defend her—if there is a spark of manliness in him? Yet he does it, maybe, knowing surely that it may cost him his life. Do you ever think of a young Negro like that as a hero?

Why not every man and woman try to give their protection to those young Negro girls who have no protection? It is a matter so easily accomplished, so necessary, so certain of magnificent results.

Young Negro girls go into the homes of white people to work, and this sometimes proves their everlasting ruin. Some of them are silly, naturally; but some are thoughtful and earnest and ambitious; and all of them are helpless. Why not protect the young girls, all young girls, white, colored—all? It will make for a better world, and be a source of quiet happiness when one shall come to die.

The Negro has struggled along, doing for his own, fighting for his own, working for his own, dying for his own. And his toil, his love, and his ambitions, have not been in vain; the race has progressed splendidly. But there is a point at which his power tops; his affections cannot surmount; his courage cannot bridge; that is the protection of his daughters, his sisters, the girls of his race, his fireside.

Why not preach protection for these. It will be a theme well pleasing to the Maker of men, all men.—Will Aden Dromgrole in the Nashville Banner.

NEGRO SUPERIOR TO WHITE

Says DuDois In "Smart Set."

Negro Star
Wichita, Kansas

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Negroes are superior to whites, asserts Dr W. E. B. DuBois in an article entitled "The Superior Race" and published in the March number of "The Smart Set" magazine (25 West 45th Street, New York City.) Dr. DuBois is editor of the Crisis and a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The article is written in satirical form, as a conversation with an imaginary white friend. 3/16/23

"'Compare humanity at its best or worst with the ideal," says Dr. DuBois "and humanity suffers. But black folk in most attributes of physical beauty, in line and height and curve, have the same forms as whites and differ only in small details of color hair and curve of countenance. Now can there by any question but that as colors bronze, mahogany, coffee and gold are far more lovel.er than pink, gray and marble? Hair is a matter of taste. Some will have it drab and stringy and others in a gray, woven,

unmoving mass. Most of us like it somewhere between, in tiny tendrils, smoking curls and sweeping curves. I have loved all these varieties in my day. I prefer the crinky kind, almost wavy, in black, brown and glistening. In faces I hate straight features; needles and razors may be sharp—but beautiful never."

In a raking criticism of the modern factory system and industrialism produced by the white man, Dr DuBois asserts the Negro's sense of beauty has protected him from it:

"Art is not simply works of art; it is the spirit that knows Beauty, that has music in its soul and the color of sunsets in its headkerchiefs; that can dance on a flaming world and make the world dance, too. Such is the soul of the Negro.

"Why, do you know the two finest things in the industry of the West, finer than factory, shop or ship? One is the black laborers' Saturday off. Neither the whip of the driver, nor starvation wage, nor the disgust of the Yankee, nor the call of the cotton crops, has yet convinced the common black variety of plantation laborer that one day in the week is enough for rest and play. He wants two days. And, from California to Texas, from Florida to Trinidad, he takes two days while the planter screams and curses. They have beaten the English slavery, the French and German peasants and the North Italian contadini into twelve-hour, six-day slaves. They crushed the Chinese and Indian coolie into a twenty-four-hour beast of burden; they have even made the American, free, white and twenty-one, believe that daily toil is one of the Ten Commandments. But not the Negro. From Monday to Friday the field hand is a slave; then for forty-eight golden hours he is free, and through these same forty-eight hours he may yet free the dumb, driven cattle of the world.

"Then the second thing, laughter. This race has the greatest of the gifts of God, laughter. It dances and sings; it is humble; it longs to learn; it loves men, it loves women. It is frankly, boldly, deliciously human in an artificial and hypocritical land. If you will hear men laugh, go to Guinea, "Black Bottom," "Niggertown," Harlem. If you want to feel humor too exquisite and subtle for translation, sit invisibly among a gang of Negro workers. The white world has its gibes and cruel caricatures; it has its loud guffaws, but to the black world alone belongs the delicious chuckles."

The present danger to white civilization is its fear of truth, according to Dr. DuBois:

"We have raised Propaganda to capital "P" and elaborated an art, almost a science of how one may make the world believe what is not true, provided the untruth is a widely wished-for thing like the probable extermination of Negroes, the failure of the Chinese Republic, the incapacity of India for self-rule, the failure of Russian Revolution. When in other days the world lied, it was to a world that expected lies and consciously defended them; when the world lies today it is to a world that pretends to be true."

Whereat a white friend, with whom Dr. DuBois purport to be talking, makes the following comment:

"In other words, according to you, white folk are about the meanest and lowest on earth."

And Dr DuBois rejoins:

"They are human, even as you and I."

King Silence Reigns In Dixie--Once Land of Barnyard Gaiety

3-15-23

Atlanta Independent Atlanta Ga.

BY DR. H. R. BUTLER.

Some few years ago I traveled through Georgia and other Southern states, and though underneath the surface there were much sadness, fear, privation and sorrow, yet outwardly, among the colored group of people, there were, never the less, here and there, evidences of happiness and a desire to stick to the farm. This time of the year (the Spring season) the old farms were alive with activities; the hill sides and the valleys would be resounding with the voices of the plowmen with the "Gee," "haw," "back," "get up, sir"; then back in the barn yard, listen to the concert of the fowls; the cackle of the laying hens, the answer of the roosters—then the crow of defiance; the gobble of the turkey, as he struts and drags his wings against the ground; hear the "potrack, potrack" of the guinea-fowls, the lowing of the cows, the squeal of the pigs and the bark of the faithful old dog; the smell of guano and the preparing of the earth and seed all pointed to the activities of Spring and the approaching busy Summer for a half free and half slave people.

This was a picture of just a few years back; a picture of before the late world war. Now, where all that activity, preparation and farm music were going on, SILENCE reigns there alone. The farm cabins are falling down, they have been left vacant by the northward migration, they are deserted; that half satisfied voice of the farmer is silent; there is no barn-yard concert, it is over; the hens don't lay and cackle any more, the turkeys don't gobble any more and the old dog doesn't bark, his forsaken bones are bleaching out yonder on the hill side. There are only here and there a few "gees" and "haws"; little mixing and sowing of seed; it is only now and then one gets a whiff of that good old rich guano; the tenants, renting farmers and even land owners, Arab-like, have stacked their tents and gone. Up yonder at the big house where there was once laughter and the happy voices of the little white children is silence too. They have gone away to school or to the cities in search of education or work other than farming. A sad few are in the schools and colleges while the greater number of them are in large cities in factories, apartment stores, motormen, conductors and policemen; and so, they, too, have left the old farm. And then, there is another pathetic side to this "TRECK" to the North; it is this: up yonder at the big house where the Madame once sat at the piano and played, "My Old Kentucky Home," "Suwanee River," and "Bring Back Ye Days of Old," things are not what they used to be. The piano, too, is silent. The Madame is resting in a little grave in the church yard yonder, and when the morning sun is well up in the sky the trembling form of the old boss comes out of the old home and he looks this way and then that way, and finally his sad dim eyes look in the direction of that little mound in the church yard, and he would be gone to the city too, but he does not want to get too far off from that little mound in the church yard; then he wends his way back into the old home where he finds an old colored servant standing by him until the very last when even children have gone away.

And now grass, weeds and shrubbery are growing where then cotton blossomed and bloomed. One rides or walks miles and passes vacant farm house after vacant farm house and hears only the faint echo of his own voice beating against the distant hills. If one meets a few persons of either group the expressions of their faces tell sad stories. The faces of most of the colored group show fear, anxiety, with a some sort of look as to say, "Who will deliver me from this body of death"? The white group carries almost a similar expression on their faces; is it not pathetic that such a state of affairs should exist among a Christian people and in a Christian land? Yes, but it exists just the same. Among Christian people this feeling of distrust and fear should not be. In the thirteenth chapter of John and the 34th and 35th verses, we read, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall ALL men know that ye are my disciples, IF YE HAVE LOVE TO ONE ANOTHER." Here is the final and last TEST Jesus put right up to his disciples and Peter and Judas failed to qualify; Peter, however, came back, but poor old Judas (and we have many of his type today) went HIS way and never came back. How many Christians of both racial groups today can measure up to Jesus' standard of Christianity—"LOVE YE ONE ANOTHER." Love a Christian because he or she is a Christian—not because she or he is a white or colored Christian. There is nothing to that. The Good Book says further on this point, "He that says he loves God whom he hath not seen, and hateth his brother, whom he hath seen, is a liar and the truth is NOT in HIM." And so here we are standing so-called Christians at the very gates of hell-whited sepulchers.

I was going on to say that if both racial groups had real Christianity down deep in their souls there would be, practically, no vacant farm houses in the country today. The races would be happy and contented, both proceeding along their respective lines doing right and justice to each other. I know there are some good Christian souls among each group laboring and praying for a brighter and better day, but there are so very few as compared to the far reaching need; but let us sing on, and pray on, and toil on, to the end that the barn-yard concerts will soon be heard again, that the big house will take on new life, that good homes will take the place of the old decayed cabins, that once again we will hear the happy voices of the children of both racial groups playing in their respective yards, and that cotton and corn will be growing where now grass and weeds are growing and that this SILENCE will be gone never to return, and in its stead CHRISTIANITY will reign FOREVER and FOREVER.

A Negro World - New York

2-10-23

DR. DuBOIS' TEN MISTAKES

"BACK TO AFRICA," by Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, the February issue of the Century Magazine, is one of th most brilliant bits of fiction and prose poetry that eve emanated from the facile pen of that gifted writer. Never did h genius as a short-story teller shine more resplendently. Prose and poetry fact and fancy, fiction and history, and imagination and reality were so subtly blended and flowed so easily on the prose cadences of Dr. D Bois' inimitable style that the reader finds it difficult to tell when D Du Bois is envisaging reality and when imagining.

By getting some scraps of information here and there and b bringing his imagination into play, Dr. Du Bois has created an imag nary Marcus Garvey and an imaginary Universal Negro Improvemer Association which is both like and unlike the real person and the re organization. In his essay on Alexander Crumwell, Dr. Du Bois, b his poetic imagination and his magic style, made a real man look lik an imaginary portrait. In his "Back to Africa" he made an imaginar portrait and an imaginary organization look like a real man and a rea organization.

The same poetic description and philosophic musings which char acterized "The Souls of Black Folk" and "Darkwater" may be observe in the article that we are now discussing. In his pen pictures of H Harlem at the beginning and ending of his article; in his philosophi reflections upon the Negro whirlpool and other smaller swirlings affe ing the stream of American life, upon Garvey's movement represent something spiritual, upon the Negro's craving for manhood and in showing that Garvey is a "type of dark man whom the white world making daily—moulding, marring, tossing in the air"—Dr. Du B writes in the vein that gave "Souls of Black Folk" and "Darkwate their deserved fame.

Dr. Du Bois an Impressionist and Not a Realist

And yet the reader somehow feels that with all the poetic descri tions, pensive musings and philosophical reflections there is yet som thing lacking, and that is a gripping hold upon reality. "Back to Africa like "The Souls of Black Folk," represents more the subjective impre sion which the Garvey movement made upon the sensitive mind of D Du Bois than an objective presentation of the movement as really is. Dr. Du Bois is more of an impressionistic rather than realist painter. He gets a general impression and a few general outlines, an then his imagination completes the picture.

In the case of Marcus Garvey and the U. N. I. A., Garvey w thirty-three years old and the U. N. I. A. two and a half years old befo Dr. Du Bois began to consider them seriously. He heard that Jamaican harangued the crowds from a soap box in Harlem, organize thirteen in a small room, started a weekly paper and talked about build ing factories and operating a steamship line, but he paid no attention t what he regarded as a transient ebullition of emotion.

Consequently, when in August, 1920, Garvey three times congeste the streets of Harlem with a parade, packed Madison Square Garden t the very doors and held an international convention for thirty-one day in a Liberty Hall with twice the seating capacity of any Negro churc in the world—filling it in the daytime, overcrowding it at night, an with thousands turned away from the Sunday evening services—th white people began to ask, "What does it all mean?" Quite naturall they would ask Dr. Du Bois, a recognized Negro leader and write about it. He knew very little about it. For three months he wandere in the wilderness, picking up scraps of information from former official and friends of present officials, getting nearly all of his informatio second hand. The result was the sketchy article in the Crisis i January, 1921.

Then Dr. Du Bois began seriously to study Marcus Garvey and the movement he had launched. But the U. N. I. A. was too big and too complex and it had too many ramifications all over the world to be easily focussed. The late Prof. Josiah Royce, Harvard's famous meta-physician, once said that it was very difficult to convince a man or change his views by merely arguing with him, for his point of view and his ideas are the resultant of his character, temperament, education, environment and the experiences that he has passed through. That is quite true.

It is very difficult to understand the psychic reactions of a man and his dominant motifs when you don't meet him or don't begin to study him until he is thirty-three. To really know him you must know his parents, his early teachers and associates and early environment. To really know him you must know him in his boyhood, his youth and early manhood; you must know the men who inspired him, the forces that ashioned and shaped him, the influences that operated upon him and he pleasant or rough experiences, the boosts or hard knocks that colored his ways of thinking. You can't simply see him as a man and then imagine what his previous experiences had been.

So is it with a movement. When Dr. Du Bois first began really to study the U. N. I. A. it was like a mighty river rushing at high speed toward the ocean of destiny, bearing upon its bosom the hopes, strivings and aspirations of a struggling race. He did not know what tributaries fed the stream, what ideas went into the making and what men made their contributions to the movement. Consequently, with only scrap of information at his command, he had to draw considerably upon hi imagination.

Thus Dr. Du Bois intimates that the "Back to Africa" idea was th only dominant idea in the Garvey movement. But the two ideas—the colonization and empire idea—which formed the "Back to Africa" idea were only two of the eight ideas which went into the formation of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The other six ideas were forming a confraternity of the black people of the world, protesting against caste prejudice and proscription which ignored the worth of a man and looked solely at his color, teaching black men to respect themselves and each other, building factories, launching a steamship line and developing Liberia industrially and commercially.

Dr. Du Bois' Ten Mistakes

Dr. Du Bois' Century Magazine article is so brilliant and perfect a literary creation that we hate to dissect it. It is like analyzing the beauty and fragrance of a rose and telling what chemical elements entered into its composition. But as Dr. Du Bois is writing history, we must consider his article as history and not as a magnificent bit of prose poetry. These ten mistakes are not mistakes of interpretation, but of historical facts.

Mistake No. 1.—Dr. Du Bois, on page 539 of the Century Magazine, says of Garvey: "Beside him were 'potentates'!" *Answer:* In *reality* there was only one potentate, Gabriel M. Johnson of Monrovia.

Mistake No. 2. Dr. Du Bois, on page 539, says: "Before him knelt a succession of several colored gentlemen. . . . Among the lucky recipients of titles was the former private secretary of Booker T. Washington." *Answer:* In *reality* Dr. Emmet J. Scott was in Washington, D. C., and did not attend the convention.

Mistake No. 3. On page 541 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois says, "Then came the new economic demand for Negro peasant labor on the Panama Canal." *Answer:* But Colonel Goethals in his book, "How I Built the Panama Canal," states that many West Indians were employed as engineers and mechanics, and many Italians as laborers.

Mistake No. 4. Dr. Du Bois, on page 541 of the Century Magazine, says that "West Indians began to migrate in larger numbers to America during the World War." *Answer:* In *reality* West Indians began to migrate to America in 1895, when the Brussels conference barred and boycotted West Indian and imported sugar and when the German beet sugar began to thrive. See article on Brussels in the Encyclopædia Britannica. It would be advisable for the learned scholar to also read Crabbe's "Guide to the British West Indies."

Mistake No. 5. On page 543 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois refers to Marcus Garvey as "This black peasant of Jamaica." *Answer:* Marcus Garvey never worked as a farmer or agricultural laborer. When he quit school at the age of sixteen he worked four years as a printer, four years as a foreman of printing. Since then he has traveled and studied conditions in Europe and other parts of the world, edited newspapers and formed organizations.

Mistake No. 6. Dr. Du Bois says of the Yarmouth, the first steamship of the Black Star Line, "She made three trips to the West Indies in three years." *Answer:* In *reality* she made three trips

Race Problem - 1923. United States

in nine months.

Mistake No. 7. On page 544 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois says, "Thus the bubble of Garveyism burst." *Answer:* There are still over 800 well-organized divisions functioning as they did before the delegates went to the League of Nations from the August convention of 1922.

Mistake No. 8. On page 545 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois says, "He did not quite dare call himself King Marcus I, but he sunned himself a while in the address of 'your *Majesty*.' *Answer:* If Dr. Du Bois would attend the meetings in Liberty Hall or read The Negro World carefully he would learn that Marcus Garvey's official title is "Your *Excellency*."

Mistake No. 9. On page 546 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois says of the U. N. I. A., "Its main and moving nucleus has been a knot of black Jamaican peasants resident in America." *Answer:* If Dr. Du Bois had carefully observed the parades of 1920 he would have seen over a score of bright, resplendent banners with Barbados, Jamaica, Grenada, St. Kitts, Antigua, Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, Demerara, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, etc., emblazoned upon them. These banners indicated that the groups of from ten to one hundred who marched behind them were born in the country, island or State designated on the banners, and that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is recruited, not from the island of Jamaica, but from the black peoples of the world. Two-thirds of the two-score divisions, whose membership runs into the four figures, are located in the United States of America.

Mistake No. 10. Dr. Du Bois, on page 548 of the Century Magazine says: "As compared with the homes, the business, the church, Garvey's basement represents nothing in accomplishment and only waste in attempt."

Answer: On page 543 of the Century Magazine Dr. Du Bois states that the Yarmouth made "three trips to the West Indies"; that "Garvey sent the Kanawa down to do a small carrying trade between the West Indian islands," and that with the Shadyside "he carried excursionists up and down the Hudson during one summer." On page 544 he states that Garvey "has established a number of local grocery stores in Harlem and one or two shops, including a laundry and a printing press." We will state that the printing press includes a Goss supplement press, a steam table, a stereotyping machine, four linotype machines and smaller presses for job printing. Does the learned doctor regard these as accomplishments?

Conclusion

Dr. Du Bois' article is written from the standpoint of a disinterested white man who studied the U. N. I. A. from long range and not from the standpoint of a racial leader who has kept his finger on the pulse-beat of the race that he is supposed to represent. When he characterizes the Black Star Line and the U. N. I. A. "only waste in attempt," it indicates that he did not realize how Negrodom, how the black world was thrilled and electrified when it learned that a Jamaican and a New York organization had got out of the traditional ruts of church, lodge, agitation and small business into big business, trade and commerce, that the Negro's industrial and commercial horizon was about to be enlarged, that new avenues of employment were about to be opened up to black men and black women, and that the Negro was about to leave his circling eddies and enter the stream of world commerce. It was the new spirit—the spirit of initiative and adventure—that Marcus Garvey and the U. N. I. A. represented—the Divine urge of progress—that was Garvey's contribution to the spiritual inheritance of the race.

WILLIAM H. FERRIS.

The August convention of 1920, with delegates from nearly every State in the Union, from Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, the West Indies, Central America, South America, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and South Africa, assembled to put over an industrial program as well as to perfect a fraternal organization and voice the black man's grievance at the wrongs and injustices to which he was subjected, was something new in Negro history. The distinguished men of color who attended that convention, either as delegates or visitors, the crowds that congested Madison Square Garden the opening night and Liberty Hall for thirty consecutive nights, and the world publicity that that convention received, and the crowds and publicity given to the conventions of 1921 and 1922, indicates that the world recognized that the black man's soul was awakened and that a new dynamic force and impulse was operating in the black man's mind.

The world somehow recognized that the spirit of progress, of adventure and achievement on a colossal scale was stirring in his mind. Unfortunately some of the representatives of the U. N. I. A. allowed the aspects that the white press emphasized to sidetrack them from the main line that brought the immense hosts together.

A study of the psychology of religion and a comparative study of religion indicates that any religion which grips large masses of mankind gets its power not on account of its error but on account of the truth that it contains, on account of its powerful appeal to what is basic and fundamental in human nature. So it was with the U. N. I. A. It taught the Negro to think in international terms and gave him a vision of world politics and world commerce. It enlarged his mental horizon and the boundaries of his mind. It liberated his imagination and give him new ideas. And this, according to Dr. Coué, is something worth while. It taught the Negro to think and feel that he was a man and could play a man's part in the affairs of men. For this reason it will live on as an uplifting psychic influence.

Five years is a brief moment in the life of an organization or corporation. If Dr. Du Bois knows of any Negro corporation that at any time within the brief space of five years marshaled as many members as the U. N. I. A. has, invested as much money in industrial and commercial enterprises and gave as much employment to men and women of color, we would be grateful for the information.

WILLIAM H. FERRIS.

ROCHESTER N Y POST EXPRESS
JANUARY 9. 1923

Driving the Negroes Out.

For four or five years or thereabouts the South has complained of the exodus of negroes. It has experienced a shortage in common labor because of the leaving of negroes for the North. This adds considerably to the cost of living in that part of the country, and if it shall be continued will revolutionalize the industrial and agricultural, and to some extent the domestic life of the people there. The negro gave the South cheap labor and cheap domestic service, two very important items in the economic prosperity of the section. Yet, while the Southerner complains, he acts as though he wished to get rid of the negro. His course is most inconsistent with his complaints.

Without considering at all the criminal, which is the principal, aspect of the disturbance at Rosewood, Florida, the economic aspect is decidedly injurious to the maintenance of economic conditions in the South. The disturbance is, of course, considered here as only one of many such things that tend to the same result. How can the people of that part of the country expect the negro to stay there while they continue to treat him in this manner? The Ku Klux Klan has as one of its purposes the putting of a curb upon the negroes. In such things as these the people of the South foolishly attack all the negroes or at least in each instance they attack many negroes for the misdeed of one. Is it any wonder that the negroes, seeing that all are blamed and many punished for the evil works of a few, wish to leave for places in which the one doing evil is the one punished, and not all his friends and neighbors indiscriminately? Of course, there are many other things in the treatment of the negro in the South that have a tendency to drive him away from that part of the country. But these things, at least, are certain to drive many negroes away.

It would appear the part of wisdom for Southerners to study out and adopt some plan of conciliation, some scheme whereby the negro would be glad to stay in that part of the country which has become virtually his home. It is not necessary to give him social equality or to pamper him. If the ignorant whites of the South can be controlled, the task will be made easier for the better element, for all the latter will have to do then will be to begin an era of justice and fairness to the colored man. It may be urged in extenuation of the Rosewood affair that the blacks aided a criminal. This is not true, for it cannot be true that a whole community of negroes acted in concert in such a matter. But it was easier to attack the community than to ferret out and arrest or kill, if they resisted, the actual criminals. In doing this, the whites gave the negroes ground for believing that there is no justice in the South for the black. No man, whatever his color, will tolerate injustice. He will either fight against it or flee from it. The negroes of the South are not powerful enough to fight injustice there, so they flee from it. The whites can easily, if they will, remove this fundamental cause of their complaints.

Mayor Sims Speaks At Negro Y. M. C. A.

Atlanta Georgian
2-26-23

Speaking before the colored branch of the Y. M. C. A. Sunday, Mayor Walter A. Sims pledged his support in an effort to establish an era of good will. He said that the South was the best place for the highest efforts of the colored race, and that such organizations as the Y. M. C. A. presented the best avenue through which to work. Dr. Wilkins, chairman of the membership campaign, told Mayor Sims that he would always find the colored people anxious to co-operate for a biger and better Atlanta.

Race Problem-1923
United States

Only He That Rules Justly Has the Right to Rule

Atlanta Independent 1-4-23

The most intricate question up for settlement between the races and which menaces or gives the white man the most concern, is the one of political domination. Without the remotest possibility of realization, somehow or another, the white man has worked himself into such a frenzy that he lives in frightful dread of Negro dominancy all the time. There should be no question as to who should control in government affairs in America so long as the economic, industrial and intellectual equipment of races is so uneven. The fittest person, or class of persons, should control and direct the affairs of state in the interest of all the people. The man who rules wrong, has no just right to rule, and ought not to be permitted to dominate, it makes no difference what his color is. The right to control is not, nor ought to be, based upon the color of any man's skin, but upon his fitness and ability to direct the affairs of government without fear or favor, in the interests of all the people. The individual who is not large enough to separate his prejudices and personal feelings from his public duties, ought not to be trusted with responsibility of government. Furthermore, the man, be he black or white, president or governor, mayor or councilman, who arrogates to himself privileges and advantages which he denies a less fortunate fellow individual, is not only unfit to be trusted with the affairs of the people, but is dishonest, and ought to be put down. Government was instituted for the benefit and protection of all the people, and not a part of them. And when a government, federal, state or municipal, becomes destructive of these just and beneficial ends, it ought not to exist. This brings us down to Atlanta as a municipality, and the spirit in which her affairs are administered. It is a mistaken idea that this is a white man's government, and the city has the right to clothe white men with economic, industrial and commercial opportunities denied to black men. The equities and opportunities issuing from the government, of right, ought to be honestly and equally distributed among the citizens. And any set of men charged with the responsibility of administration, who will deny one class of citizens their just rights in the interest of a favored class, are not fit to administer the people's affairs.

It is not an uncommon thing to hear some white man say this is a white man's country, or hear some Negro say this is a white man's town, and Negroes have no rights. Now, one is about as guilty of this mischief making speech as the other. In either case the individual is wrong. Atlanta belongs to every citizen, whether he be white or black, who does not violate her law, and contributes in every way possible to upbuild her fortunes. The Negro must not abdicate any right or privilege by conduct or act. He must feel a just pride in every movement looking to the upbuilding of the municipality. He must recognize and appreciate the city's utilities, franchises and privileges as the common property of all the people and not the property of the white man. We must not vote against bonds because we feel that the water mains and street pavements will not reach our settlement. The city government is a pauper and only has a dollar when it takes one out of the citizen's pocket by taxation. Again the city is like the individual; it can not do everything at once. Water mains and pavement can not be run down every street at the same time. The way to show that we are parts and parcels of the municipality is not by boasting or raising the color question by hollering, "Caze we are niggers," every time a thing does not go our way. But the way to do it is to be public spirited, take a helpful hand in everything that looks like the uplift of the community and to stand on our merits as men, forgetting that we are Negroes. It is a mistaken idea that the white man is the city, whether it lurks in the head of the Negro or the white man. And if any white man in authority undertakes to administer the municipality according to this view, he is unfit for the position he dishonors, and ought to be put out. The city is the life, thought, conscience and character of all the people, and as the Negro is part and parcel of the people, and has life, thought, conscience and character, he constitutes a part of the municipality and must be taken into the equation in everything which affects the municipal life. If there is a man in the city council of Atlanta who does not recognize and exercise these wise, just and humane principles of economic, industrial and commercial equality, every citizen with a conscience wants him to resign.

In a short time the citizens of Atlanta will be called upon to authorize by their votes the issuance of $500,000 in bonds to improve the public utilities. This issue will be submitted to the qualified voters, not the white men or the black men, but to every man that is a citizen, and it will be as much the Negro's duty to go to the polls and vote yes, or no, as it will be the white man's. If you are not qualified, get right and act the part of a man. The way to show that Atlanta is not a white man's town is to place curselves in a position to participate in the administration of her affairs. The question of whether we will be a part of the municipality, in fact, is one of personal selection. The individual alone can determine that question himself. It matters not what the white man says, we alone can regulate that fact and fix our places in the community.

Washington Hears Neval H. Thomas in Perry Howard Denunciation—Enthusiastic Audience Hears Race Betrayer Flayed

Washington Tribune Wash. D.C.
2-10-23

Washington, D. C.—In his speech before a large audience at the Y. M. C. A. on Sunday afternoon Neval H. Thomas of the Dunbar High School denounced the abandonment of the race by Mr. Perry W. Howard in the nation-wide fight on the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. It will be remembered that Howard wrote letters to Senator du Pont and other Senators asking that they give no support to the Dyer Bill because the National Associaton for the Advancement of Colored People was leading the fight for it. This furnished a good alibi for the Senate leaders who were luke warm on the bill. This letter was discovered to the astonishment of Mr. Howard as he was posing as a champion for it. His answer in the press and in a speech before the Y. M. C. A. was a series of evasions, mud-slinging, and preposterous claims of growing poorer in racial service. He even went so far as to put blame for writing it upon hs faithful but helpless secretary.

"What will the Senate and even Senator du Pont himself, think of Negro Statesmanship, when a man holding the highest executive appointment the race has received has no higher sense of responsibility to his constituency than to surrender it to the mob," the speaker exclaimed. "I am truly glad that the Senate has on its permanent record the statesmanship of Revels, Bruce, Lynch Roney. Robert Brown Elliot, and the other Negro political leaders of the Reconstruction ,so that it can see that Perry Howard in no way interprets the splendid idealism of the Negro to the white race. Read and re-read the eloquent, learned, and race-loving speech of Robert Brown Elliot in the American Congress on Charles Sumner's last birthday, January 6, 1874, and then compare it with the coarse, grovelling, demagogic rot of Perry Howard. Howard must remember that he holds no private position as he thinks he holds. He is in his high position in recognition of our existence and ballot of this country, hence he should be our ambasasdor to the court of power to tell those who dominate this country what the Negro wants. Instead he has flown in the face (on the sly, however, as he never expected to be found out) of the unanimous wish and aspiration of the race he is supposed to represent."

"My friends," he continued, "don't you think that this discovery will make any change in the spirit and loyalty of Perry Howard. It will simply make him more careful. After this he won't write; he will talk. Can he not see that the race is against him? When he entered this hall the other Sunday to explain himself, there was not a single handclap in the vast audience, and Pickens' reply was frequently interrupted with thunderous applause. Think of his alibi! He says his letter to Senators was a private letter. A private letter written to big public men on a fundamental public issue. That alibi is as stupid as it is dishonest. He says again that his secretary wrote it. How false, yet his faithful, but helpless secretary must not say a word. Let Perry Howard have his fine properties in Chicago, his plantations in Mississippi, his cash and fine position at our expense, but let us keep the faith of the fathers and submerge every selfish consideration in the single thought of service to our noble race."

"Mr. Howard is certainly an enlightened leader," the speaker continued. "He told the Senators not to pass the Anti-Lynching Bill because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was sponsor for it, and was leading the fight. In other words he said that he wanted his race, and even his own little children exposed to the flames of the savage mob because our great organization was spending its soul and treasure in their defense. Yet this is the great organization which only this week stood before the Supreme Court of the United States in the defense of the outraged victims of personal and judicial lynching in the benighted state of Arkansas. This same learned lawyer, this same devoted lover of his fellow man, the Honorable Moorfield Storey, secured a unanimous decision against residential segregation from this same tribunal four years ago without one cent's expense to the colored people. At this very hour he, as one of the most illustrious of Harvard's great alumni, is leading the fight against President Lowell's Ku Klux policy in that great seat of learning. Yet this is the organization, and this is the mighty man whose efforts to save our country Mr Howard wants the Senate to ignore."

"Even in this southern community we have been able to achieve many notable victories. Our devoted president and our able and vigilant executive secretary recently discovered two cases of peonage right here in the nation's capital and emancipated the victims. Our local branch has stood on the firing line for ten years securing better school facilities for your children, positions in the civil service for successful candidates whom the authorities were trying to keep out, the razing of insulting signs in public places, and dozens of other victories over the southern spirit. It has fought many without success as yet, but we intend to keep in the fight until our city and our country are free from prejudice, and our fellow-countrymen consider that the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments are as sacred as the 18th, and until they know that insistence upon one, and outrage upon another, imperils our entire governmental structure."

It Seems to Me

By Heywood Broun

A. Lawrence Lowell has done much to simplify the education of Heywood Broun 3d. We know now that he isn't going to Harvard. Probably Mr. Lowell feels himself capable of bearing this deprivation quite calmly, but just let him wait. Let him wait thirteen years.

N Y C WORLD
JANUARY 13 1923

It is a brisk November day and the wind favors the team defending the south goal. Harvard has the ball on Yale's five-yard line, but it is fourth down, with

a yard and a half to go. The Crimson players move out of the scrimmage line and huddle together to decide what play they shall employ in the moment of crisis.

"I think we ought to give the ball to Broun," says the captain.

"Broun?" answers the quarterback. "Are you mad?"

"Why mad?" inquires the captain.

"Pull yourself together," cries the quarterback. "Take thought. Take heed. Broun is at Yale."

After the Harvard team has been held for downs we shall make no attempt to seek out Lowell and rub it in. Instead, it is our intention to wait until young Broun makes his seventy-seven yard run, bowling over Crimson tacklers at every stride. Undoubtedly we shall watch this spectacle with mingled pride and pain. Perhaps the pain of it might be quite unendurable if it were not for the fact that we have thought of a device. Whenever the elusive Broun straightarms a Harvard tackler we intend to visualize the face of the unfortunate as that of A. Lawrence Lowell.

It would not be fair for us to leave the impression that H. 3d is already broad and liberal in regard to the race questions which bother Mr. Lowell so mightily. About a year ago he raised an awful ruction when we suddenly announced that we would not be home to dinner. He contended that our departure would leave him all alone. When we pointed out the fallacy of this by mentioning the cook and his nurse, he answered, "Can't I have any white people to eat with?"

And it was only a few weeks later that he informed us that he couldn't play with Margaret any more. We didn't know who Margaret was, and yet the break seemed unfortunate. We asked him why he couldn't play with Margaret any more, and he said, "Because she's a Jew." Naturally that suggested another inquiry. "Because the Jews killed Christ," said H. 3d.

No, at the present moment H. 3d is no more intelligent in his attitude toward race questions than the President of Harvard University, and he will be five on his next birthday.

Of course H. 3d is going to grow out of all that rubbish. He may pick up catchwords from young Ku Kluxers, but after all he is a reasonable human being and we can argue with him and even spank him. In the case of Lowell both remedies seem to be quite impossible, since we see by The World that he makes it a rule never to discuss anything with newspaper persons.

We also see by The World that "Harvard, with the prejudices of a summer hotel; Harvard, with the standards of a country club, is not the Harvard of her greatest sons. It is not the Harvard of Eliot or Emerson or William James"——

Well said, but what we are most conscious of is the fact that it isn't the Harvard of Lewis and Matthews and Gourdin. Matthews was a little before our time, but we had a brother in college who told us the story. Princeton asked if Harvard wouldn't use somebody else at shortstop, as there was a certain feeling among some members of the Tiger nine that they didn't want to play against a Negro. It was a different Harvard in those days, and the word came back that it would have to be Matthews or no ball game. Princeton forgot its prejudices and played. The game was a tight one until Matthews came to bat with the bases full. He knocked a home run.

A room in a dormitory! Why, the man could have had a whole dormitory and the theological school thrown in.

The fact that H. 3d isn't going to play on the Harvard football team after all distresses us a little in one respect. Several years ago we made an agreement with Damon Runyon to sit together at the Harvard-Princeton game of 1936. Runyon's boy is preparing to matriculate at tackle on the Princeton team, and in those days H. 3d was training to be a Harvard halfback. We thought it would be no end of fun to watch the course of the game and to observe that whenever Harvard actually needed five or six yards the play to be called would be Broun straight through Runyon.

To be perfectly straightforward, it is only fair to say that unless H. 3d gets bigger pretty fast he won't even make the Yale eleven. Just now it looks as if he were destined to be nothing more than Phi Beta Kappa or coxswain of the crew.

Our estrangement from Harvard does not depend wholly upon our belief that A. Lawrence Lowell is bigoted. Even if his views were broader we should feel misgivings at sending an impressionable youngster to be educated under a man who uses qualifying words so extravagantly. "I have made long ago, for my own protection, an absolute rule that I would never be interviewed under any circumstances; and equally for my own protection it is necessary to adhere to that rigidly."

That is far from nice. It seems to us that Mr. Lowell means to say "I made" and not "I have made," which implies that he has to keep jacking himself up to the resolution from day to day.

"It is necessary to adhere to that rigidly." "I must decline to see the reporter altogether." "I never have any difficulty with reporters who understand my motives entirely." We think Mr. Lowell is guilty of pointing. Any instructor in English "A" could tell him that the effect would be stronger without "rigidly," "altogether" and "entirely."

The reporter's retort to "I must decline to see the reporter altogether," might well have been, "Yes, and I can't see Mr. Lowell at all."

Even the Simon-pure Freudian can hardly fail to get from Lowell's sentences the impression that here is a man who is not at ease in his mind concerning his position and therefore seeks to strengthen himself with emphatic words. We never knew just what the "A" stood for in A. Lawrence Lowell, but we suppose it must be "Adverbial."

"Well," we foresee a number of correspondents writing, "You're in no position to criticise anybody for using careless English." Quite so, but neither are we the President of Harvard. Gosh! we've got no responsibilities—we weren't even graduated.

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The Meddling Spirit in Modern America

"Won't you," asks a reader, 'please give us an article on 'The Three Musketeers—the Ku Klux, Lynching and Prohibition?'"

I'm afraid I can't respond to this request in the manner suggested. The Ku Klux, Lynching and Prohibition stand on at least three different moral planes. The Ku Klux alone, if the assertions of its leaders are contrasted with the conduct of some of its members, is able to ride two or three moral planes at once.

Yet, all three of these phenomena do proceed, even though in different directions, from a common point of origin. If my prohibition friends, for many of whose tenets I have a profound respect, will bear with me I will explain what I mean.

N Y C GLOBE
FEBRUARY 7, 1923

All of us—even the worst of us—have certain moral standards, and believe that this would be a better world if other people would conform to them. The prohibitionists want us not to drink, the lynchers want the Negro to "keep in his place," the Ku Klux wants the world to be run on white, Caucasian, Protestant principles.

The grave question involved is as to the extent to which any of us is justified in interfering with others in order to bring them around to our views. In a democracy I don't see how we can avoid the democratic method, which is the one the prohibitionists have used. Personally, I should have preferred to leave the matter of drinking to local option and to education. I believe that even without a constitutional amendment the social conscience in America would in time have condemned the saloon and discouraged the bestial sort of drinking. The coercion of the unwilling minority in this respect is producing evils which may be worse than a legal liquor traffic.

But the prohibitionists are democratically correct. If the opponents of prohibition choose to break the law instead of changing it they are setting a precedent under which other minorities can break unsatisfactory laws. If prohibition doesn't work well—and it isn't working well at present—the only democratic answer to it is modification through a popular vote. Anything else is anarchy.

Every modern society stands between tyranny—and whether tyranny of a majority or of a minority doesn't much matter—and anarchy. The Ku Klux Klan, even when it puts on its best Sunday-go-to-meeting nightie, stands for tyranny. It is an attempt to interfere, legally if its own avowals are accepted, illegally if the acts of some of its members are considered, with the private lives of other and unwilling people.

Lynching, which is merely the illegal expression of the Ku Klux philosophy, is the meddling spirit carried to the utmost dreadful extreme. It is the point at which we arrive if we are determined, irrespective of means, to reform our neighbors. My impression is that the meddlesome spirit has gone too far in America, and that if it is not checked we shall have conditions and conflicts which are worse than drunkenness, and maybe even worse than private immorality.

ROBERT L. DUFFUS.

When Black Meets White. By John Louis Hill. The Argyle Publishers, Chicago. Chicago Defender

This little volume is another discussion of the eternal race problem. It adds very little to the already well known facts and theories which are familiar to every student of the problem and to almost every school boy and girl of the Race. Its significance, however, lies in the fact that the author, a Southern white man, restates in rather liberal fashion the convictions held by broad-minded, thinking men and women everywhere who are capable of setting aside traditional prejudices and looking facts in the face as they present themselves to people black or white who are anxious to find some common ground of understanding and helpful co-operation. The author follows the precedent set by the more recent writers on this subject of putting the main responsibility on the shoulders of the white man for a peaceful solution of this problem of racial relationship and co-operation. If this book finds a circulation among Southern white readers it ought to do some good, because the author is white and a Southerner. He cannot be accused of lack of knowledge of the Southern experience or viewpoint, because he was born and spent many years in Tennessee, the home state of his family. Space will not permit a discussion here of some of the ideas advanced by the writer. We believe that on the whole the book ought to be helpful because its facts are clearly and apparently sincerely presented by a writer who desires to help the cause of a persecuted people.

Race Problem — 1923
United States

DUBOIS ON GARVEY.

In selecting the influential columns of the Century Magazine, Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois entrenched himself behind a literary bulwark, which his adversary could not dangerously assail. In fact, he knew or must have believed that the editors of this publication would not entertain a reply to the damaging criticism of this distinguished black leader from the Island of Jamaica. The Negro World may train its long range guns upon the tormentor of its chieftain, but so far as the clientile of the widely circulated magazine is concerned they will never hear even the echo. 2/17/23

On the other hand, the Hon. Marcus Garvey is more directly interested in his own following and his prospective followers. His journalistic mouthpiece, reaches those, in whom he is most vitally interested and "what he loses at the bung, he will save at the spicket." He is unsparing in his denunciation of the able literary genius, who is using the best efforts of his useful life in attempting to destroy, what he regards as a dangerous menace to his people. He analyzes Garvey and his methods in the following language:

On the other hand, Garvey had no thorough education and a very hazy idea of the technic of civilization. He fell easily into the common error of assuming that because oppression has retarded a group, the mere removal of the injustice will at a bound restore the group to full power. Then, too, he personally had his drawbacks: he was inordinately vain and egotistic, jealous of his power, impatient of details, a poor judge of human nature, and he had the common weakness of untrained devotees that no dependence could be put upon his statements of fact. Not that he was a conscious liar, but dream, fact fancy, wish, were all so blurred in his thinking that neither he himself nor his hearers could clearly or easily extricate them.

Then came the new economic demand for Negro peasant labor on the Panama Canal, and finally the Great War. Black West-Indians began to make something like decent wages, they began to travel, and they began to talk and think. Garvey talked and thought with them. In conjunction with white and colored sympathizers he planned a small Jamaican Tuskegee. This failed, and he conceived the idea of a purely Negro organization to establish independent Negro states and link them with commerce and industry. His "Universal Negro Improvement Association," launched August 1, 1914, in Jamaica, was soon in financial difficulties. The war was beginning to change the world, and as white American laborers began to be drawn into war work there was an opening in many lines not only for Southern American Negroes as laborers and mechanics, but also for West-Indians as servants and laborers. They began to migrate in larger numbers. With this new migration came Marcus Garvey.

A most amusing and interesting question is presented in this analysis. It is this. Can a man be an unconscious liar? If he makes a statement that is incorrect or misleading, and he is not aware that it is incorrect or misleaning, is he a liar? We are of the opinion that ethics will hardly sustain the distinguished writer in his affirmation, "not that he was a conscious liar." If he were not a conscious liar that is did not know that he was lying then ethics would acquit him of being any liar at all. Even the truth told in a way to deceive is said to be a lie under certain conditions. Speaking of this phase of the situation, Editor William H. Ferris in the February 10th issue of the Negro World says:

Mistake No. 3. on page 541 of the Century Magazine, Dr. Du Bois says, Then came the new economic demand for Negro peasant labor on the Panama Canal." Answer: But Colonel Goethals in his book, "How I Built the Panama Canal." states that many West Indians were employed as engineers and mechanics, and many Italians as laborers.

Mistake No. 4. Dr. Du Bois, on page 541 of the Century Magazine says that "West Indians began to migrate in large numbers to America during the World War." Answer: In reality West Indians began to migrate to America in 1895, when the Brussels conference barred and boycotted West Indian and imported sugar and when the German beet sugar began to thrive. See article on Brussels in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. It would be advisable for the learned scholar to also read Crabbe's 'Guide to the British West Indies."

In our own analysis we shall be absolutely fair and we take this method of producing such refutations as may be available with reference to one of the most damaging philipics ever issued against a Negro leader during our day and time. Dr. Du Bois says further:

He established a little group of his own Jamaica countrymen in Harlem and launched his program. He took no account of the American Negro problem; he knew nothing about it. What he was trying to do was to settle the Jamaican problem in the United States. On the other hand, American Negroes knew nothing about the Jamaican problem, and they were excited and indignant at being brought face to face with a man who was full of wild talk about Africa and the West Indies and steamship lines and "race pride," but who said nothing and apparently knew nothing about the right to vote, the horrors of lynching and mob law, and the problem of racial equality.

Moreover, they were especially incensed at the new West-Indian conception of the color-line. Color-lines had naturally often appeared in colored America, but the development had early taken a far different direction from that in the West Indies. Migration by whites had numerically overwhelmed both masters and mulattoes, and compelled most American masters to sell their own children into slavery. Freedom, therefore, rather than color became the first line of social distinction in the American Negro world despite the near-white aristocracies of cities like Charleston and New Orleans and, despite the fact that the proportion of mulattoes who were free and who gained some wealth and education was greater than that of blacks because of the favor of their white parents.

Dr. DuBois overlooks the fact and fails to state that his type of colored people do not in the main affiliate with the type of people that Hon. Marcus Garvey represents. It is a fact that, while the highly educated class of Negroes, one hundred per cent Americans were excited and indignant over Garvey's wild talk thousands of others in the southern States noticeably so in Texas regarded him as preaching a "new religion" and they immediately became converted. Thousands had previously sold their homesteads to raise money to go back to the Fatherland, where they had been taught to believe equal and exact justice was to be enjoyed and where every owner of a homestead could "live under his own vine and fig-tree with none to molest him or make him afraid.'

Garvey's plan seems to have been to furnish the leadership primarily from this country and with the African Republic citizenship to be in existence in Africa and America. The discussion continues. He says:

After emancipation, color caste tended to arise again, but the darker group was quickly welded into one despite color by caste legislation, which applied to a white man with one Negro great-grandfather as well as to a full-blooded Bantu. There were still obvious advantages to the Negro American of lighter hue in passing for white or posing as Spanish or Portuguese, but the pressing demand for ability and efficiency and honesty within this fighting, advancing group continually drove the color-line back before reason and necessity, and it came to be generally regarded as the poorest possible taste for a Negro even to refer to differences of color. Colored folk as white as the whitest came to describe themselves as Negroes. Imagine then the surprise and disgust of these Americans when Garvey launched his Jamaican color scheme.

He did this, of course, ignorantly and with no idea of his mistake and no wit to read the signs. He meant well. He saw what seemed to him the same color-lines which he hated in Jamaica, and he sought here as there to oppose white supremacy and the white ideal by a crude and equally brutal black supremacy and black ideal. His mistake did not lie in the utter impossibility of this program,—greater upheavals in ideal have shaken the world before,—but rather in its spiritual bankruptcy and futility; for what shall this poor world gain if it exchange one race supremacy for another?

Garvey soon sensed that somewhere he was making a mistake, and he began to protest that he was not excluding mulattoes from his organization Indeed, he has men of all colors and bloods in his organization, but his propaganda still remains "all-black," because this brings cash from the Jamaica peasants. Once he was actually haled to court and made to apologize for calling a disgruntled former colleague "white"! His tirades and twistings have landed him in strange contradictions. Thus with one voice he denounced Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass as bastards and with the next named his boarding house and first steamship after these same men!

The above is written in a charitable vein and shows that 'away down in his heart of hearts," Dr. Du Bois has some respect if not sympathy for the man, who at one time he declared to be honest and that his plans were feasible. He complained that he was going the wrong way in executing them. He says further:

Aside from his color-lines, Garvey soon developed in America a definite and in many respects original and alluring program. He proposed to establish the "Black Star Line" of steamships under Negro ownership and with Negro money, to trade between the United States the West Indies, and Africa. He proposed to establish a factories corporation which was going to build factories and manufacture goods for local consumption of Negroes and for export. He was going eventually to take possession of Africa and establish independent Negro governments there.

The statement of this program, with tremendous head-lines, wild eloquence and great insistence and repetition caught the attention of all America, white and black. When Mr. Garvey brought his cohorts to Madison Square Garden, clad in fancy costumes and with new songs and ceremonies, and when, ducking his dark-head at the audience, he yelled, "We are going to Africa to tell England, France, and Belgium to get out of there," America sat up, listened laughed, and said here at least is something new.

This was indeed a popular idea, but the execution of it was a difficult task. Mr. Garvey was a British subject. This language might be regarded as treasonable. But he held to the doctrine of in all matters, the Negro race first. And again:

Negroes especially West-Indians, flocked to his movement and poured money into it. About three years ago he had some 80,000 members in his organization, and perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 were paying regularly thirty five cents a month into his chest. These numbers grew in his imagination until he was claiming 4,500,000 followers, and speaking for "Four hundred million Negroes!" He did not, however, stop with dreams and promises. If he had been simply a calculating scoundrel, he would carefully have skirted the narrow line between promise and performance and avoided as long as possible the inevitable catastrophe. But he believed in his program and he had a childish ignorance of the stern facts of the world into whose face he was flying. Being an islander, and born in a little realm where half a day's journey takes one from ocean to ocean, the world always seemed small to him, and it was perhaps excusable for this black peasant of Jamaica to think of Africa as a similar, but slightly larger, island which could easily be taken possession of.

Dr. Ferris, in his admirable reply to Dr. Du Bois declared that Hon. Marcus Garvey had never been a peasant. He says further:

His first practical step toward this was to establish the Black Star Line and here he literally left his critics and opponents breathless by suddenly announcing in 1919 that the Frederick Douglass, a steamship, had been bought by his line, was on exhibition at a wharf in New York and was about to sail to the West Indies with freight and passengers. The announcement was electrical even for those who did not believe in Garvey. With a splendid, audacious faith, this poor black leader, with his stormin tongue, compelled a word of admiration from all. But the seeds of failure were in his very first efforts. This first boat, the Yarmouth (never renamed the Frederick Douglass probably because of financial difficulties) was built in the year Garvey was born and was an old sea-scarred hulk. He was cheated in buying it, and paid $140 000 for it—at least twice as much as the boat was worth. She made three trips to the West Indies in three years and then was docked for repairs, attached for debt, and finally, in December, 1921, sold at auction for $1625!

And still again:

The second boat that Garvey bought was a steam yacht originally built for a Standard Oil magnate. It, too, was old and of doubtful value, but Garvey paid $60,000 for it, and sent it down to do a small carrying trade between the West Indies Islands. The boat broke down and it cost $70,000 or $80,000 more to repair it than Garvey paid for it. Finally it was wrecked or seized in Cuba and the crew was transported to the United States at government expense.

The third boat was a Hudson River ferry-boat that Garvey bought for $35,000. With this he carried excursionists up and down the Hudson during one summer and used it as a vivid advertisement to collect more money. The boat, however, ran only that summer, and then had to be abandoned as beyond repair.

Finally, Garvey tried to buy of the United States Shipping Board the steamship Orion for $250 000. This boat was to be renamed the Phyllis Wheatley, and its sailings were advertised in Garvey's weekly paper for several months, and some passages were sold; but the boat never was delivered because sufficient payments were not made.

With all of this vitriolic criticism who can refrain from admiring the nerve and audacity of this able black leader. It reminds us of the Saviour's comment in reference to the woman. "She hath done what she could." It seems that in this case, Garvey had done what he could. His own people must pay for his mistakes. He blazed the way for some other leader to follow even though he should not be able to reach the goal himself. Even Dr. Du Bois admits that both white and black people were filled with admiration over his venture. Dr. Du Bois continues:

Thus the Black Star Line arose and disappeared, and with it went some $800 000 of the savings of West-Indians and a few American Negroes. With this enterprise the initial step and greatest test of Mr. Garvey's movement failed utterly. His factories corporation never really got started. In its place he has established a number of local grocery stores in Harlem and one or two shops, including a laundry and a printing press, which may or may not survive.

His African program was made impossible by his own pig-headedness. He proposed to make a start in Liberia with industrial enterprises. From this center he would penetrate all Africa and gradually subdue it. Instead of keeping this plan hidden and working cautiously and intelligently toward it he yelled and shouted and telegraphed it all over the world. Without consulting the Liberians, he apparently was ready to assume partial charge of their state. He appointed officials with high-sounding titles, and announced that the headquarters of his organization was to be removed to Liberia in January, 1922. Such announcements, together with his talk about conquest and "driving Europe out," aroused European governments to inquire about Garvey and his backing. Diplomatic representations were made to Liberia, asking it how far it intended to cooperate in this program. Liberia was naturally compelled to repudiate Garveyism, root and branch. The officials told Garvey that he or any one else was welcome to migrate to Liberia and develop industry within legal lines, but that they could recognize only one authority in Liberia and that was the authority of the Liberian Government, and that Liberia could not be the seat of any intrigue against her peaceful neighbors. They made it impossible for Garvey to establish any headquarters in Africa unless it was done by the consent of the very nations whom he was threatening to drive out of Africa!

This ended his African program and reduced him to the curious alternative of sending a delegate to the third assembly of the League of Nations to ask them to hand over as a gift to his organization a German colony in order that he might begin his work.

Dr. Du Bois tells of failure and yet the history of the American continent and similar ventures were failures at first. Others took up the struggle and a stable government was established. Above all of this, we note the mistakes, but it should not be forgotten that Dr. Du Bois is on record with the statement that with the proper management and with discreet generalship Marcus Garvey's plans are feasible. But enough for this week. We shall deal further with this most interesting subject in our next issue.

"GARVEYISM."

The caustic denunciation of the Hon. Marcus Garvey and Garveyism as voiced by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and his coterie of followers seems to be bearing fruit, if we are to judge by the editorial utterances of that ably edited paper, The Philadelphia Pa. Ledger, which newspaper has always taken a friendly interest in the colored people and all that relates to their welfare. Under the caption of "Garveyism," in its issue of the 5th inst., it reaches the following conclusion:

Garveyism is the counterpart, among the Negro populations of America, what the Ku Klux Klan is among the white people. It is in its essence an appeal to prejudice and passion and if unchecked will bear fruit in the horrors of racial conflict. The formal protest, therefore, addressed to the Attorney General by a representative group of the leading educators, business men and publicists of the Negro race will be read everywhere with approval and sympathy by order-loving and humane people of whatever color.

It may be that the final conclusion of our able contemporary is correct, but to compare the Garvey movement to that of the Ku Klux Klan is an absurdity. The Ku Klux Klan believes in white supremacy or professes so to believe. The Garveyites do not believe in black supremacy. They advocate the leaving to the white man his own lands, so to speak, and advocate the transplanting of the black people of the world to their own land, which they specify as being Africa.

The Ku Klux Klan believes in concealment of membership. The Garveyites willingly display their membership and in all of their parades wear covering on every part of the body, but their faces, which faces, the Ku Klux Klan organization conceals. The Ku Klux Klan believes in regulating the conduct of others not members of the organization. The Garveyites have no such tenets in any part of their ceremony. The Ku Klux Klan believes in night-riding, in whipping men and women and in torturing other classes of people. They believe in a super-government and they take the law into their own hands.

During the entire career of this remarkable black leader, Marcus Garvey but one case of assassination has taken place and he and his followers have disavowed responsibility for the action of the notorious characters that committed it. It may be well to remark too that the victim was a Negro and not a white man. Just how this act would arouse the passions of the whites is a mystery. To speak plainly, Marcus Garvey has apparently pandered to the Negro hating elements of the South-land by advocating the removal of the Negroes from this country.

He is accordingly safe from injury at their hands. The lynchers, the hoodlum classes of the Southland regard him as a Negro Moses, who would remove from competition with them this working, industrious Negro, who has been the ever potent force in settling the industrial problems of the South-land. Disagree with the Hon. Marcus Garvey as much as you please, but do not be unjust to the extent of comparing him and his organization with one of the scourges of this Western world to-day, which scourge is equal in severity to pestilence and famine. The Public Ledger says:

The significance of this protest lies in its origin and in its manifestation of a growing realization among intelligent and educated Negroes that their liberation from injustice and oppression can only be brought about by a more perfect understanding between the white and colored races and by a co-operation in which the latter must take an equal part.

We agree with and emphasize the conclusion reached. It continues:

Great as are the evils growing out of the spirit inculcated by Garvey and his "Universal Negro Improvement Association," a spirit of hatred, distrust, violence and revenge, and important as it is to protect the ignorant and gullible from robbery and cruel exploitation, the graver injury that is being done by the Garveyites is the false impression their activities create in the minds of the white people as to the real aims and purposes of those Negroes who are striving earnestly and sanely for the advancement of their race, the elimination of prejudice and unfair discrimination in industry and in civil life.

This may be true. It concludes as follows:

While the Negro needs to be protected from the enemies to progress in his own race, the community at large in a greater degree needs to be safeguarded against an evil propaganda sowing the seeds of bitter antagonism and strife. This is why the letter to the Department of Justice should receive thoughtful consideration and preventive action in the interests of order and racial harmony.

If the Department of Justice at Washington cannot stop the Ku Klux Klan, an organization which is undermining the foundations of this Government, by what scheme of reasoning can it stop the propaganda of Marcus Garvey and his followers? The Congress has an opportunity to pass and enforce the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Let it do it. Collier's Weekly now advocates Federal legislation upon this subject. As for the Garvey movement, those of us, who are convinced that argument will do no good so far as the Garveyites are concerned, should repeat the words of the Scriptures with a slight modification "Let Garvey alone; he is joined to his idols."

This effort to play foster father to these many revolutionary organizations should be met with reason and argument without invoking the drastic operation of the law, when the Constitution of the United States is against such action. We are drifting slowly but surely to that imperialistic autocratic state, which has practically wrecked Europe. In summing this case up, we would advise our contemporary that there are two classes of colored people in this country. One class, not represented by the Garvey movement is loyal to the United States Government and the white and the colored folks composing the same. They do not regard exclusive race appeals, but accept the fact that they have been thrown into the "melting pot" of this

Continued to next page.

Race Problem – 1923
United States.

SAYS BEST PLACE FOR NEGRO IS THE SOUTH

INDIANAPOLIS IND NEWS
MARCH 2, 1923

Head of Lincoln Institute Sees Dangers to Race in North.

MORE EDUCATION NEEDED

"With rare exception, the negro goes north from Kentucky to his own damage," the Rev. A. Eugene Thomson, D. D., principal of the Lincoln Institute of Kentucky and a member of the board of trustees of Berea College, of Kentucky, said when in Indianapolis Thursday. Dr. Thomson was here to explain the purposes of the institution of which he is the head. He said that it was in need of money and would welcome any gift, although he made it clear he was not soliciting money.

He said that the place of the negro is south of the Ohio river and that if an opportunity for education is given him, he is more likely to be efficient, successful and contented, with the result that he will not leave the place where he belongs. To prove his contention that the negro should not go north, Dr. Thomson quoted statistics compiled by the municipal authorities of Cincinnati, which showed that from the 5 per cent. of the population of that city, comprising the negroes, come half the inmates of the county tuberculosis institution, large proportions of the dependent and delinquent children, 48 per cent. of the criminal police cases and 35 per cent. of the immoral women. These figures are about the same in Indianapolis and Chicago, he said.

Gravitates to the City.

The reason that the negro is worse off in the north, Dr. Thompson said, is that he naturally gravitates to the city, where he finds nothing to stimulate his ambition, and settles down in some subservient position. He said that an investigation conducted in Chicago showed that not one in 100 negroes was engaged in an independent occupation, even counting shoe-shining stands.

Dr. Thomson said that Lincoln Institute was organized when the Kentucky legislature enacted a law requiring separation of the races. At that time, he said, not one well-equipped colored school was to be found in the state of Kentucky. As a result of this condition, he said, enough negroes came north from Kentucky in the decade beginning 1900 to supply the entire gain in colored population in Indiana, Illinois and Ohio, and 7,000 in addition. The following decade, ending 1920, 2,000 more negores came.

The board of trustees of Brea College decided Kentucky needed a good colored school and $400,000 was raised for the work. Nearly 450 acres of land was bought twenty-two miles from Louisville and the school erected at a cost of approximately $300,000. It then was necessary to borrow $100,000, as part of the original $400,000 was set aside as an endowment fund.

Help From Carnegie.

In the spring of 1921, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, headed by Dr. J. R. Yale, now of Yale University, investigated the school and as a result, gave $20,000 on condition that a like amount be raised before January 1, 1923, Dr. Thomson said. This was done.

Now that the debt of the college has been met, the immediate problem of the institution is the current annual expense of $15,000, he said. The endowment provides for the salaries. The expenditure at the school, however, averages $12,000. **Last year, much of the expense was paid by the persons in Louisville, Ohio, Chicago and vicinity. Citizens of Indiana contributed $2, according to Dr. Thomson.**

ARE THE COLORED PEOPLE CONTENTED?

Dr. Robert Moton, head of the famous Tuskegee Institute, according to press reports, is quoted as having said that he is satisfied with general conditions pertaining to the race, and that he has more confidence in the white man's fairness to his people than ever before; that the colored people are contented to be segregated, disfranchised and otherwise ill-treated. We trust that the good doctor will refute these reports.

The Advocate
Portland, Ore.
4-12-23

We clip the above excerpt from our esteemed contemporary, the Advocate, Portland, Oregon, and we are pleased to say that our contemporary is mistaken as to the attitude of Major Moton.

We have just returned from Tuskegee, where we were one of four business men who went to Tuskegee for the specific purpose of dicussing the race problem as it appears in the light of every day conditions. We had, indeed, a satisfactory talk with the great leader, and he expressed the deepest concern about our people. In fact, we understood from his conversation that he was everything but contented; that recent occurrences throughout the country, coupled with the attitude of the whites toward the hospital for maimed colored soldiers at Tuskegee, were greatly disturbing him and that his mind was full of unrest and discontentment, and that he was fearful of the final results, if our white neighbors could not be awakened to the necessity of moving many of the industrial and economic handicaps out of our way, with a view of developing out of us good and useful citizens.

The Major's mind is far from contentment, and he is deeply concerned and much grieved over the relative relations of the races, as expressed in many things in national life. Without prejudice to any section of the country, or raising a sectional issue, the Major nationally regrets many things that are happening to retard our progress and unsettle the mind of his race.

So our neighbor is entirely mistaken. The negro is not contented, neither is Major Moton.

THE SOUTH MUST PROTECT THE NEGRO IN EVERY WAY.

Atlanta Georgia
The Constitution
4-14-23

Mr. Peter O. Knight of Tampa, Fla., one of the foremost attorneys not only of Florida, but indeed of the country, in the course of a personal letter to the editor of the Manufacturers Record, said:

"I made a talk to the Credit Men's Association of Tampa at their annual banquet. As usual I spoke extemporaneously and the reporter had to take down what I said as best he could. But I touched upon a subject that I should be glad if you would take up and arouse the South about. More and more since I have been going North recently have I noticed the difference between the Colored population in the North and the Colored population here. The brightest, the healthiest, and the more intelligent are constantly flocking North and leaving the sickly, and the ignorant and very black ones here. Manufacturers everywhere are having their agents in the South doing all that they can to take the Colored laborer North, and they are going North by the thousands, and there will be a terrible awakening in the South in four or five years from now unless something is done to check it, if we are going to keep the darky here we shall have to see that he is properly housed and properly clothed, that he has better conditions and better wages and that he will not better himself by going away.

"This in my opinion is the subject that demands more attention at the hands of the Southern people today than anything else, and I know of no means whereby this subject could be brought to the attention of the Southern people more effectively than through the columns of the Manufacturers Record. You certainly would perform a distinct and valuable service for the South if you took this up vigorously."

The foregoing letter justifies the publication of a letter written more than a month ago by the editor of this paper to Mr. Milton H. Fies, vice-president of the DeBardeleben Coal Company, of Birmingham. Mr. Fies had made an admirable address on the duty of the South to the Negro and to itself. Mr. Frank H. Crockard, president of the Woodward Iron Company, of Birmingham, sent a copy of that address with his hearty commendation to the manufacturers Record and the editor wrote Mr. Fies as follows:

"Through the kindness of Mr. Crockard I am just in receipt of a pamphlet copy of your address before the Alabama Mining Institute entitled 'Industrial Alabama and the Negro.' I would like to broaden that heading and call it 'The South and the Negro,' for the subject you have discussed relates not merely to Alabama but to the whole South.

"I am very glad that you have discussed this subject so clearly and forcibly, for the South needs to study the Negro problem from every angle. I am in hearty sympathy with the idea that it is incumbent upon the white people of the South to protect the Negro in every legal right. We have as a people somewhat fallen short of our responsibility in that respect.

"I have made a number of addresses in times past in which I have pointed out the harmony that prevailed between the Negroes and the whites prior to the Civil War, and gave unstinted praise to the faithfulness of the Negroes who during the Civil War protected the women left at home and carried on the farming operations which made possible the maintenance of the war for four years. I have pointed to the fact that not until the 'carpet baggers' as we formerly called them—Bolshevists we would call them today—came into the South after the Civil War and stirred up hatred on the part of Negroes against the white people, did we have the conditions which have prevailed since.

"From 1865 to 1876, Bolshevists—worse even, I think, than the Bolshevist of Russia, certainly matching them in criminality of effect—largely dominated the Negroes, and out of that came the race hatreds which developed, and the passions engendered by the teachings of those criminal white people.

"On the other hand, the better class of whites, as a whole, did not set themselves to the task of protecting the Negroes as fully as might have been done. Many years ago, probably thirty or more, I heard J. L.

M. Curry, of Alabama, one of the great religious leaders of the South in those days, make a very thoughtful address before a religious gathering of Southern people in which he appealed to them to concentrate their efforts upon the betterment of the conditions under which the Negroes lived, and upon the education of the Negroes. The Negroes, said he, are in the South; they must be lifted up by the white people of the South, or they will drag the white people down to their own level. They will either advance through the leadership of the whites, or they will largely destroy white civilization.

"I have never forgotten the tremendous, soul-stirring appeal which Mr. Curry made and, as you perhaps know, some of the religious denominations of the South have been carrying on an intelligent and aggressive campaign of co-operation with the religious work of the Negroes. But it has not been as broad as it might have been.

"The faithfulness of the Negroes during the civil war and the way in which they protected the white women and children of the South is an everlasting proof of the inherent qualities which under right leadership can be made to save the Negro race from the tendencies developed by the 'carpet baggers,' or the Bolshevists, of reconstruction days.

"The work of Negro uplifting for the benefit of the South, as well as of the race, must not be left, however, merely to the religious influences that are at work. You have rightly pointed out the fact that every employer of Negro labor must see that his labor is protected in every legal right; that the Negroes in his employ have the advantages of decent and comfortable homes, for otherwise there can be no moral uplifting of the race.

"I constantly expressed my gratification at the fact that in Baltimore the Negroes are gradually moving out of the alleys into better homes, once occupied by whites. It is true that this has greatly depreciated the value of the property, for some entire sections have been taken possession of by the Negroes. It was once estimated that the depreciation in the value of property throughout the South owned by whites due to the incoming of Negroes into sections would equal the total value of property accumulated by the Negroes. Nevertheless, it is well to encourage the Negroes to come out of the alleys and to live in better homes on better streets. You cannot possibly secure the best results morally and physically of any people who are forced to live huddled together in small huts or buildings unfit for human habitation. Environment largely helps to shape the life of any race.

"If we looked at this question from no higher point of view than that of the welfare of the white race, and had no sense of responsibility for the uplifting of a lower race, it would still be incumbent upon the white people of the South to do their utmost for the betterment of the Negro race. Many Negroes are leaving the South; many more will leave it, and there is a certain advantage in this in that it gives to the North and Northwest the opportunity of studying the race question at close range, and this thus becomes national and no longer sectional.

"I am not greatly disturbed by the migration of a considerable number of Negroes from the South, but I regard it as a sectional handicap to industrial and agricultural development if the number should greatly increase over what we have already seen.

"The white people of the South depend to a very large extent upon the Negroes as cooks, as housemaids, as nurses for their children. Is it conceivable that if the Negroes are not properly trained in morality, properly educated, and every religious influence thrown around them, that the cooks and the housemaids and the nurses can be otherwise than a curse to the white families of the South, instead of an advantage? If we would have our kitchen and our houses clean they must be kept clean by the servants, who can never be trained to do good work unless they are given the opportunities of cleanliness in their own homes.

"If we would have the white children of the South, from babyhood up to youth, properly trained we must see that the nurses, so largely composed of Negroes, are properly trained and fitted for this tremendous responsibility in helping to shape the lives of the millions of children committed to their care as nurses.

"Our future civilization will very largely depend upon how the white people of the South co-operate for the betterment of the Negro population.

"The white man who mistreats or cheats a Negro deserves the severest condemnation of every decent man and woman, for the responsibility that rests upon a superior race to protect and safeguard an inferior race is of such a character that he who violates that responsibility by that very act shrivels his own soul and makes himself a curse rather than a blessing.

"Until the white men and women of the South unitedly work for the safeguarding of every right of the Negro, for the betterment of the moral conditions under which many Negroes are living. For the betterment of their housing, and for giving to them the advantages which make possible a higher civilization, the South will fail to do its duty to itself and to the Negroes.

"Some time ago a cook who has been in my family for thirty years spoke of some of her friends and said that their employers expected them to be clean and yet gave them no facilities for cleanliness. They work, said she, around a hot stove, cooking, and then their folks demand that they keep clean, and yet provide no bathroom facilities. How true this is. The harder, and the hotter, and the dirtier the work done by men and women, the more thoroughly do they need bath rooms if cleanliness is to be maintained; and no one wants one around a kitchen an unclean cook.

"These are some of the thoughts which I have often expressed in the past, and which have been brought to my mind again by reading your interesting address. I congratulate you upon your having expressed the matter so very clearly and forcibly. I trust the circulation in pamphlet form of your address may do great good."

—From the Manufacturers' Record.

Race Problem - 1923
United States

THE NEGRO FACES AMERICA

Washington Tribune

It is an outstanding fact that the Negro really faces America. The question naturally arises, How? 1-20-23

The complications arising from two hundred years of slavery and the resulting complications of freedom with all of its hatreds, proscriptions, ostracisms, disfranchisement and discriminations have had the opposite effect of what should be expected. The Negro faces America, with many traitors within his own ranks.

In Politics: Washington D.C.

There is not a single Negro politician of note that is willing to serve the race. His or her whole object is personal gain—personal aggrandizement—and he is a traitor to the very race he purports to serve; The first "job" offered him he falls for it and becomes an "Uncle Tom" and a rubber stamp for "superior" officeholder over him, selling out the race for a "mess of pottage."

Where there are sufficient numbers to put over a candidate for office, the "knowing" (?) Negro politicians "siggests" that it would not be wise "at this time." "Let's pull together for our white friend ———, and we will put up 'our' man next time." Hoping that if a Negro must be "put up" *he* will be the man—next time. Would a Greek put up a Turk to represent him, or an Irishman suggest an Englishman to run his office, or a Frenchman suggest a German to run in the district where he had the balance of power? It is just as ridiculous for the Negro politician to suggest to his fellow men to "support our white friends."

We are not going to make any headway in politics until we support ourselves. We have no friends when it comes to politics. Will it take fifty more years for the Negro to realize that? or is he wise enough to draw a lesson from performances, of the Republicans, notably their recent attitude toward the Dyer Bill? The Negro truly faces America in politics, with ranks broken and morale low.

In Education:

Along educational lines the Negro is in a precarius condition.

The literacy credited by the Government Census does not mean much. Reading and writing, at any rate the little needed to be classed as "literate" within themselves, do not mean very much. The simple fact is, the masses of the race are ignorant, educationally speaking.

It is thru education that we hope to build up loyalty. The schools are in the hands of the white people. All public schools are in their hands and the discriminatory allotments for educational purposes in the southern states are a disgrace to a Christian nation. The private schools, too, are all practically in the hands of white people or controlled by them. Therefore, we have no educational policy applicable and necessary to the race. So long as we have white presidents of our universities and colleges and white instructors in them merely because they are white and not because of superior qualifications, telling the world that we are

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not capable of furnishing men for our own schools. It is truly a reflection on a Negro school to say that there is not a Negro in the whole United States capable of being president of the school from which he graduates, we therefore, have to select some cheap white man to be president of our best schools. No other kind would accept the presidency. With all of the race prejudice among white people of this country, we cannot have the proper respect for a cheap white man as president of a Negro school. Therefore, the Negro faces America educationally with his greatest weapon in the hands of his enemies.

Industrially: We are bound to work for the white man. We are not prepared to employ ourselves. We are debarred from the unions and must accept any employment under the poorest conditions for work. Industrially we are facing America with a economic status that is woefully in need of being built up.

In Business: We have just scratched the surface in business. With 74 banks and 60 insurance companies we are short in all other lines. We have not grasped the idea of supporting our own. Will a Jew walk by his own people to trade with a Gentile? Never! We must learn that racial clannishness for racial perpetuation and the proper support of our business enterprises is both justifiable and needed. We need more help in establishing business. There must be some sources from which to obtain capital for business purposes. We are facing America with our business enterprises sadly in need of Negro support.

In Organizations: There are many organizations among us but they are all out of harmony. There is no common cause between them. We must have racial leadership. We cannot afford to be "represented" by organizations that have white people as officers and dominating the policy of that organization. Do the Germans in this country have Frenchmen for the officers of their organizations? Do the Catholics have Baptists for the officers of their organizations? Do the Irish have Englishmen as heads of the Armenian organizations in America? Then why in God's name should we have American prejudiced, scheming and racedefaming white men at the head of our racial organizations? We are going to join racial organizations with white officers when we find white racial organizations in America with Negroes at the head of them. Not until then.

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This brings us to the clarion call issued by Prof. Kelly Miller in THE TRIBUNE of January 6, He said:

"The Negro alone is separated from the rest of the nation by the whole diameter of social differences which entails the regulation of all of the essential intimacies of life. . . . Special and specific racial interests require as thotful and as wise deliberation as the Congress gives to the affairs of the nations. And yet today we have no adequate or competent body to give our issues comprehensive and statesmanlike consideration. At present the various interests and activities at work in the field are absorbed in their own objectives and are wholly without efficient co-ordination or union of purpose. The waste and friction are inexcusable.

"The demand for a nation-wide conference is imperative."

May we draw up our "agenda" and set the time and place for a national conference and agree on a program for the race in America and then eliminate every self-appointed, self-constituted and self-guided leader and all those who have proven traitors to the race. We shall also eliminate the hand picked leaders forced upon us by our "white friends." Those who are so entangled that they cannot subscribe to the program agreed upon at this national conference will automatically eliminate themselves. This must be a conference of Negroes, by Negroes and for Negroes.

May we suggest a few subjects for consideration?

1. Disfranchisement and the full use of the ballot in the states open to the Negro.
2. Selection of candidates in every district where we have twenty-five per cent or more of the voting strength.
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4. Taxation without representation.
5. Discrimination and injustice in the courts.
6. A survey of farming conditions and the possibilities of Federal Farm Loans. A better tenant system.
7. A survey of living conditions in the rural sections.
8. Co-operation of business men. The establishing of manufacturing enterprises.
9. Encouragement of racial consciousness and the teaching of racial history.
10. The allotting of given subjects to given organizations with the view of preventing overlapping. And a central clear-

ing house located in the Nation's Capital for all racial organizations.

NEGRO IN THE SOUTH ALWAYS ON VERGE OF MALTREATMENT

Writer for The World Tells of Incidents of His Trip Through Georgia With Dr. Moton.

POLICEMAN RESENTED HIS EASTERN ENGLISH.

N. Y. C. WORLD
JANUARY 21, 1923

Arrested and Persecuted on the Slightest Provocation—Discuss the "Negro Problem."

By Lester A. Walton.

In discussion of race relations and their attending complexities as they exist in the United States between Negro and Caucasian, our speakers and writers are evincing a disinclination to employ the hackneyed and indigenous phrase, Negro problem. More and more it is being looked upon as a misnomer.

On four occasions during Dr. R. R. Moton's good will tour through Georgia, prominent white speakers, while not guilty of pointedly denouncing the use of this familiar expression, showed themselves in an abnegatory frame of mind by professing reluctance in referring to the issues involved as the Negro problem, contending it a misapplication.

The primary reason for this tendency to throw the term into discard doubtless is in consequence of conclusions that the Negro is not the only contributory cause to racial unrest; that not infrequently strained relations are unquestionably precipitated and aggravated by others. Once upon a time the burden for the prevalence of racial ills and eruptions was laid at the door of the Negro; but the thought is beginning to dawn on those searching for the truth that many of the disagreeable happenings in which the Negro prominently figures are not always of his own making.

Dictionary Definition.

My dictionary defines the word problem as "a question proposed for solution; a matter put forward for examination or proof." But the habitual race agitator makes no effort to solve nor is anything concrete put forward for examination or proof.

The political demagogue, for instance, personally profits by arraying the poor whites against the blacks and wants no adjustment of race relations; for he rides into power on the wave of race hatred and bigotry. He is more concerned over making problems than in solving them. The greater the agitation the broader his smile.

Growing out of this racial hysteria are conspicuous resultant evils, as contempt for and breaking down of the law, lynching, peonage, disfranchisement and Jim Crowism. Of the hundred and one treacherous undercurrents helping make the Negro's daily existence hazardous and unbearable we hear little, if anything.

While travelling in the South during the spring of last year it was vividly brought to my attention that in some sections it is not necessary for a Negro to commit an unlawful act to get into trouble or unexpectedly find himself in the clutches of the law. Sins of omission offend the provincial mind as easily as sins of commission. What keeps a Negro in constant trepidation is that he never knows when he unconsciously is apt to give offense and be put behind the bars, in the hospital or in the morgue.

Tale of a Telegram.

I was in a Southern city of comparatively large population one evening and desirous of sending a telegram. Where I roomed the suggestion was made that I take a walk to the main office of the telegraph company, thereby enabling me to see the town by night.

To make sure I was wending my way in the proper direction I accosted a six-foot police officer, saying: "Pardon me, will you please tell me how far I am from the — Building?" Instead of promptly replying he looked daggers at me. I unflinchingly met his unfriendly gaze, all the while wondering what had incurred his displeasure. After remaining mute what seemed to me eons of time, the blue-coated sphinx blurted out gruffly: "Three blocks down!" I made a nasty exit with a loud "thanks."

Returning to my stopping place, I was curious to learn what had provoked the policeman's hostility toward me, especialy when I had been courteous in my query. I repeated what had transpired to friends. They laughed aloud. "He did not like the way you talked; your English was too Eastern," I was told. "But I was talking natural!" I exclaimed. My friends gave me to understand that, natural or unnatural, the cop did not fancy my way of talking. Wonderment was expressed that I had not been given a good clubbing. It has often occurred to me how fortunate it was that I did not hail from Boston.

On another occasion I was guest of a well-to-do Negro who owned an automobile of expensive make. We had motored some fifty miles and were returning homeward when we passed a white man driving a frisky colt. The buggy was of ancient vintage. Seeing the car, the animal became frightened and unruly. We were surprised when the driver shook his fist at us and called us names. He appeared more interested in invoking his wrath than in managing his horse.

Colt Owner's Charges.

Our big surprise was handed us when we drove into the next town and my friend was told by the Sheriff he was under arrest on charges preferred by the owner of the obstreperous colt. The complaint had been made over the telephone. Ananias could not have been more prolific in trumping up charges. In court the owner of the car was depicted as a ruthless, reckless, impudent Negro who thought he owned the entire road, who was callous as to the safety of others and had deliberately run into the complainant's buggy. These misrepresentations cost my host in fines and attorney's fees over $50.

One afternoon I was a member of an automobile party in another Southern town. We were on our way to a barbecue. Without warning, one of the cars was stopped and white men brusquely demanded to know if a certain female occupant was white. She answered in the negative. Not until her sister, who was of darker complexion but bore a striking resemblance, registered emphatic denial was the incredulity of the investigators appeased. Then they drove off. Two blocks away we spied a white woman of apparent wealth and social position driving a car and a colored maid comfortably ensconced on a rear seat.

While eating an appetizing Southern breakfast on a Sunday morning an S O S reached me to aid in extricating from the meshes of the law two members of a Negro theatrical company sent from New York to tour the South. One of the Thespians was languishing in a suburban jail some miles away. The other had succeeded in securing temporary release by putting up as bail his gold watch and chain plus some cash.

The night previously, after the show, the defendants had escorted two female acquaintances to their respective homes in the suburbs. While standing on the corner at 1 o'clock, waiting for a car bound for the city, a police officer inquired as to their destination. Having politely answered the question, they were next asked where they lived. Unwittingly they told him New York.

"Oh, you're New York niggers; you'd better come 'long with me," quoth the police officer, who arrested them for loitering.

$100 Is Required.

Sunday morning the police magistrate, worshipping in a church a block from the jail, was called out and importuned to arrange matters so the defendants might leave town with the company. The impression he sought to give was the case was too serious to permit his interference. After we had indulged in oceans of obsequious talk, another official finally agreed to release the prisoners if $100 was left to pay their fines by default the next morning. The defendants were not fined $50 each, but the amount returned them after the fines and charges incident to trial were deducted was small.

In another town one morning, about 11 o'clock, a woman member of a Negro show was going to the theatre for her mail. She was approached by two men whose attitude was one of familiarity. She resented what she regarded as an insult in forceful words. They happened to be detectives and arrested her for disorderly conduct. Only prompt action by the theatre managers made it possible for her to work at the matinee performance.

Riding in an automobile with two acquaintances one day in the business district of a thriving Southern city we were caught in the traffic congestion and held with other cars going in our direction. When the traffic policemen gave orders to start, the driver of our car promptly obeyed. At the intersection our car was brought to an abrupt halt to avoid a collision. Although we had the right of way, a white driver coming from another direction deemed it his prerogative to cross us because we were Negroes. This attitude renders it dangerous and difficult for Negroes to drive automobiles where traffic regulations are a legal vacuity. Only Negro chauffeurs working for white people can, with complacency, adhere to the law without fear of losing life or limb.

Needn't Break L[aw]

The foregoing incidents were only a few of the many coming within the scope of my personal observation. Nevertheless, I regard them sufficiently corroborative to bear out my assertions that in some sections of the South it is not necessary for a Negro to break the laws to suddenly find himself in durance vile or the subject of racial controversy.

It should be borne in mind that social equality, Negro domination and other imaginary bugaboos did not enter into any of the happenings I have related.

Telegraphic reports of the recent race riots at Rosewood, Fla., told of two innocent Negro women shot down and the burning of all the houses and churches in the Negro section. This record for barbarism and outlawry speaks for itself.

I have referred advisedly to "some sections of the South" where intolerable conditions are prompting Negroes to leave in large numbers. I may also refer to "some sections of the North" where turbulent conditions arise and the Negro is not the aggressor. The East St. Louis, Washington, D. C., and Chicago riots are cases in point. As in Tulsa, lawless whites invaded the Negro section. You never hear of Negroes burning homes and churches in a white section.

When a law-abiding citizen is not a charge on the community, but is industrious, provides a good living and a comfortable home for his family and educates his children, where lurks the problem?

The problem only raises its sinister head when organized effort is made to arrest his natural progress and take from him his inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution, which is done by enactment of obnoxious laws, mass bullying and the dissemination of insidious propaganda to pervert his and the public's psychology, as to real conditions.

Hypothetical Case.

Many of our so-called race problems are crystallized and projected by the confirmed theorist whose fallacious preconceptions lead him to believe he is a self-appointed and duly annointed overlord vested with the sovereign right to dominate the very life, liberty and actions of others.

Here is a hypothetical case that ought not tax the gray matter of even a child in the elementary grades in arriving at a prompt and correct answer:

If our great dry goods merchants in the appraisal of cloth adopted a set policy of fixing values and prices according to color, ignoring texture and quality, and forcing an artificial standard of values, based on the assumption that all white goods are superior to all colored goods (white cotton even costing more than black silk) would there soon evolve a problem?

This is another: How soon would chaotic conditions prevail on the turf if the pedigree and speed of a horse were judged, and bets made based fundamentally on color?

Race Problem—1923
United States.

Negroes Want Social Equality

Jew says "Birth of a Nation" Should be Excluded

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is having its hands full just at present. The action of President Lowell of Harvard in excluding negroes from the dormitories of that institution has stirred the Black and Tans to the very depths of their hearts. Rosco Conklin Bruce, gentleman of color, whose father was once in the Senate from Mississippi, has written the president a letter that from a literary standpoint is a gem in which he takes that gentleman to task for his action. Bruce is indeed one of the most pitable things in our land, a man, the bulk of whose blood is white, whose education has been along lines of equality, and yet his negro blood denies him access to the best white society. The writer can think of no more pathetic situation that a man could be placed in; therefore no emotion other than pity was aroused in us by his letter. Oh, when will the crime of race pollution cease?

Of course, the New York World, the greatest advocate of amalgamation, has joined in the clamor against the Harvard recognition of a bar raised by racial difference. The World can be depended upon to stand against the White Race at any and all times. Moorfield Storey, another renegade white man who makes a business of stirring up race strife, and who would, if he could get the backing again, enact the civil rights bill of Thad Stevens and place "Black heels upon White necks," has taken his pen in hand considerable, in every paper that will publish his articles to tell Harvard what an awful thing it is, that they should recognize any difference between Black and White. But "Blood is still thicker than Water."

The N. A. A. C. P. is also much helped up by the opinion of a Jewish lawyer that the "Birth of the Nation" should be excluded from the movie stage on account of the fact that it is a breeder of racial strife. The association protested play with the New York motion picture commission. Two of the commissioners, Mr. George Cobb, chairman, and Mrs. E. T. Hosmer, voted to dismiss the motion but one Joseph Levenson, filed a minority report in favor of the motion. It is a strong plea for racial equality. He thinks the picture provokes racial hatred and refers to the present-day Klan and other evidences of a growing sentiment for White Supremacy, which the Semetic gentleman believes are much encouraged by the "Birth of the Nation."

Moorfield Storey is also endeavoring to save the lives of the leaders in the Helena, Ark., race war, from the scaffold. The commutation of the sentence of many of the Houston rioters is another t[r]iumph for the N. A. A. C. P. and is so listed by it. The dark side, as seen by the organization, lies in the fact that Congress failed to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill and the further fact that the organization is falling off in numbers.

On account of this falling off of members, the N. A. A. C. P. is to have a drive, beginning April 1, and for the information of our readers, we reproduce the official call. You will notice its uncompromising call for equality. It is in line with the pronouncement of W. E. B. Dubois, the association's chief colored ramrod: "Of course I want Social Equality. Of course I want to go to the Theater, dine and, if I will, dance."

The Official announcement of the drive is given below:

"The Annual Membership Drive of the N. A. A. C. P. begins April 1.

"The object of the drive is:

"1. To increase our branches to 500.

"2. To revive a majority of dormant branches which now number nearly 100.

"3. To increase the number of branches with over 500 members so that they may include each city of considerable size, especially in the North. These dropped deplorably last year.

"4. To increase our branches of over 1,000 members, until they shall include every major city in the North and a number of points in the South. These dropped to four last year.

"5. To obtain a general increase of at least 50 per cent in the membership of the association.

"The N. A. A. C. P. proposes:

"1. To show that colored people are not quitters—that we have just begun to fight.

"2. To gain power to use in 1924 for fuller freedom.

"3. To aid in continued fight on lynching, segregation, Jim-Crowism, disfranchisement and peonage.

"4. To stand always at forever at the Gate of Freedom—on guard, full-panoplied, uncompromising, unafraid.

"We ask the help of all Americans, and especially those of Negro blood:

"1. Because this is their organization, the most democratic in America, knowing no color line, no class line, no race line, and no sex line.

"2. Because they must realize that hostile forces now being closely organized have got to be met by better, bigger, and more powerful organization on our part."

—American Citizen.

From the above, the American Forum readers will readily understand, the importance of the Color Line. Unless it is marked in an indelible line, so plain, that no mistake can possibly be made, the time will come, when it will be red—red as human blood—for White Americans will never for an instant, tolerate the slightest semblance of social equality with the African—or his pie-bald, degenerate successors—the mule-nigger. It is just as well, this question be settled now, for by the Eternal God, who rules the heavens, and the earth, the white race will have to be **first put out of business,** before the black and tan race will ever reach the goal, at which it aims.

I began this fight —alone —over a quarter of a century ago, and I intend to remain on the job, until this race equality question is settled, and settled for keeps. The North—with its hordes of mixed-bloods, will feel the pressure, before the South feels it, and will have to defend their homes, against the combined forces of these miserable, degenerates. If he's not **white** he's a **mulatto.**

There flannel-mouthed coons can talk mighty big "up North", where white folk address them as "Mister"—but the moment they cross the Mason and Dixon line, they change their tune.

Nothing on earth, appeals to the man who has one drop of African blood in his veins, like the magic word of "Social Equality," with the white man. It is his thoughts by day, and his dreams by night, and failing in this ambition, has strewn the Southland with wrecked homes—and outraged woman and young girls. None are safe.

But the day of reckoning draws nearer—for the white man's patience has fled. From now on, it will be action.

The negroes should realize this—for a few more steps brings them to the Dead-Line and when they go, their white Daddies will go with 'em—for they are well known.

Says Black Races Will Dominate the World As Nordics Lose Power

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
APRIL 8, 1923

By RUFUS LEWIS PERRY.

I HAVE read with interest the article in The Eagle, by Frederick Boyd Stevenson, "What a Decrease in the Birth Rate of Nordic Race in the United States Means to the Future of America," and the uneasy sensation entertained by him which would seem proportionate to the danger of his prophesy. I am not ignorant of this just apprehension and question whether the advance made by the Hamitic and Shemitic branch of the human family can be checked. But the danger has not as yet reached the stage where the sons of Japheth accept, as applying to them, the handwriting, big with gigantic destinies, that was translated to Belshazzar, the last King of Babylon.



Rufus L. Perry.

The sons of Japheth, through whom the Nordic race springs, is one-third in numerical strength to that of the combined strength of Ham and Shem through whom the colored races spring. In the beginning, the Hamitic branch of the human family led the van of civilization, and did so lead until, having become drunk with power, forgetting the transient nature of life and the checkered history of nations and races who while ruling are overruled, it became the easy prey of Cambyses, who captured Egypt in 525 B.C. and reduced the country to Persian domination, from which time Egypt began in earnest to get white and even to this day the task is unfinished.

In tracing the development and progress of this dark problem through Ham, whose descendants spread themselves over Africa, one is persuaded that any race is capable of becoming dominant in the world through the development of intrinsic qualities, and that it is illusive in the light of history to consider any race inferior.

The ancient Egyptians, the Ethiopians on the south of them and the Libyans on the west, were all descendants of Ham, and while Shem and his descendants were spreading over Asia and Japheth and his descendants over Europe, groping in ignorance, Ham was exploring the untrodden field of art, literature, science, navigation, architecture and plastic art.

Ethiopians as Kings.

Herodotus tells us that the priests of Egypt read to him from a book the names of 330 Kings of Egypt and one Queen, and among them were 18 Ethiopians. The name of the Queen was Nitocris.—Herod. II. 100. By the term "Ethiopian" in this passage, Herodotus does not mean that the other kings were not of the Hamitic race, but simply Hamites of Ethiopia, in contradistinction to Hamites of Egypt. Those Hamites of Ethiopia taught art, science and theology to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians taught the Eastern nations and the Greeks and Romans. Even Moses, in writing the Pentateuch, employed the knowledge of sacred things and human rights which he had gained among the Hamites of Africa and mayhap from Tharbis, his Ethiopian wife; for we read he was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," under an Ethiopian dynasty. (Herod. ii.-160; Joseph. VIII:2; Ats. VII:22.)

The intellectual sun of the Ethiopians had nearly reached its zenith before that of Greece and Rome had risen above the horizon. This is witnessed by Heeren, who says that the Ethiopians were "one of the most celebrated and mysterious of nations;" "that when the Greeks scarcely knew Italy and Sicily by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated in the verses of their poets," as "the remotest nation, the most just of men, to whom the lofty inhabitants of Olympus journey and partake of their feasts." Pliny says (Hist. Nat., VI:35) that Ethiopia "was powerful and illustrious as far back as the Trojan war, when Memnon reigned," and Pliny might have gone far back behind the Trojan war, which was in the days of Jephthah, the ninth Judge of Israel, about 1188 B.C. and about 436 years before the building of Rome.

Of the Same Black Race.

The Egyptians always called their country Chamia. Treating of Ham in his elaborate Key, Dr. Stock, under the head of Cush, says: "The father of Mizraim, the founder of the Egyptians, was Ham, whence from this name Egypt was now called Ham; now the land of Ham. St. Jerome (in Gen.) asserts that always even down to his time, Egypt had been called Ham, in the tongue of the Egyptians." "Cush, the eldest son of Ham, gave his name to the Ethiopians, whence Ethiopia was called Cush;" the only inference to be drawn here is that the Egyptians and Ethiopians were of the same race, and that they were black.

In some passages of the Bible (Isa. xxvii:12; Josh. xv:4; II Kings xxiv:7) the Nile is called "the river of Egypt," literally, "the Nile of the Mizraimites." Now to deny that the Egyptians were Cushites involves the denial that Mizraim was of the Cushite family, and that, in turn, denies that Ham, the father of Mizraim was a Cushite, leaving the negro without any ancestral connection with the household of old Noah. Thus, as usual, where the negro and his glory is involved, error may be traced to absurdity.

The Mizraimites, Cushites, Egyptians and Ethiopians are so joined together by God that no man can put them asunder without doing violence to the testimony of the Bible. Isa. xx:3-5; xiv:14; Eze xxx:4-5; Jer. xlvi:8-9; Nah. iii:9; Dan. xi:43.

Speaking of the architectural monuments of Ethiopia, in his "History of Nubia and Abyssinia," Dr. Russel says: "The whole strip of land from shendy to Gerri teems with them, and must therefore be regarded as a portion of the classic ground of Ethiopia." The monuments referred to consist of both temples and pyramids. It is impossible to behold these monuments without astonishment. There is no greater contrast to be witnessed than between what now is and what must once have been in Ethiopia and Egypt. There is even great difficulty in passing, by an effort of thought, from one condition to the other, through the various scenes of conquest and desolation which seems necessary to have produced the effects we contemplate. We might question history, but we should receive no answer as to events and characters which the lapse of 3,000 years has thrown into impenetrable obscurity. Surrounded with darkness we grope our way amid superb structures, dedicated to gods and heroes whose names make but a faint impression on our ears; and we satisfy ourselves with the conclusion that a great people had existed there before the era of recorded time, whose literature and philosophy have been outlived by their architectural monuments. Dr. Anthon says: "No description can give an adequate idea of these wonders of antiquity, both in regard to their incredible number and gigantic size. Their form, proportion and construction are almost as astonishing as their magnitude. On the western side of the river are numberless tombs in the form of subterraneous excavations and contain many human bodies in the state of mummies, sometimes accompanied with pieces of papyrus and other ancient curiosities.

Egyptians Black and Curly Haired.

That the Egyptians were black and curly haired, we have the testimony of the "Father of History." Speaking of the Colchians, Herodotus supposes them to have descended from the Egyptians, first, because they were black and had short curly hair, and secondly, because they, the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, are the only people who from time immemorial have practiced circumcision. (ii:104).

Commenting on Herodotus, Volney says that "the ancient Egyptians were the same species of all the nations of Africa. Herodotus says (iv:197.) 'The Libyans and Ethiopians are aborigines, the one inhabiting the northern, the other the southern parts of Libya.

Now what historian, modern or an ancient, is better authority on Egyptology than Herodotus? He is more than twenty-two hundred years nearer in time to the first Egyptians than modern writers, besides having had personal observation among them and made careful inquiry in regard to their physical type and remote history. He was not dominated and biased by an ungovernable prejudice against the black man. His aim was to make a true statement concerning the different nations about whom he wrote, and flatter none, not even his own.

"Ham, the son of Noah, first peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and when idolatry began to gain ground in the world, some time after, he was the chief deity of these two countries, in which his descendants had continued. A temple was built to his honor in the midst of these deserts, upon a spot of pretty good ground about two leagues broad, which formed a kind of island in a sea of sand. It is he whom the Greeks call Jupiter, and the Egyptians Ammon. In process of time these two names were joined, and he was called Jupiter Ammon."—Rollin, An. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 555. Cincinnati, Applegate & Co., 1856.

But higher still is the testimony of the Bible that "Israel came into Egypt" (Mizraim) and God did "wonders in the land of Ham" (Ps. cv, 23, 27). Surely the Hebrews knew to what race the people belonged whom they served so long in Africa. Throughout the Old Testament Moses and the prophets called the country after Mizraim, the second son of Ham; call a native a Mizri, and the people generally Mizrim, the plural of Mizri. Hence in Isaiah xliii, 3, it is said "I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee."

Tutankhamen King of Negroes.

Therefore, if the Egyptians, Libyans and Ethiopians were one and the same, they were negroes and ancient Tutankhamen was one of their kings, notwithstanding the fruitful imagination of the modern Egyptologist who can see nothing great in the black man but finds unlimited wisdom in the white man, and delights to robe all ancient Egypt in white. The old monarchs are made to conform in figure to the Grecian and Roman mould, and in color to the Shemitic race of Asia, or the Japhethic race of Europe. The black mummy is aroused from his ancient sleep and transformed by the art of Pythagorean Metempsychosis into a white mummy, with a look of disdain upon its former self. The negro is simply not in it. But they forget that the ideal or symbol of beauty and purity with the Ethiopians was black. The Ethiopians and Egyptians regarded white as a symbol of impurity; the sons of Japheth, on the other hand, have so regarded black. The Ethiopians say: "As white as the devil"; the white man says: "As black as the devil." And I say black is very pretty, and this, too, from personal contact, I know that, as color is manifested by light, white bodies are those which reflect all the rays, and black are those which reflect none, but absorb all the rays of light.

But to return to the subject of Mr. Stevenson's article, from which to have thus far departed may not be wholly without excuse; the fact is, the Nordic branch of the human family has run its race and is on the decline, while the Hamitic branch is slowly but steadily increasing and ascending from a position that must inevitably come to the Nordic race. This is as true as any of the axioms of Euclid. The trouble with the Nordic race is just this: Having been favored for a season over the less fortunate descendants of Ham, the exalted station in which it has been placed through valor has led it by that same valor to fight within its own loin for supremacy; and the killing and dwarfing of the stock, its excesses in prosperity, and the disinclination to propagate the specie in numerical proportion to the other race, must inevitably tell, to its disadvantage.

The recent decision of our highest court in checking those who would throw off the colored yoke and be esteemed Nordic is simply the unseen hand of Providence in holding this dark element together until—well, history will record that. Races and nations proceed along lines that are governed by certain immutable rules and laws; government, morals, wise counsel, environment and progeny determine the length of their existence as either a master or dependent.

No race or nation can remain a master of the world that does not at all times sustain the same degree of endeavor that raised it to its exalted position, guarding with diligence that which has been achieved with valor. The span of human life and the natural propensities of mankind are such that the generations of the loin in power for a few centuries are sufficient for it to decline and fall from its position as master by losing sight of those principles which sustain masters of the world. The more prosperous the race or nation, the greater the power it wields, the sooner the decline and fall. Glance for a moment at the history of Egypt and Ethiopia, Babylon, Arabia, India, China, Persia, Rome and Greece, and you will note that the master of today is the slave of tomorrow. England today is master in a sense, and has had her slaves. But, says Cicero, a certain Roman military expedition found no plunder in Britain save slaves who were too dull to learn.

"Neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipii, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare."—Cicero to Atticus, Lib. iv., 16.

So you see how races and nations rise and fall; and thus be admonished by those words of Oriental piety:

"Beware of the groans of the wounded souls, oppress not to the utmost a single heart; for a solitary sigh has power to overset a whole world."

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

ANSWERS: "TIME IS RIPE" FOR "ONE BIG CONFERENCE"

Chicago Defender
1/28/23

By W. H. RANDOLPH

This subject was discussed by Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard university in the Chicago Defender, issue of Dec. 30, 1922. It embraces, among other things, the most important suggestion, timely warning and request that have been uttered tending toward the betterment of the Negro Race since agitation for a solution of the so-called Negro problem began.

For several months past I have been meditating upon the same ideas expressed by him in the article above referred to, so much so that I had begun to write thereon, and included therein suggestions for a permanent Race conference or congress to meet annually at such place or places as might be determined upon by representatives or delegates of whom it would be composed. In this connection I had also drafted a sort of plan for its initial organization and operation.

Learning that he has taken the initiative, preceding my intended presentation of the subject to the public and realizing that he is far better qualified, more powerful and more influential than I am or perhaps ever will be, I immediately ceased to complete my undertakings in the matter, accepted, approved and do hereby most heartily indorse his presentment, advice and request. To this end I earnestly request and urge all members of the Race who have not read or heard read Prof. Miller's article on "One Big Conference" to obtain, read or have it read carefully and give it your thoughtful and most favorable consideration, then act in accordance with his suggestion without unnecessary delay, because "Procrastination is the thief of time."

Many of us have learned by experience or otherwise that this saying is true. Let those of us who have not been so informed as to its verity be kind, generous and prudent enough to assume that it is true. Then with our knowledge and assumption of the fact and with one common accord—our Race leaders in particular—heed his admonition and pursue the course he has therein indicated, for time truly is ripe—yea, almost "rotten ripe," as some would express it, for just such actions on the part of the Race are urgently in demand. If we consider for a moment we cannot fail to admit. If the Race desires and would enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness it is now up to the Race not only to make provision for such enjoyment, but also to devise such plan or plans, adopt and put over such program as will safeguard these things unto the Race, and make for it a safe, steady, unoppressive, unsegregated, undiscriminated and otherwise unhampered position here in the civic, political and other affairs such as occupied by the white race.

Truly the day has dawned upon the Negro Race here in America when it must champion its own cause and not rely upon others to do it, as has been done heretofore. It must see to it that justice and equality are meted out to the Race as such, and to its members individually, that the same scales by which the white race's rights and privileges are determined shall also be applied in like manner to determine the rights and privileges of the Negro Race.

Prof. Miller well says, and truly, that forces and influences are now at work which, if unchecked, will fix the Negro Race for good in a helpless and hopeless position. Instant action, says he, is demanded. Delay is dangerous, as indicated by the current trend of events which conclusively show that the existence of the Negro Race is indeed precarious, and that it is hanging over a veritable smouldering volcano which may burst forth in eruption at any moment.

Wake up, my people, wake up; bestir yourselves from your lethargic repose, from your apparent indifference, and heed the warning and admonition of that able scholar, fearless and courageous champion of the rights of the Race, and follow the course he has just prescribed in order that you shall not be utterly subdued, overwhelmed, submerged and rendered absolutely powerless by those dire hostile and indifferent forces which have so long hitherto sought not only to keep the Race back and down, but also to return and assign it a victim to the confines of chattel slavery.

Come? Yes, surely such a time will come, and that not far off, unless the Race unites its forces in accordance with the advice of Prof. Miller, under whatever name it may be called. That the Race possesses men and women of ample qualification to measure up to the full requirements of the task indicated is an absolute certainty. In such an assembly a strict adherence should be had to the mapping out of a program embracing ways and means of solving the great, perplexing questions which serve as barriers to the progress and development of the Race in order that it may receive and enjoy the highest, greatest and most gratifying benefits obtainable.

Therefore let us all join Prof. Miller in asking for such a meeting—not only one, but many of them. Let us have them. Let them be forthcoming. Let us thereby arouse public sentiment to the extent of recognizing that the Negro is not only an American citizen, but that as such he is entitled to the equal rights and privileges accorded any other American citizens; that he is not only entitled thereto, but that he must and shall henceforth have those rights and privileges safeguarded regardless of cost or sacrifice. Let us secure them in such a way that no man, set of men, race or races shall ever dare to deny them unto us or venture to discriminate against the Race because of color, previous condition of servitude or otherwise.

Calling the Race Conference

Pittsburgh American Pittsburgh Pa.
1/26/23.

Mr. Kelly Miller has suggested that a conference of American Negroes be called to discuss our multifold problems and to map out a program of action. Mr. Miller is usually considered a safe and sane leader, a sort of liberal conservative. There was a time, in his pamphleteering days, that he was more liberal than he is today and extremely skillful and forceful in written debate. With the passing of the years he seems to have become more conservative, more "safe and sane." However, he has said that a race conference should be called and has given some reasons therefor. As yet no definite steps have been taken and all concerned are perhaps waiting for more concrete proposals to be made.

A race conference in which all grades, classes and opinions among Negroes will be truly and genuinely represented, will be something new under the sun. Hitherto we have had what purported to be race congresses but they have never been even partially representative of the great masses of the people. They have all been organizations that revolved around a single individual or a group of individuals that might or might not know the mind of the racial group whose spokesmen they pretended to be.

The problem then is to get together a conference that can get down to work with the feeling that the personnel of the conference has the confidence and active good-will of Negroes at large. It should be no mere social gathering of notables and race leaders to push their personal programs, to issue addresses to the country or to denounce anything and everything. The men and women who attend should understand, that since none of their programs has thus far got us any distance on the road to the millenium, that it is the part of wisdom to go with open minds and in a mood to follow as well as lead. To paraphrase Huxley somewhat, it will be their duty to sit down before the race problem as a little child and be prepared to follow unselfishly wherever the facts lead, to whatever abysses. They must learn to do this or they can do nothing.

Before now our besetting sin has been our proneness to fly asunder like a bursting flywheel, to go off with a little coterie of followers, to set up an organization and fight all other organizations calling our movement the way, the truth and the light. These movements have as a rule been formed by a few leading Negroes who have established themselves as dictator and protector. These movements have not succeeded and the reason they have not succeeded is because the leaders have not had the acumen or the foresight to feel the pulse of those whom they would lead.

The American Negro has lost confidence in the so-called leaders and the responsibility for this loss of confidence and faith rests squarely on the shoulders of the leaders themselves. Their conduct has not been such as would establish confidence. They have not been interested in the race but in themselves and in their own aggrandizement. The American Negro has produced no Gandhi and no McSwiney from among its educated and leading citizens. It has no man who in any way even approaches the character of these two heroes of other oppressed races. Yet this is our supreme need; a man who can rise above the people and still no gap grow between them.

Should a race conference be called a man of this type will be needed there. To be sure he would meet opposition from the great ones who would be looking for honor and glory without paying the price in sacrifice and inconvenience. But when such a man comes he will rise above our present set of petty, bickering and mercenary leaders.

RACE CONFERENCE DATE ANNOUNCED BY N. E. R. LEAGUE

Pittsburg American
Pittsburg Pa
3/9/23

(Crusader Service)

NEW YORK, March 9.—Dr. M. A. N. Shaw, president of the National Equal Rights League, which simultaneously with Kelly Miller, issued a call for a United Negro Front Conference, announced last night as he left this city for Boston that the preliminary negotiations for a United Front Conference have been successfuly concluded and the dates of March 23 and 24 set for the same.

Dr. Shaw has been in conference with the heads of the African Blood Brotherhood, the Race Congress, the International Uplift League and with Professor Kelly Miller, and reports perfect agreement as to the necessity and purpose of a United Front Conference. Dr. Shaw reported that he was advised by Professor Miller that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was reported by this Service as having declined the invitation to a conference, had reconsidered its decision and decided to accept the invitation and participate in the efforts to realize a strong United Front with which to meet the onslaughs of the enemies of the Race.

The preliminary conference on March 23 and 24 will be participated in by the National Equal Rights League, the N. A. A. C. P., the African Blood Brotherhood, the International Uplift League and one or two other organizations, with Professor Kelly Miller and a few other outstanding individuals. The purpose of the preliminary Conference will be to draw up an invitation to be signed by all the participating organizations to the big Conference which will include all Negro organizations. The preliminary Conference will also draw up an agenda for the big Conference.

The Pittsburgh American has some opinion about this conference that will be expressed from time to time but it is enough now to say that the conference should be one that represents all Negroes and not composed of those only who have ambition and the necessary railroad fare.

KELLY MILLER SAYS

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Inter and Intra Racial Factors



The Negro is a part of, and at the same time a part from the great body of the American people. As a citizen he enjoys the constitutional guarantee of equal rights under the law; as a Negro he is practically deprived of his guaranteed rights.

That part of the Constitution specifically calculated for his especial benefit has become a scrap of paper by the contrivance of the South and the connivance of the North. He is segregated, circumscribed and shut into himself despite the fact that the Constitution and the laws apply with equal favor to all. He alone among the diversities of our component population is assigned by public sentiment, which is stronger than the written cede or preached word, to segregated and separated social life. 2-16-23

Unlike the Jew or the Oriental, or even the Italian in our great cities, this segregation is not self-imposed and cherished by the group consciousness, but is forced upon him by outside compulsion.

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We must keep ever in mind this dual aspect of the race problem. As part of the life and power of the American people, the Negro must insist with the fullest measure of profitable insistence upon all that he is entitled to under the law. He should cooperate with his white fellow citizens in every feature of the common life that makes for the general weal.

There are two leading forms of racial endeavor; cooperative movements and independent undertakings. One of the hopeful signs of especially in the South. Great good may be expected to flow from the times is the growing tendency towards inter-racial projects, such cooperation and mutual understanding. In such questions of law and order, health and disease, vice and crime, neither race can function effectively without consideration of the other.

The Negro is almost wholly dependent upon the white man for employment and is conditioned by him in many of the essential relations of life. In such matters the races can no more be divorced than labor can function independent of capital or capital of labor. Effective industry is the resultant of the joint cooperation.

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We may also expect a wholesome measure of racial understanding and good-will to come out of these inter-racial conferences. If the Negroes and the whites have no point of contact the situation would be greatly aggravated. Mutual exclusion begets misunderstanding and suspicion.

Let us have inter-racial conferences, the more the better. But let us not beguile ourselves with the delusion that these inter-racial meetings make our internal racial activities unnecessary. Many good white people would have us believe that the entire circle of racial interests and activities can be handled in this manner.

These inter-racial meetings are usually one-sided. They are intended to consider only Negro matters. They are not supposed to function in matters where the white man is primarily concerned, nor yet to deal in general issues where the public weal is uppermost.

The white man has the feeling that he should be let into the intimate secrets of the Negro, but does not for a moment tolerate the idea that the Negro should know any of his secrets. There is a survival of the old Homeric conceit of the super race: "To the feasts of lesser men, the Gods unbidden go."

* * * * * * *

Intra-racial conferences are made necessary by the very nature of our segregated situation. The Jews have many relations with the gentiles which they consider on common grounds without distinction on account of race or creed. And yet when they deal with matters peculiar to their race and religion, they meet behind closed doors, with the gentile world on the outside.

The Catholics form a solid part of our common citizenship. Most of their relations of life are considered as American citizens. There is no hint or squint of religious distinction in their ordinary daily dealings with their Protestant fellow citizens. But when it comes to the internal intimate affairs of the church, no Protestant may seek to know their internal procedure or dare suggest sharing in shaping their religious plans and policies. If the laborers had no other sessions than the joint meetings with capitalists, they could make no headway in the advancement of their cause.

If the Negro should be contented with the inter-racial conferences, the race would remain stationary or retrograde. Let the white race agree that it will never hold a meeting without the Negro might well consent to hold no separate sessions.

* * * * * * *

Group consciousness is easily frustrated by foreign intrusion. The presence of a single adult will upset the plan of children who desire to formulate their own procedure. The presence of one Protestant would chill the spirit of a meeting designed to advance Catholicism. One Negro by his presence will frustrate the racial schemes of a white group; and one white man can easily upset the social composure of a Negro assembly. The most intimate and vital aspects of our life must be discussed and considered by ourselves alone.

Matters of mutual concern to all should be considered by all. A proposed all-Negro conference is absolutely without prejudice to the various inter-racial movements that are promising good results. In the final analysis, the race must develop its independent life and leadership in all matters where race prejudice sets us apart.

THE NEGRO SANHEDRIN

Kelly Miller calls the proposed all-race conference, which has met with a nation-wide response, a Negro Sandhedrin, after the great judicial council of the ancient Jews, composed of seventy-one priests, scribes and elders, presided over by the high priest. Prof. Miller calls attention to the fact that in 1807 Napoleon Bonaparte suggested a Sanhedrin of the Jews of Europe, and that the East Indians meet in an All-Indian Conference. The need is plain for Negroes taking some thought together about the condition, problems and possible solution of increasing racial difficulties. Wilmington Advocate, Del. 2-18-23

Prof. Miller suggests a conference of conferences, a representative gathering of respresentatives from various organizations to meet in Washington—because of its central location and focal advantages. This conference will, in turn, form a committee which will express the findings of the best minds, hearts and conscience of the race, and be based upon counsel "as wide as the race and as broad as its needs."

This is indeed a big idea and a broad program. Prof. Miller deserves the highest commendation for his truly wide vision and clarity of expression in his call to arms. It remains to be seen if the race will measure up to his ideals, and in the event that the Negro Sanhedrin meets, if it will do more than deliver speeches, froth over conditions, look askance at each other in jealous fear lest some "leader's" prestige be threatened, and present resolutions. A representative gathering of representatives of our most representative organizations. Let's try it, and see if we can get somewhere. Just about now we are marking time.

Negroes in the Professions.

Negro slavery has been abolished in the United States less than sixty years. There are still living men and women who were slaves. The majority of the colored population in the United States are only one generation removed from slavery. It is valuable to note the advance in learning and civilization that has been made.

The "Liberian Methodist" has been compiling figures of the number of negroes in occupations and professions which require a mental development greater than, or at least equal to, that of the average white man.

There are 38,000 negro school teachers, 4,000 physicians and surgeons, 2,000 lawyers, 237 engineers, 578 dentists and 125 chemists. There are several hundred negro authors and newspapermen. Every year there is a larger number of graduates of colleges and professional schools whose ancestors were slaves. N. Y. C. MAIL. JANUARY 12, 1923

Race prejudice is a curious thing. In some countries it does not exist at all. Among the Latin races it is rare. In most parts of Europe there is no distinction made in hotels, restaurants, theatres or other places of public entertainment because of the color of a man's or a woman's skin. In some of the South American countries there is no prejudice against racial intermarriage.

In parts of the United States racial prejudice is apparently on the increase, while in other sections it is lessening. Where there have been race riots in northern cities the causes have been more economic than social. In the South race wars have caused a scarcity of negro labor in localities most affected, which is injurious to the white employer. One fact is certain, that the negro can work out his own salvation better than any one else can work it out for him, and that he is making a splendid attempt to do so.

Race Problem - 1923.
United States.

KELLY MILLER SAYS

Race Statesmanship — **Morgan College**
Howard University — **The Graduating Season**

* * * *

Race Statesmanship

A statesman is one who can formulate a policy of procedure and impress it upon the acceptance of the people so as to make it a program of practical action.

The Negro group in the United States has never been guided by a wise or comprehensive statesmanship. The race has wandered at random as sheep without a sheperd. Its leadership has been limited and inadequate.

Any Negro who rose a little above the rest has assumed the role of leader. The orator whose vocal powers carried farthest has exerted the greatest sway. The preacher who professed divine vouchsafement had his claim readily allowed.

The ignoramus with a loud voice and self-assertive conceit easily gathered a following. Some of these self-proclaimed leaders have good hard sense and sane judgment. Some have been characterized by devotion to the people who looked to them for guidance. On the otherhand many have merely sought to exploit the ignorance and credulity of the unenlightened masses.

The difficulty of the task of race statesmanship is not only apparent but apallingl. There is no definitely determined ethnological identity. The term "Negro" is synonymous with "non white" which covers a multitude of ethnic diversities made up of all the breeds and bloods of the human family.

The best definition of a Negro that I can think of is one who would be jim-crowed in Virginia.

The only uniting bond is the ban of oppression. There is no racial culture which holds its adherents by ties of tradition. The Negro lost his ancestral cult as he crossed the seas. His manners customs and modes of life are drivative from the environment of his captors. He has no spiritual nationality.

His religion is borrowed from the white man who has never exemplified its principles. Christianity is a misfit when applied to the Teutonic type of mind. It is twisted and distorted out of all resemblance to the original.

The religion of Jesus suits the Negro nature. The two have the same spiritual wave length. It vibrates in sympathetic resonance with the attunement of his soul. The Negro's attempt to imitate the white man's caricature of Christianity instead of exemplifying its original inherent virtues is one of the strange anomalies of human history.

Again race statesmanship is made difficult in that the race is widely and unevenly distributed among a more powerful and populous race which controls the principle activities of its life. The political and economic interests of the Negro are manipulated by the white man. The exploited race has little or nothing to say in the determination of these important phases of his own welfare.

As consequence of these embarrassments and disabilities, the Negro can hardly develop a race consciousness. Indeed, it has been, and to a considerable degree still remains the policy of the white race to frustrate the formation of such consciousness for fear of unwelcome consequences that might naturally flow from it. The Negro labors under a dilemma of which he may not grasp either horn. The white man declares that "you shall not become as one of us," and at the same time denies him the right and power of the complete development and assertion of selfhood.

What shall we do, what can we do in a situation like this? Shall give the matter no serious thought, fellow race men of mine? Shall we satisfy our souls by eating and drinking and making merry while enjoying the fullest measure of the white man's civilization that he will permit us to share?

Or shall we devote ourselves to serious consideration of the contemplation as to the well being of our group, not merely for the day that now is but for the day that is yet to be?

Our leaders in the past have led according to the measure of their light. Mr. Douglass preached the gospel of political rights the panacea of all racial ills. Beyond this he had no philosophy, no vision, no social policy.

Dr. Booker T. Washington believed that material possession would cure many of the evils of the situation.

Both philosophies are good as far as they go, but neither singly nor in combination are they adequate to the requirements of case. If the Negro had all of his political rights as demanded by Douglass. the race problem would not be solved; if he acquired property, thrift and good behavior, as advocated by Washington, the issue of race would still persist. If he possessed political rights, property, intelligence and good behavior, the ghost of race friction would not down.

Mid way between these two philosophies we have had and have a number of rhapsodists who repeat this or that feature of these policies with heated insistence, or condemns deviation therefrom with righteous indignation. But there is not yet vouchsafed to us a reasoned statesmanship whereby this Negro group, now eleven million strong, may determine what is its own and the means by which it might come into its own.

We yet await the statesman with the vision to see and the passion to say, and the power to sway. Has India found its race statesman in Gandhi? No one may hope to match power with the white man in the day of his power. Gandi harks back to the Judean prophet, yet, more than a prophet, who says "Resist not evil." Can the Negro compete with the white man for political, economic or individual power? Can we cast out Belzebub by the methods of Belzebub?

Where, oh where, we utter in despair is the requisite a race statesmanship? Will it be found in the Negro Sanhedrin? Come and see.

PAUL D. CRAVATH AND "THE SOLUTION OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM"

Mr. Paul D. Cravath, eminent New York lawyer, chairman of the Trustee Board of Fisk University and son of the illustrious Erastus Milo Cravath, founder and first President of that institution, is credited with contributing the following to the literature of "Negro Problem" solution

> "The only solution of the Negro Problem is complete segragation and the building up of a separate Negro society. To do this it is necessary that we educate Negro leaders to build and maintain that society."

Mr. Cravath is credited with uttering these remarks in a speech at a dinner at the Union Club in Cleveland, Ohio. We have not seen the speech and do not know the connection in which such a remarkable utterance was made, nor do we fully understand what Mr. Cravath means by "complete segregation." Also it is difficult to understand why a trustee of Fisk University should feel called upon to discuss the so-called Negro Problem with segregation as its solution. Fisk University has recently been endowed, through Mr. Cravath's influence, no doubt, with practically a million dollars. It is inconceivable that it was necessary for Mr. Cravath to apologize for his interest in Negro education and urging aid in that behalf by suggesting that Negroes would be educated at Fisk University to accept "complete segregation."

As one of the sons of Fisk University we declare with all the energy of our might that if the benefactions were given with any such intent, or because of the necessity for segregation they should be spurned. The money would taint and corrupt the manhood and womanhood of the young men and women who would receive training there if its professors and instructors bow to the behest of Mr. Cravath and the donors.

It would be a thousand times better to close the doors of Fisk to education forever than that its sacred walls should be prostituted by the teaching of inferiority and its sacred halls should resound with the tread of men and women who would accept the doctrine and principle of inferiorty, and impliedly agree to live the lives of inferiors as would be involved and established by "complete segregation." Dr. E. M. Cravath, its founder, would himself, if living, spurn with indignaton and contempt a proffer of money accompanied with such conditons.

Mr. Paul D. Cravath, if he is out of harmony with the spirit and attitude of his father as exhibited in his life and teaching at Fisk University, should either maintain silence as to his views or resign.

ONE STANDARD

"A dual civilization within any nation is unsafe for that nation. Every statesman of every nation knows that is true. It is also true that every nation that has stood for any considerable time is a nation that has had one standard for its people—one law, one church—one flag, with one meaning in it, one nation, regardless of color, wealth or poverty, and all with one great idea—freedom, liberty, justice and prosperity for every section of the nation and all people under its flag. Will the United States measure up to this standard?

"Most countries have some central idea around which they can rally their countrymen for any great event; their religion, their oneness of thought, their national song, love of country or war. Not so with the United States of America; it has no national religion; it has no oneness of thought; it has no national song—some sing 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' while others sing 'Dixie.' About the only thing which all the people will rally to is war."

The above excerpt, taken from last week's contribution by Dr. H. R. Butler, speaks volumes, and should claim the serious consideration of every red-blooded American. There is no question of the fact that there exists here in America a dual civilization—made so, possibly, by a heterogenous people with unlike thoughts, customs, ideals and sentiments—who have for themselves different religious inclinations, different traditions—different interpretations and applications of the law—different views as regards to imaginary geographical sections, made real by an assumption of adverse interests—different ideas and feelings as to race groups, because of color; when, in the best interest of the entire people, there should be one standard around which all of her people might rally. There is ever present a racial and sectional system, similar to the ancient cast and lord system, which for centuries were impediments to European civilization.

America has rightly been dubbed the melting pot of the globe. Her civilization has flown to her from all sections of the world. Much good, as also much evil, has come. Science, art and literature have come; but, possibly, the greatest evil that has come is that hidden influence of highly assumed individualism which characterizes a polyglot people, who, either willingly or unwillingly, refuse to blend their ideals customs and thoughts to one standard for the production of the highest good of the whole.

This, possibly, is the greatest mischief maker in any nation. Civilization is as much a fact as any wholly material something—it is human doctrines, science, art, literature, religion and a moral condition, that to be called real must ascend to the highest point of both individual and collective development. It must produce a force or group of forces which will raise the moral, intellectual and religious standards of the people, and organize society for the purpose of rendering the greatest good to the nation in improving its environments, its political and industrial status.

America has fallen into that form of civilization which bloomed in many nations, then faded and died; she has made the mistake of attempting to develop the individual without developing the social conditions. There is present that spirit of individualism productive of selfishness which rebels against the very idea of communicating its development to the mass, which is not a part of the individual's ideals, customs and thoughts.

If America would be safe and realize the highest form of civilization, she must bring about the highest perfection of the relation between man and man. She must adopt a single standard for her people—she must abuse and destroy the prevailing ideas of disloyalty, or loyalty to so many flags, race hate, sectionalism and race interest existing in contravention to the promotion of the best interest of society and humanity. She must develop a conscience of kind—a oneness of thought in terms of America's interest first. She must realize the fact that all of her people go up together, or go down together. She must develop a social sympathy that will spread to all her people—penetrating their very souls. She must wipe away that imaginary "Mason and Dixon Line," and that barrier of racial interest so well demarked to her detriment.

She must either Americanize or expel from her shores every foreign element—rid herself of all people who are more loyal to some other flag than Old Glory. She must humanize herself while developing her great material resources—instilling in every breast a feeling of kindly interest and co-operation, one with the other. She must establish a social order which will produce peace and good will among all her subjects—taking them higher and higher in all their aims and aspirations, binding them together as one common family—loyal to her traditions and jealous of her honor. She must promote an even distribution of justice, liberty and local and national immunities. Or, in a word, she must adopt a single standard for all her people without regard to race, color or creed.

Says Japanese Problem Is More Threatening Than Negro

Attorney General Of California Calls The Racial Problem On Coast More Serious Than Civil War.

Heavy Birth Rate Is Cause For Alarm. Race Attorney Declares State Law Violates 14th Amendment.

Pacific Coast News Bureau.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 23—"Had the Negroes of the South the energy, industry and power of leadership possessed by the Japanese, the whites would have been entirely excluded from that part of the country," declared Attorney General Webb of California in his argument recently before the United States Supreme Court on the four alien land cases brought from California and Washington.

In the lower courts the constitutionality of the laws of the Pacific states which prohibit aliens who are not eligible to citizenship (particularly the Japanese, Chinese, Hindus and native Africans) not only from leasing and owning real estate but also from holding stock in land-owning corporations, was sustained. The lower courts however held that aliens could lawfully enter into contracts with land owners under which they undertook to farm the land upon a crop sharing basis.

Violates 14th Amendment

Louis Marshall counsel for those challenging the laws contended that the legislation was invalid in that it constituted an unconstitutional discrimination against persons of their color and race and violated the 14th amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Another Race Problem

In completing his argument, Attorney General Webb of California in answer to an order from Chief Justice Taft to speak plainly in stating what the Japanese were doing to which he (Webb) took objection, replied "The white people refuse to assimilate with the Japanese and as the Japanese line advances, we retreat, and we do not like to retreat. We had one race problem which was settled by the Civil War," continued Mr. Webb, "There is another growing up now on the Pacific Coast that is more threatening. We have already lost the Phillippines. The Japanese dominate there now."

Reason for Alarm

According to Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., in a series of articles on the Japanese question published in the Los Angeles Examiner, "On Jan. 21, 1923, figures for last years birth rate for California, were announced. The number of Japanese births had decreased 5 per cent. Still at that it was found to be three and a half times greater than that of the Caucasian race. There were 63 born to every 1000 Japanese, and 19 born to every 1000 whites. In 1922, 66,388 whites and 5093 Japanese were born in the state.

Our coast is our heritage. To-day there are in the states of the Pacific slope approximately the same number of Japanese as there were Negroes south of the Mason Dixon line at the outbreak of the Civil War. The Colored races of Africa are slow, shiftless, assimilable. The yellow races of Asia are quick, energetic, unassimiable."

Race Problem – 1923
United States

A SOLUTION OF THE RACE PROBLEM

New York Herald 2-10-23

A movement insignificant in its proportions as yet, but adequate, timely and courageous in its conception, has started in one or two of the barbarous, race-baiting Southern States to solve the race problem in those States. We are not sure that when it shall have assumed its full proportions, that when it shall have settled conditions there, that it will not solve the race question throughout the nation. We are not in a position to approve en toto of the business policies and program of those now making the initial start. We neither know of their business integrity nor their executive ability. That movement, stated simply, is the migration of colored people from the mob-law infested portions of Dixie to Mexico. The two principal movements so far have been led by colored preachers from Oklahoma. The numbers they have carried in the aggregate now total only a hundred families, more or less. These colored preachers are religious zealots. That is not to our way of thinking to be derided. It is the right way for the movement to start, giving good omen to the movement that the blessings of Providence should be invoked to guide aright this hazardous effort, which is destined to be historic. Such was the start of this Republic at Plymouth Rock when the Puritans came to America that they might worship God according to their own conscience. Reduced to simple language, the situation and the significance of this movement are these:

In the portions of Oklahoma from which these pioneers have gone bag and baggage, their communities are Ku Klux ridden. These pioneers are not the shiftless, poverty-stricken, ne'er-do-wells, but they are those hardy, substantial farmer folk whose thrift and possessions have excited the envy and greed of their cracker neighbors. They are that type of simple colored country men to whom religious devotion is not a pastime, but a vital, living thing in their lives. Unprotetected by the State and local officials of Oklahoma, the prey of the mob outlaws and murderers, unable to challenge or to combat their fiendish foes—with all the machinery, the gattling guns and the courts in their hands, they are moving to a richer and an hospitable clime. They are moving as if from the plague of death, hampered and held up at every turn by the Southern State and customs officials, who seek to block their exodus. The Pilgrim Fathers were no more beset than these black pioneers, but they press on toward the promised land. In caravans drawn by mules, with six months' provisions on hand, these men, women and children crossed the border on January 23, and on January 25 these caravans disembarked a comparatively few miles from their future homes in the rich State of San Luis Potosi. They have bought there thousands of fertile acres and there they will pitch their camps and build their homes from the abundant timber on their own land. The land to which they have gone is high, dry and yet well watered. The temperature in this high plateau land of rare and rich Old Mexico is warm and yet not torrid. The people of Mexico themselves, for the great majority, are not only colored but more than hospitable to the colored citizens of the United States. The Government of Mexico knows no man by the color of his skin—indeed, there is no such thing as color recognition among the Mexicans. These black American pioneers have gone to join the descendants of the hundreds of brave, black men that were with Cortez and Coronado three hundred years ago, and theye are gone to join the tens of thousands of black slaves carried to Mexico by the Spanish explorers. This wonderful country, now undeveloped by reason of the ignorance and indolence of the Mexican peon, will respond in abundance to the touch of the workers now settling there. Let the number of such black Americans continue to go from the Ku Klux ridden portions of Oklahoma, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas and Louisiana to the number of one million, and we prophesy that peace and prosperity will attend all the ways of Mexico. Let one million such brave black Americans leave their unhospitable homes and go to grasp the outstretched hand of Mexico, and the Mexican Government and Mexican industry and Mexican progress will be stabilized, and Mexico will become one of the greatest republics in the world.

Let these million black folk leave those Ku Klux States and they will paralyze their industry and progress and bring the Southern people to their senses. The South without these black pioneers will go to seed. Its fields will be waste, its agriculture and commerce will become stagnant and the best whites of Dixie will stop the persecution of the black folk that are left. As a matter of self-preservation they will stop the disfranchisement, the jim-crowing and the persecution of their black neighbors. Then and not until then will the South grant the boon of equal opportunity, equal education and equal protection to her black citizens. Then the national government and the national Republican party will speedily see the necessity of stopping short the race-baiting and the rebel South and the Southern propoganda that is now undermining the sentiment of the North and the principles of the Republic. This is a great program. But we believe it is the solution of the nation's greatest problem.

Alabama as Seen by One of Her Sons.

Commercial Appeal

The Nation, which is always interesting, not always true, but always crusading, is printing a story of all states of these United States. Every state is invited to see itself as others see it. Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Mencken wrote the first story and it had to do with the state of Maryland. Up to date we have had stories of Ohio, Delaware, Mississippi, Michigan and a number of western states. 1-23-23.

Some of the writers impregnate their stories with the spirit of gentle cynicism and sarcasm. This may be due to the imitative qualities of all of us. Mr. Mencken writing the first, others seem to get into cadence with him, insofar as anybody can keep step with this very remarkable and bitter brained critic.

Now comes Clement Wood with the story of Alabama. Mr. Wood should know his Alabama. He was born in that state and he is a graduate of the University of Alabama. Then he went to Yale. He practiced law and held a public office in Birmingham. Now he lives in New York.

Mr. Wood sees little good in the state of his birth. He seems to be in bad with everybody in it. Probably Mr. Wood is in bad humor with everything that is or is to be.

One reading Mr. Wood's article, would think that Alabama is continuously discussing the negro question. He would have it that human life in Alabama everlastingly spins around something black.

There are many interesting things in Alabama, but Mr. Wood devotes about all of his space to Alabama negroes and to white people in their relation to negroes.

There is romance in the early days of Alabama. Spaniards and Frenchmen swept across it. The Spaniards left their imprint on Mobile and its environs.

DeSoto marched across Alabama when he was seeking the big river. When the Latins passed on the English speaking people went into Alabama, some from the lower Atlantic seaboard, while others came down from the Virginia country and thence along the shores of the Tennessee River.

Some of these people were cultured, others were plain folks. Some brought copies of Shakespeare, Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost and Young's Night Thoughts. Here and there was a copy of Hallam's Middle Ages and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Of course many of these early settlers were unlettered, but by and large they were like the plain folk who came out into all of the states in the Mississippi valley and the Alabama River Basin.

The Indians of Alabama were virile. They gallantly fought Jackson and others.

Alabama bore her share of the burden of the Southern Confederacy. Some of the mountain people in the northern part of the state regarded the rebellion as none of their fight.

There is much illiteracy in Alabama today, but illiteracy is not a mark of infamy. It is a misfortune to him who is not able to read, but some mighty strong men and some good men have been strangers to the printed word. It is better not to read at all than to read some of the vile outpourings of the printing press and it is better not to write than to put into type some of the stuff that now passes current as philosophy, poetry and literature. Yet it is the right of every American citizen to have an education. If he puts it to a bad use it is not the fault of the education, but the cussedness of the individual.

Mr. Wood makes one statement as to the relation of whites and negroes which is absolutely false and we are amazed that he made it. The statement is so shocking to a racial instinct that it falls of its own incongruous absurdity.

But there are many things worth while in Alabama and Mr. Wood's picture is incomplete without them. In many parts of the state there remains a strong imprint of the old culture that marked gentlemen and gentlewomen before the war. Among the humblest white people there is a simple hospitality that is the joy of a man passing along the road.

Our intimate knowledge of Alabama comes from experiences along the Tennessee River valley and in Montgomery. Personally, we know little as to the rest of the state, but we believe we get from what we have seen a reliable cross section.

Alabama is a state of enormous resources. The mills, mines and furnaces in and around Birmingham are as the same things around Pittsburgh.

The valley of the Tennessee to our mind is much like the valley of the Mohawk. The lower rivers have on either side rich bottoms which remind one of the Yazoo Delta and the St. Francis Basin.

Mobile has a touch of quality as varied and rich as that of Charleston.

Of course, Alabama has rotten politics, there are many demagogs in the state who get in public office. While most of our Southern states send lots of demagogs into high places, we submit that you will find as many ignorant and loud voiced louts representing northern and western states in the halls of Congress as you will find from any other section of this great country.

Alabama today has a good governor. One of its United States senators is respected throughout the nation. On every public question and in every situation Senator Underwood bears himself with dignity, urbanity and when he speaks he reflects the opinions of a hard working, thoughtful man.

Alabama is a great state, having some shortcomings, but Alabama is moving forward into a better order of things.

Mr. Wood should take a course of calomel and quinine.

THE NEGRO QUESTION IS A QUESTION OF "EATS."

A Brief, Frank Discussion by Hon. Hugh E. Macbeth, General Counsel of the International Community Welfare League.

Atlanta Independent
2-11-23

Los Angeles, Cal., Jan. 30.—"I have been asked to make public the attitude of the International Community Welfare League toward the American Negro problem. In response to this request I might sum up the League's view of this subject by saying that the American Negro problem is largely a question of "eats," to use the language of the street.

"To say that the American Negro is not anxious to rid himself of jim-crowism, political disfranchisement, etc., is but to utter a bold untruth. The truth of the situation is that the Negro yearns to get away from these terrible conditions which surround him in most parts of the United States, but h the financial ability to break a to a better environment.

"The average Negro is unable to go more than a hundred miles from his home without running the risk of starvation. In other words, his rations are so short that he is unable to range very far from the spot of oppression which he calls home. And when the occasional Negro by accident or otherwise acquires sufficient means to extend his range to more distant and more favorable fields he evidences little or no desire to assist his unfortunate brethren to take advantage of the new-found opportunities.

"The white gentlemen who control the economic situation of the American Negro have taken full pains to see that the Negro is kept on such short rations that he will never muster sufficient energy from his daily task of keeping body and soul together, to be able to do much serious work along the line of improving his general condition.

"In other words, until the Negro controls his own "eats" he need expect but little more along the line of general racial advancement than the opposition is willing to have him enjoy.

"When the opposition desired to put an end to the Chicago race riot they cut the supply of food stuffs which fed the Negroes in the riot zone, and soon all was peace and quiet in the zone, and thus it will be in all future race riots, etc.

"The International Community Welfare League encourages the Negro to go to such communities wherein he can control his food supplies. In lower California, Mexico, the Lower California Mexican Land & Development Company which is one of the developmen companies under the supervision of the league, farmers are now busy growing foodstuffs sufficient to feed two thousand Negroes a year. When these foodstuffs are raised and stored, two thousand Negroes will be able to look to members of their own race for direction as to when and how to work and when to eat. These two thousand people can then raise foodstuffs and erect buildings to shelter other thousands who will follow them. As to these people, the question of "eats" shall have been solved, and their energies, geniuses and ambitions will be free to follow along the lines of the best interests of their race."

HOWARD DEFIES DU BOIS-JOHNSON FORCE IN DEBATE

In Open Letter Perry W. Howard Challenges N. A. A. C. P. Heads to Prove Assertions or Withdraw Them

1-20-23.
New York
New York Tribune

Washington, D. C.,
January 5, 1923.

Messrs. W. E. B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Gentlemen: — I hereby challenge either or both of you to a joint debate in either New York city, Washington, D. C., or Chicago, Ill., in order that you may make good your assertions on the three following propositions:

1. That I contributed—directly or indirectly—to the defeat of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill.

2. That, under the present rules of the Senate, the Republicans could have passed this bill in the face of the Democratic filibuster.

3. That I have not done as much for the passage of the anti-lynching bill as any man among the 12,000,000 of our group.

I submit that it is now up to you either to accept this challenge and prove your assertions or make the amende honorable, which gentlemen would be pleased to do.

Respectfully,
(Signed) PERRY W. HOWARD.

Best Negroes Of Georgia Live In Athens Says Mayor Who Also Praise Work Of The Athens High School

Afro-American
Baltimore Md

To the Editor:

Your information with reference to the colored people being arrested by Southern Policemen whether they break the law or not and the police are especially severe on visitors from the North is untrue. 2-16-23

Our doors are open to all visitors and citizens whether they be from the North or elsewhere. The only requirement is that they are good citizens and recognize our laws and ordinances.

The colored race, especially in the city of Athens is treated in the Courts, with the same rights and safe guards as our whites.

This is absolutely true in this city where we have as a whole the best colored citizens in the State of Georgia. We have no trouble with them.

As a matter of course we have some bad Negroes, who have to be dealt with harshly, but they are largely in the minority.

Suppose you write to Prof. Sam Harris, the principal of the Colored High School of Athens, and I have no doubt but that he will write you frankly. His school numbers several hundred and there has never been a case against one of them charge with crime or disorderly conduct.

GEORGE C. THOMAS
Mayor, Athens, Ga.

MAYOR DENIES SOUTH HANKERS TO ARREST US

Afro-American
Baltimore Md
2-9-23

Jacksonville, Fla., Head Disagrees With Lester Walton On This Point

Jacksonville, Fla., Feb. 6—After being shown an article in the AFRO-AMERICAN of last week in which Lester Walton declares that police in Southern cities are always hankering to arrest colored people, especially if they happen to be from the North, Acting Mayor W. J. Baker made the following comment:

"Our police have never been accused of arresting anyone without cause. It has always occurred to me that there are as many white as colored prisoners before the courts each morning.

"We do not have any race troubles in this ciyt. We have some very wealthy Negroes who have always co-operated with the officers to the fullest extent. I can say truthfully that the Negroes are in no more danger in Jacksonville than are white people. When instructions are given to police for the enforcement of any law, ordinance or order, no distinction is made as to race or color.

THE CONFERENCE OF LEADERS

Christian Recorder
2-8-23 Philadelphia Pa.

We see by the newspapers that Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard University has suggested a conference of Negro leaders to decide upon some kind of racial policy. This seems to be a good suggestion from the professor. The chief question that arises is, who are the leaders, who shall invite them, and how shall they get together?

There was a time when certain of our white friends pointed out in each community this gentleman or the other as the leader of the colored people; or that certain people because they had graduated from high school or college, or had come into possession of a few dollars, constituted themselves as leaders. In fact, most of the so-called leadership which we have heard most about, was the self-constituted leadership. Mr. Booker T. Washington in his lifetime, used to poke fun at the so-called "leading" colored man. He didn't have anything, he didn't represent anybody, he was just a talker and a time killer. This type has not entirely disappeared, though it does not predominate today. We say, however, that the men who talk most about leadership, usually are those who have least of it.

It would be a good thing, however, if men who really have power and influence among our people, and their confidence, should get together. The fact is that outside of the church, the Negro is unorganized, and that the so-called leaders are not leading anybody except a few of their own group. The most lamentable thing about Negro leadership is, that it is a sort of auto-intoxication. A few white people laud a certain Negro because they do not know much about other Negroes, or because he is their willing and often slavish tool; they think that this particular Negro ought to be a leader of his race, and he forthwith sets himself up as a leader; but he takes no particular interest in the great things of the race. He knows very little about the labor of the people, he knows but little about the Negro church, or the Negro secret order, or any of the great mass movements among the Negroes.

Now, if Prof. Miller can get a group of Negroes, not the professional Negroes, who are actually leaders in labor, in church, in secret orders, etc., among organized Negroes, he will probably do a good thing.

Race Problem—1923

United States.

GREENVILLE S. C. NEWS
MARCH 29, 1923

NEGROES DESERVE CONSIDERATION

The negro leaders of the South are as much, if not more, interested in the so-called exodus of colored people as are the white people. Naturally, they are in better position than white people to understand why the negroes are leaving the South, and any suggestions which come from reputable members of the negro race is deserving of consideration by all good citizens. Therefore, the series of resolutions recently adopted by representatives of 1,000 colored homes of Greenville will receive the attention and consideration of the white population of the city.

The negroes state that as much has been said by the press and public speakers about the exodus and that as "the remedies which have been suggested to alleviate the underlying causes of the conditions that cause this unrest have been unheeded," they respectfully ask consideration of some suggestions they make. They suggest that the condition of their schools be looked into by those in position to help; that improvement of their streets be looked after, and that at least good sidewalks be built to their schools; that the police show less aggressiveness in arresting members of their race, calling attention to a recent case where a negro was unmercifully clubbed without apparent just cause; and that the wage question be looked into, claiming that it is almost imopssible for the average negro to earn an honest living under present conditions. They consider the better school advantages offered colored people in the North as one of the main reasons for the exodus.

These suggestions and requests are reasonable, should be looked into, and if the negroes are receiving unjust treatment in any of the instances, some measures should be put in operation to help them. The decent negroes are not looking for anything like social equality. They know that will never be, and they do not expect it or want it. They do, however, desire just treatment before the law and in other ways, and no one should begrudge them that. They are entitled to it and it will make them better citizens. The more good citizens a community has the better the community becomes. We must not overlook the fact that we cannot mistreat the negro without at the same time do an injustice to ourselves, while on the other hand, when we help him we are helping ourselves as well. This is only the selfish viewpoint of it, without taking into consideration any altruistic motive. Either is sufficient to cause us to give the negro proper consideration.

THE FRENCH ARE USING MULLATTO TROOPS IN GERMAN RUHR VALLEY

TRUE TO THEIR SPIRIT OF "LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE," WILL "STAND BY THEIR GUNS."

Associated Negro Press.

Paris, France,—"What's in a name?" French officials have admitted they are using "mullatto troops" in the Ruhr valley.

The Observer
Little Rock, Ark.
4-1-23

The admission stated that the mullatoes are French citizens of the Antilles, a group of islands in the West Indies.

It is well-know that the majority of these troops are of a dark hue, some of them almost black in color. This announcement promises to arouse much comment, particularly in America and Germany, but it is believed that the French true to their spirit of "Liberty, Equality and Justice," will literally "stand by their guns."

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

We have just read with the deepest concern a statement made by Mr. Bryan touching the Negro question for publication in the New York Times, in which Mr. Bryan sets up some strange and inconsistent views.

The Atlanta Independent

What Mr. Bryan says has much weight in this country, for the reason the public believes Mr. Bryan honest and sincere in whatever he says. One of the things that has added much to his breadth of character and rugged honesty has been the discussion of all national problems without referring to the Negro question. Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan, it must be admitted that he is largely a statesman with views and the courage to express them. Like other human beings, he is not always right. On most national and international questions, Mr. Bryan's countrymen have differed from him. While they all admit his honesty and sincerity, they have never thought his policies sound and sane. The great commoner has made himself popular with the colored man, because of his failure to discuss their question, and we have very largely thought him to be so broad in mind and liberal in views that his conception of Americanism included all the people. We have never thought Mr. Bryan capable of announcing a program that did not mean protection and equality before the law for every class of our citizenry.

4-5-23

But, in his address before the Southern Society in Washington a few days ago, which he amplified for publication, he seems to have run counter to his well established policy of discussing American questions by taking up for discussion the Negro problem. In this discussion, Mr. Bryan does not make himself clear; his argument does not support the premises laid down. To allege that Mr. Bryan was shaping his sails to fit into his new environment, would be in contravention of our opinion of the man. But when we read his efforts to justify disfranchisement, which destroys the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, by shifting responsibilitty for crime to the law of self-preservation, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Mr. Bryan is qualifying himself for admission into southern environment by accepting the policy that the ends justify the means.

Mr. Bryan takes the position that the limitation of suffrage to the black man is not and ought not to be based upon the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence; but upon principle. How Mr. Bryan is going to discover a set of principles which destroys the doctrine of equality among men, set up in the Declaration of Independence, without repudiating the instrument, is a question hard to answer. Mr. Bryan calls his new principle, "the first law of nature" or the right of self-preservation. We believe Mr. Bryan wants to be fair in the discussion of this problem as he is in the discussion of other problems, but transfiguring himself from a northern man with northern views to a southern man with southern prejudices, he has a delicate job to perform. He is thoroughly committed to the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence—that all men were created equal and have certain inalienable rights, among which is the right to life, property and the enjoyment of happiness. He believes, and has often given expression to the doctrine that there is no just government without the consent of the governed, and any government inflicted upon people without their consent, is destructive of the ends of all just government. How Mr. Bryan is going to develop a set of principles that will uphold disfranchisement and the limitation of suffrage to a group of people created equal without repudiating the Declaration of Independence, grows in difficulty the more we think about it.

The law of self-preservation is inexorable, and does not rest upon the destruction of the other fellow's rights. It is true that the first law of nature is self-preservation; but the principle of the law of self-preservation means exact justice to all men, and does not contemplate that one group of men have the right to deprive another group of men of their inalienable rights in order to preserve supremacy for themselves. If the white man must destroy the inalienable rights of the black man to preserve his rights, such arbitrary action is neither the application of the law of self-preservation or an application of such equality and justice as Thomas Jefferson had in mind when his soul breathed the principles of government enunciated in the Declaration of Independence.

It is fundamental that man can preserve his own rights just in proportion as he seeks to preserve the rights of other men in common with his own. When one man takes the life of another man, because he is in imminent danger of losing his own life, such is a correct application of the law of self-defense or self-preservation; but for one set of men to limit the rights and possibilities of another by law, in order to secure unto themselves race supremacy in politics or economics, such conduct is based upon the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence. The great commoner's denial to the contrary, notwithstand-

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We carry Mr. Bryan's article on

For mutual progress, I am,
I. J. K. WELLS,
Chairman Executive Committee,
Lincoln University, Pa.

OPEN LETTER TO COLORED STUDENTS

Pittsburg American Pittsburg, Pa.
3/9/23

Fellow Students:

In addition to inconveniences which you must bear from birth, events which vitally affect you are happening here in great America each day. Are you wide awake and aware of their vital significance to you? You are in school to better yourself. (Surely this is praiseworthy; without it we are lost.) You have decided that when you come out of school you will make good in your chosen calling. But is that enough? It is not. Mere training and mere decision won't do it. There are things you must face as groups, not as individuals. Group action is an established method of progress. Your interest in the problems of our race is a selfish one, for whatever you may be or whatever success you may ever achieve you must gain it largely through your own people. It may sound narrow, but is it not a fact? To whom do our great papers, insurance companies and doctors sell, or whom do they serve? Who will listen to your sermons? And whom will you teach? Your people. Now, if it is as simple as that, what stands in your way?

Have you ever heard indictments that Negroes will not work together; that we lack race pride; that we are in part, denied opportunity and Jim-Crowed because we are so uncultured? Yes, you have. At school and by fireside you delivered great orations on these topics. You complain about the lack of unity among us and the lack of opportunity. You bewail the failure of the Dyer Bill. Is that getting anywhere? Lament and discuss the dying of the liberal spirit at Harvard, or talk of the rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan. Is that gaining anything. Positively, it is not.

I do not means that we students should take up weapons, or in like methods attempt to fight the klan; but there is something we can do and we can do it while we are students. Now:

1. Can't we find the causes of the lack of co-operation among us and hammer on our students throughout the nation, until, as in other races, combined efforts is a reality?
2. Don't you believe we can make ourselves socially efficient?
3. Can't we give intelligent and profitable consideration to the race problem?

Students throughout America are asked to work on these things.

A fair-sized delegation of colored students from high schools, colleges and universities are meeting in Washington, D. C., on April 6 and 7, to attempt to draft a practical program which will make possible the realization of these things.

An executive committee of the American Federation of Colored Students—an organization of colored students at Atlantic City during the summer, from Howard, Yale, Lincoln, Oberlin, Cornell, Tuskegee, Downington, Monte Claire Normal and the Atlantic City High School—have perfected plans for holding the Washington convention.

The plans and purposes of the executive committee have been favorably criticized by some of the ablest thinkers of the day, including Kelly Miller and Emmett J. Scott of Howard University, Dr. David A. Lane of West Virginia Collegiate Institute, and Dr. George Johnson, Ph.D., Dean of Lincoln University.

There are cities in Americe containing 50,000 Negroes without a single department store or real bank. Why don't we have them? Why aren't we trusted and supported? Are these things nothing to you? This is something practical. If you are a student these are things to study. Use your sociology. Apply your psychology.

This is the first and only movement of its kind ever attempted by colored students. Will your school be represented at Washington? Think! Then roll up your sleeves and act. Be progressive.

For information, communicate with G. O. West. Secretary pro tem, American Federation of Colored Students, at Lincoln University, Pa.

God help you to see the righ and to do your duty as you see it.

ing. Mr. Bryan says that the limitation of Negro suffrage in the south is not based upon the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, but upon the principle—the first law of nature. If the white man must resort to legalized theft, murder, high crimes and misdemeanors to establish his supremacy, his supremacy will not live any longer than he can get away with the goods he steals. For, crime, like the truth, will out, and crime against groups, like crime against individuals, will out, if it has to come in failure of government. A government erected upon error and wrong doing will not last any longer than truth can assert itself. The law of self-preservation must proceed within the lines of right and justice, or it will prove not to be the first law of nature, but the will of designing men, demagogues and race haters.

Mr. Bryan quotes his experience back in 1898, when a white man from the south took him to task for stressing the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. He said that this man, in cautioning him, said: "Don't put too much emphasis upon the Declaration of Independence; that in the states where the blacks menaced white supremacy, it had been found necessary to ignore the doctrine that all men are created equal."

Now, here is a man who helped to perpetrate the crime of disfranchisement who tells Mr. Bryan that in the states where the blacks, by reason of numbers, menaced white supremacy, the whites had found it necessary to ignore the doctrine that all men are created equal; yet Mr. Bryan says that disfranchisement is not based upon the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, but upon principle. Mr. Bryan said that he defended the doctrine of equality and inalienable rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence and explained that the problem which the whites of the south had to solve did not involve the question of equality before the law. The question is which race shall control the government and make the laws under which both shall live?

We agree with Mr. Bryan so far as the laws of the survival of the fittest shall go, but we think his position is untenable, when he resolves the entire question into which race shall make the laws for the government of all. We believe thoroughly in the doctrine of intelligence and wealth controlling ignorance and poverty, but we do not believe in a policy of wealth and intelligence oppressing and taking from the poor and ignorant their rights under the law. We do not believe that wealth and intelligence should deny to ignorance and poverty any right, privilege or protection under the law that they reserve unto themselves Mr. Bryan says the law makes no distinction in the matter of crime between whites and blacks, but Mr. Bryan does not go far enough. Mr. Bryan's argument does not take him any further than to say that if a white man commits a crime and a Negro commits the same crime, the law denominates the act of both the same. Now, if the act of both is defined by law to be the same, there is no discrimination in the fixing of punishment. While there is no distinction in crime between white and black men, the law certainly upholds a distinction in the distribution of rights and protection. The law fixes one qualification for Negroes for saffrage and another for the white man. It undertakes by chicanery, unfairness and dishonesty to place a burden upon a Negro to qualify that it does not impose upon a white man. In the distribution of protection under the law, the white man is protected in mob law and many other crimes against the peace of the country, where a Negro is punished for the slightest provocation. In the distribution of educational funds in the south, the state appropriates one dollar for the education of the Negro child, and twelve dollars for the education of the white child. The Negroes are driven from home, their property confiscated to white men without due process of law, and the law officer often tells the Negro that he cannot protect him, and he had better hide out for a more agreeable climate.

Mr. Bryan asks some very absurd questions; among which is "Will any white man, who believes that the law if made by Negroes, under the circumstances, would be better for both or administered with more fairness than now?" Of course, every white man would say no. And in like manner, every black man will say, if black men made the laws governing both races, as the white people do, the laws would be better for both and administered with more fairness.

It is evident as you read Mr. Bryan's argument that he is qualifying himself for political success in the south. There is only one qualification necessary for a white man to succeed politically in the south, and that is to deny the Negro his political and economic rights. Abuse the Negro, and you are a statesman. If you are fair and stand head and shoulders above your contemporaries for the principles of equality and justice as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and subscribe to the doctrine that all men are created equal, you are regarded as a Negro lover and you are driven from public service by some little tomtit, who knows nothing and has no other platform than race hatred.

Mr. Bryan's argument in reference to northern republicans is unworthy of the man. If the majority is to rule, and he has heretofore been in favor of the popular will, Negroes have not been sufficient in number in any northern district to be elected to congress. It has not been a question of Negroes or white men. White men and Negroes have contested in the same primaries where both white and black men voted and the white man went to congress or to the legislature because he received a majority of the votes of his constituents. Negroes do not want to go to congress or vote because they are Negroes. They want to vote and go to congress because they are American citizens and entitled to representation. They are adversed to the slavery of taxation without representation. Representatives of the people in any form of government should be the choice of the popular will expressed at the ballot box, without regard to race or color. Anything else is not the democracy that Mr. Bryan propagates.

We no more favor black supremacy than we do white supremacy. We favor the majority rule. If the majority selects white people because of their special fitness, we submit. And if black representatives are selected for the same reason, we acquiesce. No inconsistency of the northern republican that may be pointed out by the great commoner can justify the south in taking from the Negro his inalienable rights or depriving him of his vote by intimidation, molestation or fear of bodily harm. But Mr. Bryan subscribes fully to the southern position, when he admits that the restriction placed upon suffrage in the south is based upon necessity; that is to say, it is necessary to legalize the theft of the Negro vote by cunning and designing statutes in order to insure white supremacy. Mr. Bryan, recently baptised into his new environs, becomes an expounder of their fallacies and intrigues by admitting that if the suffrage of the black man was not limited, white supremacy would fail. Mr. Bryan adopts the policy that the end justifies the means.

Personally we would not displace white rule in any state for black rule under the present conditions. We do not feel that our people are sufficiently advanced in the science of government to take charge and control this country; but we do insist that we be given every opportunity afforded every other class of citizens and that we be permitted to qualify by helping and learning. Right cannot survive with error as a foundation. It is too little for a big man like Mr. Bryan to quack about social and political equality. Social equality is a personal question, but political equality is a right recognized by the Declaration of Independence and affirmed by the Constitution. If the race ever had a class of men who placed social equality before the cultivation of character, that class of Negroes has passed. We are entitled to political equality and every other equality before the law, and the question of social equality will take care of itself. We agree with Mr. Bryan that both races are here and here to stay, and we should strive to get along together by the exchange of services and cooperate for the promotion of the common welfare. Mr. Bryan states this is only possible upon the basis of friendship, and friendship is possible only on the basis of honesty and frank understanding. We assent to this sentiment, but we add that the white man's program must include the Negro and the Negro's program must include the white man.

We carry Mr. Bryan's article on another page in this issue.

OPEN LETTER TO COLORED STUDENTS

Pittsburg Courier Publishing Co., Pittsburg, Pa., 3/23/23

Fellow Students:

In addition to inconveniences which you may be or whatever you may ever achieve you must bear from birth, events which vitally affect you are happening here in great America each day. Are you aware of their significance to you? You are in school to better yourself. (Surely this is praiseworthy; without it we are lost.) You have decided that when you come out of school you will make good in your chosen calling. But is that enough? It is not. Mere training and mere decision won't do it. There are things you must face as groups, not as individuals. Group action is an established method of progress. Your interest in the problems of our race is a selfish one, for whatever success you may gain it largely through your own people. It may sound narrow, but is not. I do not means that we you must take up weapons, o methods attempt to fight t but there is something w and we can do it while we dents. Now:

1. Can't we find the causes of the lack of co-operation an and hammer on our s throughout the nation, u in other races, combined is a reality?
2. Don't you believe we ca ourselves socially effici at Lincoln University, Pa.
3. Can't we give intellige profitable consideration race problem?

God help you to see the righ and to do your duty as you see it.

For mutual progress, I am,
I. J. K. WELLS,
Chairman Executive Committee,
Lincoln University, Pa.

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For information, communicate with G. O. West, Secretary pro tem, American Federation of Colored Students, at Lincoln University, Pa.

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There are cities in America containing 50,000 Negroes without a single department store or real bank. Why don't we have them? Why aren't we trusted and supported? Are these things nothing to you? This is something practical. If you are a

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

OUTCAST AMERICANS

The Chicago Whip 8-18-23

When the United States government paid its final respects to the late President Harding a splendid occasion arose for the black people to realize just how much this nation respected them and how they were figured in the general scheme of affairs. America paid an unparalleled and unprecedented tribute to the dead president, and all recognized Americans were permitted to make their grief manifest. The twelve million black people of this nation wept alone, "seemingly outcasts in men's eyes." They were either intentionally or inadvertently omitted from the organized ceremonies in which grieving Americans indulged. Even in the hour of natic al bereavement the hate of the living was made manifest bef re the altar of the dead.

Jews, Lithuanians, Poles, Slavs, Chinese, Irish, German and English, and in fact all of the heterogeneous groups which make up this nation were recognized and permitted to pay their respect by way of representation at Mr. Harding's funeral. We alone were ignored and slighted. Whoever doubts that the black Americans do not feel the sting is ignorant of the black man's character. He feels it and silently resents it, but what can he do?

Chicago Ill.

What can we do when we are shut out from the enjoyment, the benefits and even from the prescribed mourning of this government? We are again brought face to face with the great color problem, and those who have studied it know that we must win respect from this government before we will be granted recognition. The Jews are respected because of their wealth and mental brilliancy; the Ku Klux Klan is respected because of its existing and potential strength as well as its popular preachments; the Catholics are respected because of their numbers, their glorious history and their power. America respects brain and power even where method and motive is repulsive. The black race in this country must develop its brain, and work with the great natural energy and potentialities which comes to them by virtue of citizenship and by reason of their numbers.

When it is considered that there are more black people in this country than there are Jews, and when the voting and earning capacity is estimated, it is invigorating and enthusing to muse over what could be done by the application of intelligent direction to our efforts. Time heals all wounds and time will play its part in developing the natural strength of the American black people, but the time element can be cut down appreciably by the dissemination of intelligent and comprehensive doctrines. These doctrines must emanate from the press and the pulpit. The masses of the black people must be reached and the spirit of the times must be infused in their minds by those agencies which reach them. It is in the province and duty of the press and the pulpit. The possibilities of the black American winning respect and recognition are definite and determined. The probability is left with ourselves.

RAISE LEARNING OF THE NEGRO, IS WM. PICKEN'S PLEA

St. Louis Clarion

William Pickens Speaks To Large Audience

St. Louis, Mo.

DECATUR, Ill., Oct. 10 — Speaking to a packed house in the Methodist Church Tuesday night, William Pickens, field secretary, made a plea for a better understanding between the black and white races in the United States and an effort to raise the intelligence of the black race, predicting that if this is done, the intelligence of the nation as a whole will be advanced.

10-13-23

Local Organization

The association has 450 branches in the United States and has a membership of 100,000 colored people and 10,000 whites. Ther is a local organization in Decatur headed by Edward P. Jacobs, 1002 West Forrest avenue. Miss Marie E. Gray, 1405 North Monroe street is secretary of the Decatur branch.

Mr. Pickens pointed out that in the United States there were one hundred million whites and twelve million blacks and that common sense points out that the two races should get along without misunderstanding.

Can't Have Two Types

"Must Abraham Lincoln come back from his grave and tell you that the nation cannot exist half slave and half free, half 'Jim Crow' and half lynching?" he asked. "You cannot have two types of civilization in this country."

The speaker stated that the black man knows more about the white man than the white man knows about the black because the colored man lives in a world ruled by the whites and reads the white man's papers, absorbs his mode of life and does as the white man does.

Group Not Individual

He also pointed out that crimes committed by a Negro are pointed out in the press as crimes committed as a group and not an individual. headlines adver se the group as "Negro Commits Crime," he said. He went on to show from this association of ideas the word "Negro" instantly arouses the idea of violent crime.

The White Man's Negro

Kansas City Sun

"Down With Subserviency, Long Live Manhood and Courage," Says Kelly Miller.

Kansas City, Mo.

(By Kelly Miller.)

"There are no good Indians but dead Indians." "The good Negro is the one who does what I tell him." These are well known mottoes which express the white man's appraisement of the Red Man's indomitable disposition, on the one hand, and of the Negro's pliant docility on the other. Self abasement and enfeeblement of will are the prime requisites of the slave. It was because the white man found, or thought he found, in the Negro an easier instrument of his will than in the stubborn, defiant Indian that the black man was imported to supplant Indian slavery on this continent. The whole superstructure of modern slavery rested upon the assumption of racial overlordship on part of the white man and acceptance of the assumption on part of the Negro. The individual who possessed innate courage and stubbornness found that he could either conform and be comfortable or resist and incur the coercion of the cruel club. The white man's Negro as a type is the product of the institution of slavery, and is more to be pitied than blamed. Where resistance is risky the temptation to yield is great. Ajax defying the lightning is the apotheosis of foolhardy temerity. Frail human nature is readily prone "to bend the pregnant hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning." The seeming servility which the Negro displays in the presence of the white man is often more spurious than genuine. It is a part of his scheme of calculated cunning. He feigns a submission which he does not feel, and makes believe what he does not believe as part of his protective philosophy. The white man is easily flattered and fooled by appeal to racial vanity. Concede his racial superiority and he will readily grant the submisve Negro any subordinate request. The Negro knows this and plays upon his vanity as his trump card. The white man and the Negro are equally gullible in face of mutual flattery. Each believes that he is deceiving the other when he is only deceiving himself.

9-22-23

The South is endeavoring to encourage the white man's type of Negro, and to eliminate those of more robust and manly spirit. In the August number of Current History, Judge W. R. Winston of North Carolina has pointed out the whole situation in a free, frank and fearless manner. Listen to the learned Judge:

"So long as the Negro 'behaves himself' in the South he is safe. But once let him cross the dead line of race separation and endeavor to assert his manhood rights and he becomes a menace to the existing order of things. With hat in hand, the Southern Negro is more than safe, he is happy—if he is that kind of Negro. For his sake and in memory of the old-time 'darky' schools, hospitals and orphanages have been set on foot. A tender, patient relationship exists between this unambitious, likeable creature and the white people of the South. The white man's Negro gets all that he is entitled to and often more in the courts, as a domestic, on the farm, with trowel or hammer. The white man who undertakes to impose on a white man's Negro has his hands full. Many years experience as a circuit judge enables me to declare that I never witnessed an act of injustice to such a Negro—who does not desire rights, social or political. But what of the increasing number of Negroes who are not white man's Negroes, and the widening gulf between the races?"

Daniel has come to judgment. The cards are laid on the table, face upwards. The crux of the Negro problem depends upon the relative role played by the white man's Negro and the courageous Negro of more manly type. But Judge Winston does not state the whole case. It is not only the ignorant, unambitious mendicant who fills the requirements of the white man's Negro. He is found in every stratum of life and of every degree of intelligence and culture. The Negro of property, learning and position is as easily prone to render racial homage to the white lord and master as the humble hat-in-hand prototype in the South. Change in condition does not always alter character. The essential servility of soul manifests itself in the man highest

up as well as in the man farthest down. The educated and favored Negro often assumes a submissive attitude for motives of profit the same as the ignorant and unfortunate. They are both motivated by innate weakness of will and desire for the crumbs of favor that fall from the white man's table. The white man, North or South, seeks out the complaisant type of Negro upon whom to confer his favor. He can make little use of the Negro who does not readily yield when there is a conflict of will and opinion. A good Negro has the same definition whatever his station in life. He is always considered safe and sane, while the one of a different mind is deemed impracticable and dangerous. The acquiescent Negro becomes the beneficiary of whatever good gifts the white man has to bestow. He enjoys a monopoly of his gratis, grace and goodness. He is made the receiver for the colored race. In this way the Negro who would be thrifty is impressed with the feeling that obedience and submission is profitable in all things. The temptation is indeed strong. It is easy and comfortable to secure a seat on the band wagon. We find the same motive operating in politics, in the church, in the school, in business, and in every relation of Negro life and activity.

Over against this type of the white man's Negro there is developing a type of defiant, discourteous, contentious, bumptious Negro who resents and resists the white man merely because he is white. These are found among the city toughs, quick with gun or razor to avenge any offense, real or fancied, which the white man commits against the Negro race. The iron has entered their soul. He is actuated by the spirit of retaliation and revenge. We also find his counterpart in the educated class. A certain brand of intellectual firebrands are quick to denounce the white race without the least restraint of caution or courtesy. With chip on shoulder, they are eager to fly into flurry at the slightest affront or insinuation. They keep hat on head when it should be in hand in order to display their "manhood." Both extremes are equally dangerous to the best welfare of the race. Neither submission nor defiance is calculated to secure the desired results.

The salvation of the race depends upon that type of Negro who is intelligent, courageous and manly, who is courteous, considerate and sensible, but who will not, in any mood, compromise the manhood rights of his race by servile submission, nor sacrifice them by rash, intemperate impetuosity of passion which would curse the white god and die.

Although the white man affects to like the white man's Negro, yet in his heart of hearts he despises him, and while he avowedly dislikes the manly Negro whom down in his hidden soul he admires. You cannot esteem in another qualities which you despise in yourself; nor yet despise in your neighbor the manifestation of the virtues whose possession you covet.

The white man's Negro t decrease; the manly Negro t increase.

Atlanta, Ga., Constitution

JUN 1 0 1923

(From Letter to Richard H. Edmonds, Editor Manufacturers Record.)

I have had the feeling for some time that the thing for us to do, who live and believe in the south, is to face squarely our difficulties, racial and otherwise, and to use every means urselves to remedy the situation.

Undoubtedly the south is now entering upon a new era of economic and industrial development, and unless something is done, the north, with the present scarcity of labor in the industrial centers, will embarrass us by its strong and flattering bid for negro labor. There is even now a shortage of labor, especially on many plantations and, provided the immigration bars are not let down, this section will experience still greater embarrassment. Negroes are leaving the south and will continue to do so, and I have been surprised at the comparative ease with which, in spite of some hardships and friction, they have adjusted themselves to northern conditions.

Here in the south we can offer conditions equally as attractive as the north, and in some things very much more so—certainly along essential lines, and in the last analysis those are the lines that really appeal to the negro.

I have felt very happy over the fact that the south itself is taking the initiative in seeing that the negro gets here in the south the things which many are seeking in the north. This, I feel, can be done without sacrificing the south's highest standards and best traditions. In meetings of editors, business men, educators and planters I have taken this position with candor and vigor. That is, in my opinion, the quickest and best way to stop migration.

Without doubt economic opportunities for the negro are far superior in the south to those offered in the north, as the record for negro progress shows. No part of America offers a better opportunity for real progress for both races than the south and I think the race problem for the world will be worked out down here. It is being done now with a success and satisfaction which, in spite of cross-currents, is almost a miracle when the whole situation is considered.

Let me thank you again for your letter and express the hope that upon your next trip to Florida you may find it possible to visit this institute which my distinguished predecessor has built up here in the heart of the south. It has always had the heartiest co-operation and support, financially and otherwise, from southern people, among whom are some of my staunchest and most helpful friends.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) R. R. MOTON,
Principal Tuskegee Institute.

Prominent Negro Preacher.

Editor Constitution: I love my state and all of her people and, regardless to what is going on elsewhere, I want our state to be happy, peaceful and prosperous. I am willing to pay any price that will accomplish this end.

In none of my cards and communications have I any thought of social equality (so called). None of my people have. We believe in fair play and justice, an equal chance in the game of life. And while I believe all of this, I do not believe we ought to reduce this to a race issue. There is no race problem except in the mind of the politician. It is a human problem, pure and simple, and we should approach it with humanity in mind instead of a certain group.

We can live together in peace and we must do it. We can change economic conditions in Georgia and we must do it. All of us must put our heads together for Georgia and the south. You have no more right to love Georgia than I do. You have no more right to defend her than I do, for I am as much a Georgian and southerner as you. I am not an African. I was not born in Africa. I owe my first and my best to my state and my country.

God bless you and all those of every group who are striving honestly to stem this restless tide and to make Georgia the once proud commonwealth she used to be.

(REV.) D. D. CRAWFORD,
Executive Secretary General Missionary Baptist Convention of Georgia.

NEGROES ARRESTED

Charged With Attacking White Girl And Using Abusive Language.

Elizabeth Daniels, negro woman and Hannah Lee Williams, sixteen year old negro girl are held in the city jail for attacking and using abusive language on Zettie and Edna Dean, white girls 14 and 12 years of age respectively, 119 West Jeff Davis avenue, at 8 o'clock Monday night.

Officers asserted the negro women had practically blocked the side walk near the childrens' home and when they asked to be let by, the negroes beat them with umbrellas. City Detectives Johnson and Roberts made the arrest and it is understood warrants for assault and battery will be sworn out for them today.

The Negro "Elevation" By Revilement.

The habit of abusing every individual whose head emerges above the crowd, has become one of the damnable curses of the Negro in America. The custom has infected the race in every community with a Negro population. Those with whom the habit is habitual, seem to think the way to raise the race is to revile every "leader" except one's self. So they "carry on." It is a community and national habit of the Nergo race in America—this throwing of stones at the head of the person who rises above the crowd.

The Negro believing himself "divinely called" to lead his people to a "Promised Land," is never willing to follow his brother anywhere in any matter whatsoever. But he wants every Negro on earth to follow him. He appoints himself shepherd and looks upon the rest of the people as sheep to follow him to some pasture where he must feed and they are likely to starve. No other "shepherd" must dare or do, or he'll be damned—tongue or press lashed every time he lifts his head or raises his voice. This is the habit of the average Negro "leader" more interested in himself than in any one of his race or community. It is a habit characterizing every class and breed of Negroes in America.

Some preachers are guilty of reviling their brother ministers in well doing; some educators castigate their fellow-workers for the safe reason; some physicians are known more for the bludgeon with which they knock brother physicians, than for their knowledge of medical science; some lawyers think the best way to dignify the purple toga, is to administer a sound whack upon the head of any member of the profession who seems bent upon rising above the crowd; some politicians seek the favor of climbing upward with "the powers that be, by pulling down the Negro highest above. And revilement continues to be the order of the day with every Negro "leader" trying to climb up by pulling down.

Undoubtedly this habit of revilement must surely distress the real friends and well wishers of the Negro race in America. It impedes, obstructs, discourages and menaces the future of the entire race in this country. It will be a great day for the Negro in this country when the "leaders" of the race are awakened to a full sense of duty to each other and the race—when they make up their minds to say something good of each other when they can, and when they can not do so withhold judgment in order to give the other brother a chance and also stabilize confidence of the people in those whose service for the race entitles them to rank as unselfish and acknowledged leaders. Fighting for principles for the good of men, is one thing. Fighting men, is entirely another. It will be well for Negroes to regard this difference.

—Pittsburgh American

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

NEGRO RACE LOOKS TO JEWS FOR SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING

FROM JEWISH FORWARD

Negro leader avers that the twelve million Colored men represent the exploited and persecuted group in America just as the Jews are oppressed and downtrodden in European countries. The "Poor White Trash" lynch Negroes, but the basic race hatred is a matter of the educated leaders of white culture.

By L. HONORS

That so few of us, such a miserable meager number, should be even slightly acquainted with the inner life and terrible sufferings of the 12,000,000 Colored people in the United States is a thundering accusation against American civilization. Think of it; over a tenth of our entire population are Negroes; we meet them in the theatre, in the street, in the subway, in the restaurant; we brush elbows with them day and night; we hear lies about them; and yet what honest attempt have we made to understand them?

And particularly—we Jews! If there is any race that has suffered and bled and been persecuted as much as the Jew, it is the Negro race. Yet, how many of us know the Negro?

Take the Negro problem in its relation to the immigrant.

"When the immigrant from Eastern Europe meets the Negro in New York," Dr. W. E. Burgham Du Bois told us, "he is curious and interested. He has never before seen a Colored man; he therefore gazes at him as a something new and novel. In his next step, through the process of Americanization, the immigrant will be told to avoid the Negroes, not to have any dealings with them, etc., etc., and later the final step, he will unconsciously begin to absorb the current prejudices against Negroes."

Dr. DuBois, the famous leader of the American Negroes and founder of the Pan-African Congress spoke in a matter-of-fact tone. He is too well acquainted with the poisoning effects of this sort of "Americanization" to be affected by his recital.

The Martyrdom of the Negro

"But before the immigrant goes any further, he should be stopped and warned. The millions of Negroes in America represent the exploited and persecuted group, just as these wanderers from Russia and Poland and Roumania represent that of their countries. And the persecuted group gets little chance to be understood by the foreigners. The press, society, all the domineering forces of the state are against it"—and for the first time in our conversation the Doctor's brown eyes flamed up.

It was Dr. Du Bois, proud son of a tortured race, the courageous fighter for his people's rights and liberties that was speaking. He is an eloquent orator, one of the foremost in America.

"If the Negroes are backward in many respects, we must not forget that they have still to fight for civil and legal equality.

"The main problem of the Negro," Dr. Du Bois said, "is not the struggle for a higher economic plane of living, but the racial discrimination and the struggle for a voice in the state. Consequently, the Negro still thinks about work and wages in terms of the early nineteenth century. He has no time to think of the modern economic revolution, for he has no knowledge of socialism, modern division of labor, socialization of industry, and the other solutions which we radicals put forward for the happiness of all."

'What is the attitude of the Negro toward the Jew?

Jewish Philanthropy and the Colored Race

"A persecuted people sees other people with the eyes of the persecutor," the author of "The Souls of Black Folk' replied. "The ruling class oppresses and exploits the Jews, the Negroes, the Chinese and other races. Meeting each other through the glasses of the newspapers, moving pictures, books and all the organs of the ruling class. The Jew will therefore think of the Negro what the moving pictures tell him to, and vice-versa. Within the last ten years, due to the effective interests which Jews like the late Jacob Schiff and Julius Rosenwald took in the life of Negroes toward the Jews has changed toward sympathy, though, here again, you see, it is apt to be a sympathy for the philanthropic Jews."

Dr. Du Bois is the spiritual leader of the American Negroes. He was born in Great Barrington, Mass., on February 28, 1868. He graduated from high school at the age of 16, and attended Fisk University at Tennessee, where he obtained his A. B. He received his M. A. and Ph. D., at Harvard. He was a brilliant student in both universities; in fact he was so exceptional in his studies that he got a fellowship from Harvard, and studied in Germany at the University of Berlin for two years.

'Away back in the little years of my boyhood ---------- I dreamed of being an editor myself some day," he writes in his extraordinary book 'Darkwater.' "I am an editor. In the great, slashing days of college life I dreamed of a Colored organization to fight the battles of the Negro race. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in such a body, and it grows daily. I planned a time when I could speak freely to my people and of them, interpreting between two worlds. I am speaking now through this book."

Remember that Dr Du Bois was Professor of Economics and History in Atlanta University from 1896 to 1910, is editor of the Crisis, author of many books, champion of the Colored race—and you have a dim idea of his picturesque and inspiring personality.

He is now writing a History of the Negro Race in the Great War, which will be published in the Fall of 1924, if he "succeeds in getting a publisher."

"Why, you don't mean to say that you expect to have any difficulty in obtaining a publisher," we were unpleasantly surprised.

Negroes Misunderstood by Foreign Born.

'Literature treating the Negro problem in America is not very popular especially a history, and a history which will not be very complimentary to Americans. Of course, it will be published, not only because the publisher will expect a big sale of the books among the Colored population."

He spoke of the poverty, the hopeless poverty among Negroes in the South. He spoke of bloody persecutions, of the lynchings, which will remain forever a blot on the pages of our history—of the physical and spiritual tortures of his race. If one wants to get a glimpse of our present American civilization it is well to turn to Dr. DuBois' masterpiece, "Darkwater."

"So with some circumstances having finally gotten myself born, with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but thank God! no 'Anglo-Saxon' I came to the days of my childhood.

"Then, slowly, I realized that some folks, a few, even several, actually considered my brown skin a misfortune; once or twice I became painfully aware that some human beings even thought it a crime."

The words have a familiar ring to those that have read Ludwig Lewisohn's Up Stream.

We talked about literature, Dr. Du Bois believes American literature has made tremendous strides in the past decade.

"But then again," he said with a smile, "the most dramatic thing in American History is the Negro. He is always the turning point, the crisis. He is kept out of novels, for publishers are afraid to print anything about him. The Negro is in every city; he is, after all, the real American, but you dont find him portrayed in the American novel, and attempts are made to keep him away from American art and literature."

"How did the affair of Augusta Savage, the Colored girl, who was denied a scholarship in the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts by the American directors, strike you?

The Shame of our Civilization

"Here you have it in the naked shame, the technique of American race prejudice. It is idle to charge up lynchings solely to the 'poor white trash,' the ignorant and poor may lynch and discriminate but the really deep and basic race hatred in the United States is a matter of the educated and distinguished leaders of white civilization. They are the ones who are determined to keep black folk from developing talent and sharing in civilization. Not only do they not raise a hand to stop the discriminations, they even gently and politely, but in strict secrecy put their shoulders to the wheel and push it forward."

We asked Dr. Du Bois what he thought about the Ethiopian Theatre which gave performances of Wilde's Comedy of Errors.

Failure of Ethiopian Players

"If this new thing had come out of France with a European imprint. I cannot but think that New York would have gone wild in praise at its daring originality. At it was, on the night I saw it, three tall white gentlemen sitting in the very front row, almost insulted the actors with their goings and comings, their gestures and comments.

"Despite singular prejudice on the part of some people, the Negro actor can give the world an interpretation of the same great plays which white actors have portrayed. The Negro actor can give the world an interpretation of the same great plays which white actors have portrayed. The Negro may do in his own theatre a great work in passing on the message of the drama to the masses of his own folk. Finally, Negroes as actors and as dramatic writers have a wonderfully rich field to exploit in their own terrible history of experience. The sombre pen of some black Ibsen, the religious fervor of some Colored Tolstoy, or the sarcasm of a black Moliere have here a marvelous chance to develop. For these reasons, these Colored players were splendid pioneers and the artistic finish of their work does them great credit."

Dr. Du Bois then spoke about Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican Negro, who was found guilty and sentenced to prison for squandering big sums of money, the last savings of poor Negroes who trusted him. Garvey was the initiator of the Back-to-Africa movement among the Colored people.

"I believe the man is crazy," Dr. Du Bois said. "Or, at least, suffering from delusions of greatness. He meant well, but he knew nothing about the thing he was undertaking. For instance, he was going to buy vessels for the transportation of Negroes while he knew nothing of maritime affairs. He should have been sentenced to a sanatorium, not a prison.

It's well to remember that Dr. Du Bois' ancestors came to New England more than two hundred years ago. His forefathers fought in the Revolutionary War. Who, then, is a real American? We wonder if the Ku Klux Klan could answer?

RAN CAR INTO RIVER.

Negro Forced to Give Up Vehicle By Three White Men.

GREENWOOD, Miss., Oct. 10.—Though efforts have been made to ascertain the identity of parties who forced a negro, Jay Jones, to surrender his car, and then ran the car over the bluff into the Yazoo River at the foot of Main Street, nothing sufficient to warrant an arrest has been discovered as yet, but a number of clews are being worked on, and it is likely that the mystery will be solved within the next day or two.

The negro's story of three white men, accompanied by a woman, beating him with clubs and taking the car was at first doubted, but the negro's account of the affair has been corroborated, and numbers of conjectures made as to the cause of the acts of the men.

The more plausible story is that the men were acting under the impression that the negro failed to give them sufficient room to pass on the highway where the car was taken, and ran the vehicle into the river in a spirit of revenge. The guilty parties will be punished heavily when caught.

THE NEGRO IN NEW ENGLAND

Kelly Miller—Afro-American.

I was in Boston last week. Boston is New England, and New England is Boston so far as the Negro is concerned. After delivering my set address on the Negro Sanhedrin I was invited to meet with a delightful group that was giving a reception to the graduates and students of Harvard, Boston University, the New England Conservatory of Music and other regional institutions.

Hon. William H. Lewis, ex-Assistant Attorney General, was the orator of the occassion. His address was up to his usual high standard of eloquence, wit and wisdom. By the way, Mr. Lewis is recognized as being one of the great lawyers of New England. He has found ample room in his profession, on top.

It was an inspiration to witness these thirty or forty young men and women gathered from all parts of the country seeking the forms of knowledge and culture of the highest scholastic type. I could not but advise them that their special attainments would find useful expression mainly in service to their own group, but would become comparatively impotent and barren unless quickened by the human motive and charged with missionary zeal and enthusiasm.

The situation of the New England Negro is a study and a puzzle. The old traditional spirit of philanthropy is dying with the years. The abolitionist freed the slaves, and are dead. Their descendants maintain a decent and distant respect for the deeds and devotion of their ancestors. They have little interest in the Negro in New England in the year of our Lord, nineteen twenty-three. The forms of traditional equality still survive. Harvard was forced to the right decision out of deference to its traditions rather than the dictates of contemporary attitude and feeling.

Trotter and the Equal Rights League are fighting manfully for the maintainance of the old foundations. Foreigners are flooding New England with moral indifference.

On the whole the race is losing rather than gaining in the sphere of racial rights and recognition. The numbers are increasing slowly. There are scarcely enough Negroes to sustain a highly functioning life of their own, while there is a lessening disposition on part of the whites to have them amalgamate with the general life of the community. There are no Negroes in business who measure up to Lee and Lewis of a generation ago.

The ordinary working man is scarcely more than holding his own. The professional men are doing well. There is shown a fine spirit of social service on part of a number of noble women and worthy men. Associated business enterprise is making a commendable beginning. The race problem, however, is as evident in Boston as it is in Baltimore. It merely takes on different modes of manifestation.

The Negro is brought face to face with himself and his problems in all places and sections of the country. The Negro in New England like the Negro in Mississippi, must keep constantly on the alert to keep from losing out. The Negro problem is one with only local variations and the Negro must understand and deal with it as such.

NO EFFORT IS MADE TO ENFRANCHISE NEGRO

—SAYS MILLER.

COLUMBUS JOURNAL
JUNE 29, 1923

All Colored Organizations Should Combine to Aid in Uplift of Race, He Says.

"No president since Garfield has tried to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments," declared Kelly Miller, dean of the college of arts at Howard University, Washington, D. C., last night at St. Paul's A. M. E. Church.

"Even president Harding, who vigorously attempting to enforce the eighteenth amendment, does not try to enforce the two relating to the colored race," Dean Miller continued. "It is through no fault of his own, but public sentiment is not yet ready for it. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments were left stranded when the high tide of sentiment of the civil war period receded."

Wherever there is racial distinction there also is racial discrimination, Dean Miller asserted. It is found, he said, not only in states where there are specific "Jim Crow" laws and statutes forbidding interracial marriages, but even in such states as Ohio, where the state constitution denies the negro the right to vote.

Dean Miller urged negroes to combine their many organizations into one group, which would work for the uplift and real equality of the race. "The white man must help t negro, but the latter must also himself," he said.

FOREIGN VISITOR IMPRESSED WITH NEGRO PROGRESS.

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

NEW YORK, N. Y., Aug. 10—The effective constructive work being done in the South under direction of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has so favorably impressed Dr. James Henderson, principal of the Lovedale Institution, South Africa, that he has returned home with the intention of organizing a similar Commission whose personnel shall consist of natives and white people interested in South African problem.

For thirty years Dr. Henderson has been engaged in missionary education. His school is the largest in South Africa conducted in the interest of the native youth. After spending seven weeks in the United States, studying at close range the educational, economic, social and industrial development of the American Negro he has formed some highly favorable impressions.

The absorbing passion of the American Negro for progress, his intense loyalty to his country and the American flag, the facility with which he speaks the English Language, his thirst for education and his strong religious tendencies were among the commendable characteristics to come within the range of Dr. Henderson's observations.

The two things to puzzle him most while in America were: First, the inclination of white America to accord better treatment to the foreigner than to the Negro, although the former comes to these shores as a rule purely for selfish and mercenary reasons; second, the lack of appreciation shown for its leaders by members of the Negro race.

While on his extended tour of observation Dr. Henderson visited among other places, Tuskegee and Hampton, also Atlanta, Savannah, Gulfport, Miss., Calhoun, Ala., Gloucester County, Va., Kings Mountain, N. C., Richmond, Petersburg, Washington, New York, and Boston. His itinerary enabled him to study Negro life in both urban and rural communities.

He was first impressed with the great desire of Negroes to own their own homes. Wherever he found landowners he noted progress, good houses, well furnished homes and decent, self-respecting home life. Negroes owning their property aim to send their children to schools and colleges, it having been no uncommon experience for the South African educator to hear of three or more children in a family having graduated from different institutions of learning.

In the opinion of Dr. Henderson, the system of tenacy without lease affects both white and colored people and is a very serious barrier. The relative progress made in a community as distinguished between owner and tenant was most noticeable in Calhoun, Ala. Dr. Henderson was struck with the progress made by Negroes in Gloucester, County, Va., where all but sixteen farmers own their own land, have good homes and are improving the soil.

The keenness displayed by the Negro farmer about agriculture, his extraordinary readiness to learn new methods from Federal and State farm demonstrators were strikingly apparent to the visitor.

Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes came up to Dr. Henderson's expectations. Some phases of their work even exceeded his expectations. He thinks it would be unsound for these two great schools to merely turn out common workers from their respective industrial departments, for the care and thoroughness of the training fits students to go out into the world and serve as "masters" of the trade and not merely ordinary workmen.

The spectacle of Negroes living in elaborately appointed homes and enjoying all modern conveniences was quite an eye-opener to the South African during his tour of inspection in New York, Boston, and Washington.

Dr. Henderson is a Scotchman of strong religious convictions.

He believes that in God's providence Negro slaves were brought to America hundreds of years ago for a great purpose, and that the American Negro is destined to fill the pages of American history with glorious service to themselves and to the Nation.

Race Problem—1923. I
United States.

POSTON MAKES EXPOSE OF NEGROES' LEADERS

The Negro World—New York City

Regrets the Necessity of Fighting Certain Leaders, but Says It Is Necessary in the Interest of the Race—Points Out How DuBois, Kelley Miller and Moton Are Controlled by Alien Influences—U. N. I. A. Is an Independent Movement and Needs No Alien Agencies to Direct Its Activities—The President General Has Demonstrated His Independence Before, During and After His Trial

O'MEALLY DRAWS ATTENTION TO SUBTLE PLANS OF WHITE RACE TO EFFECT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NEGRO RACE—SAYS NEGROES IN WESTERN WORLD MUST GIVE MORE THOUGHT TO THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN AFRICA—FREEDOM FOR THE NEGRO MUST BE FOUGHT FOR AND WON BY HIMSELF

Rudolph Smith Emphasizes the Necessity of Race Pride—Negroes Must Eliminate Petty Jealousy and Combine Without Regard to Place of Birth—U. N. I. A. Is Proving the Possibilities of Negroes Being Able to Govern Themselves

LIBERTY HALL, NEW YORK, Sunday Night, September 23. — Notwithstanding the inclement weather which prevailed today, the friends and followers of the New York local of the Universal Negro Improvement Association turned out in their usual large numbers and filled Liberty Hall almost to capacity. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the tremendous following that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is able to command wherever and whenever its doors are thrown open is abundant proof that its principles and program have stirred up a feeling which is forever craving for more and more enlightenment about the things that concern the race. For this enlightenment the masses have come to regard the Universal Negro Improvement Association as the only source from which it can come, since it is the only national and international uplift organization that is controlled and conducted exclusively by Negroes, and that has set for its goal the redemption of Africa and the establishment of a Negro government.

The program rendered tonight was of an inspiring character. The audience was treated with brilliant speeches delivered by R. L. Poston, Secretary General; James O'Meally and Rudolph Smith, together with a wonderful demonstration of the budding talent which the organization is developing among the young element of the race by an oration delivered by Master Samuels, a lad of about twelve years old, of whom the Chairman, Hon. William Sherrill, said that if the Hon. Marcus Garvey had done no more than to inspire boys like that with the doctrines of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, he will have served his day and his generation well. Mr. Poston spoke on the subject of "The Master's Voice and Negro Leaders," in which he showed the striking difference between the kind of leadership that the U. N. I. A. was giving the Negro race and that which men like DuBois, Major Moton and Kelly Miller were attempting to give. The U. N. I. A., he said, was admitted to be the most powerful movement among Negroes today because it was a movement that hears no master's voice, a movement entirely Negro, for the Negro and by the Negro. It needed no alien agencies to direct it and had at its head a president who had demonstrated his independence during his trial and after the trial and had sacrificed every comfort in order that the race might gain absolute freedom under the banner of the Red, the Black and the Green.

Hon. James O'Meally spoke impressibly of the need of Negroes exerting themselves to gain their own freedom and drew attention to the plans and activities of the alien races to effect the destruction of the Negro race. Hon. Rudolph Smith captivated the audience with a wonderful address on the subject of "Negroes' ability to govern themselves." He dwelt on the necessity of Negroes learning more about themselves and by aspiring to a government of their own create the respect which is given other races who had behind them a well organized government to protect their interest.

Following are the texts of the speeches:

SIR R. L. POSTON'S ADDRESS

Sir R. L. Postton, Secretary-General, was the first speaker. He said:

"The chairman was absolutely right when he said that nobody will make a speech excelling that of young Samuels. It is not often that we have such budding oratory as shown in this boy, young Samuels. Samuels and another boy by the name of Patterson, whom I heard from this platform some time ago, represent the possibilities of this great organization. If the Hon. Marcus Garvey has done no more to inspire boys like that with the doctrines of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, he has served his day and his generation well.

The Master's Voice

"I am going to speak briefly tonight from the subject, 'The Master's Voice and Negro Leaders.' Now by 'Master' I do not mean 'Master' as we have looked upon Him. I do not mean God. By 'Master' I mean man. The person who employs us usually has a claim upon us. The person who loans us money usually has a claim upon us. When a person does us a favor of any kind we are in a measure obligated to that person, and when I speak of 'The Master's voice and our Negro leaders,' I speak of the voice which, when heard, directs the activities of certain of our leaders.

Fighting Within the Group

"There is one unfortunate thing that confronts us today in the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and it is this—the necessity of fighting certain leaders, and, through them, possibly certain organizations. We do not want this condition to prevail, and yet it is nothing new with us. Every race of people, every group that has sought freedom from a certain condition, has had to fight within the group certain persons who were controlled by certain influences which had as its purpose the enslavement of that group.

Du Bois' Change in Thought

"Now the leaders that I shall speak of this evening are W. E. B. Du Bois, Major Moton and Kelly Miller. These are the men who heard their master's voice and heeded. Du Bois started out in the Niagara movement to speak with a degree of independence, but when the shoe began to pinch him and when finance was not coming as fast as it should, he was approached by those who wanted to use him for the purpose of keeping down the awakened spirit of the Negro. In 1907 Du Bois heard the master's call, and from that day until this he has been very guarded in his expressions. The book of which we have heard so much, 'The Soul of Black Folks,' in some respects the wail of the disappointed, had in it certain indications of an independent mind. Du Bois spoke out boldly and bravely about certain conditions back in 1893, about the time this book was written. But since 1907 we have not heard from this great leader any expressoin of independence. He wrote a book of essays entitled 'Dark Water.' But 'Dark Water' in no measure approached the book he wrote, 'The Soul of Black Folks.' And 'Dark Water' was written, of course, since this man has sold himself body and soul to the white man.

Major Moton's Faithfulness to Environment

"Now we shall take next Dr. Moton Major Moton was trained almost from a boy for the task that he assumed after the death of Mr. Washington. Major Moton slept, as I stated here some time ago, with the man who trained and molded his character, one of the white philanthropists, the head of the Hampton Institute, and we know that since Major Moton has assumed the leadership of Tuskegee he has in no measlure expressed any thought of independence, where the colored man is concerned and where white men expect him to support the sentiments of the South. Recently when there was a great controversy about conditions there at the Veterans' Hospital in Tuskegee and when pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Moton by the race to express an independent thought, Mr. Moton was found, without giving an address, sojourning in some parts of the North where it would not be necessary for him to express himself in the interests of the race, showing clearly he is directed by those influences which have as their aim the enslavement of our race.

Kelly Miller's False Alarm

"Recently the hope of the race was boosted to a certain extent by the announcement of Kelly Miller that he was going to call a Sanhedrin or a kind of a conference of the various Negro organizations in order to elect an independent leader. But we find Mr. Miller prompting certain individuals to meet in caucus and make him the temporary chairman, which is the next step to picking him and making him the president of the congress which he shall convene. And I venture to predict that when they do convene there will not be an elected leader of that organization. Again we have the handpicked leader, another indication of hearing the Master's voice.

No Quarrel With the People

"Now our quarrel is not with the people these men lead, because usually their followers are misguided and misled. We have no quarrel to make with the rank and file of the membership of the N. A. A. C. P. or the Equal Rights League or the various other organizations. We sometimes make a mistake when we start out in an extended warfare against the rank and file of this membership. Our fight is against the leaders—those who ex-

ploit and those who mislead, for their own selfish aggrandizement, the thousands of followers who are seeking diligently like ourselves for the light. This is no new thing with us as a race. When De Valera started his fight against certain influences in Ireland, he found there were Irishmen touched by the hand of Britain, which had as its aim the enslavement of the people. When Mahatma Gandhi started to liberate the Indians, his great fight was against the titled nobility among the Indians, who were used for the purpose of blinding the rank and file among the Indians. Those of us who read the revolution in Haiti, the history of the great movement which gave to the world Toussaint L'Ouverture, know that Toussaint L'Overture found it necessary to slay thousands of his own before he could reach the goal of independence. We do not like the idea of fighting among ourselves. It is indeed distasteful. But those who will fight the battle of freedom will always find those of our own blocking the way. And so, friends, when we speak against the heads of these organizations, we would like to be understood as not opposing so much the people that are led as we are opposing the deceivers who lead them.

The U. N. I. A's Independence

The great movement of the world to-day among Negroes, admitted to be the most powerful movement, is a movement that hears no Master's voice, a movement entirely Negro, for the Negro and by the Negro. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is an independent movement. We say what we want to because no alien agencies direct our speech. We do what we want to because no alien agencies direct our activities. Our President is entirely independent. That was demonstated not only before his trial but during the trial and after the trial. For certain considerations the burden would have been light on him, but he demonstrated his great love for the race by sacrificing every comfort that may have come to him individually in order that the race, of which he is the leader, might have absolute freedom under the banner of the Red, the Black and the Green. (Applause).

"And so, friends, that is my message for you to-night. Follow the Universal Negro Improvement Association because the Universal Negro Improvement Association has no master out of the race. We are the masters of our own souls. We are the directors of our own destiny." (Applause).

SIR JAMES O'MEALLY SPEAKS

Sir James O'Meally spoke as follows: "To be or not to be, that is the question. Whether it is nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune or to take arms against a sea of trouble and, by opposing, end them." In these few lines of the immortal Bard of Avon we have the problem that is now facing the Negro race. To exist or not to exist, that is the question. Whether we shall remain passive and indifferent while the white man carries out his aim of destroying the race or, by opposing him with all the means available, save ourselves and our motherland, Africa.

Plans Destruction of Negro Race

Probably you are not aware that the white man has formed elaborate and well laid plans for the utter destruction of our race. When you stop to consider what this really means, you say it is hard to believe that human beings could be so soulless as to plan to remove an entire race that has never done them any evil. You must realize this, however, that the white man in his dealings with the colored race leaves God and justice out except where Christianity helps to further his diabolical plans. The white man is determined to make this world white; if in doing so it is necessary to kill and starve black men and women, then he is going to do so, for his doctrine is "that the end justifies the means."

One of the most pathetic stories of any group of our race has been that of the destruction of the noble Zulu. It is hardly possible to read an unbiased history of these great Negroes without the heart swelling with pride at their achievements on the field of battle and the tears gathering in the eyes at the destruction which came upon them. When the white man went to South Africa he found it peopled by the finest specimens of black men that the world has ever seen. They were not the wild savages that the white man would have us believe, but, on the contrary, they were a well organized people with a good system of government. The white man realized from the very outset that he could not live side by side with such proud and warlike Negroes, and, as there is nothing so galling to white men as to live in close proximity to Negroes who will not crawl or bend the knee, they calmly and coldly decided to destroy our brothers. But the entire destruction of the race was not to come just yet. He would use the Negro as a tool and as a convenience until the proper time came, when he would cast him off and destroy him. Then began one of the dirtiest political and diplomatic games that ever blackened the pages of British history. Certain white officials were sent into the Zulu country to allay the suspicions of the natives and to impress them that their white brothers only wanted to trade with them and to introduce to them a knowledge of the true and living God. Another group was sent into the country to commit atrocities and violate the laws in order that the Zulus may discipline them, and thus furnish the English with an excuse for sending armed troops under the pretext that those Negroes were unable to protect the foreigners in their country. Other and deeper causes involving issues of land were raised and war entered into with the Zulus. The purpose of the war was to break up the organization of these Negro warriors and furnish cheap labor for the white man. The whites thereupon entered into a struggle with the blacks, who fought valiantly, desperately and with a courage not to be excelled. The white man won. But we have this satisfaction: that he had to wade deep in his own blood before he could achieve his aims. When these Zulus were defeated we were defeated; when these Zulus were crushed we were crushed, when they were humbled we were humbled.

But the white man is not satisfied to humble and crush the Negro. Nothing but the complete annihilation of our race will satisfy him, and, accordingly, General Smuts and his ilk have been pushing the natives against the wall. Thy began by taking away their fertile lands and by making it hard for them to obtain employment of any sort. They segregated them and compelled them to live in barren districts, where even the carrion found it difficult to find food. They adopted some of the same tactics that the Spaniads adopted when they went into Cuba, which cruel treatment of the Cubans caused the United States to intervene in behalf of humanity and drive Spain from the West Indies. But who cares about the Negro to intervene for him? What does it matter if a dozen or a million Negroes died or were murdered? There is only one person who cares about the Negro, and that is the Negro himself.

The Negro Must Save Himself

If you do not toil, if you do not begin to save yourselves from annihilation, then your blood be upon your heads and upon that of your children. I crave indulgence while I read a few extracts from an African paper under the heading of "Agricultural Labor": "And consequently we find in the country (that is, in South Africa) natives working for practically half a loaf of bread a day." But you sit here, living in comparative comfort, and do not think of your brother, do not think of redeeming him. "In other parts of the country, owing to land monopoly, natives mortgaged their stock and indentured the labor of their children and their homes in consideration of the right to remain on the farm and graze their stock; they sold their children into slavery to remain in the land of their forefathers and their own ancestors." Can you imagine any greater insolence of the white man than this? The object of such indentures and mortgages are that the natives shall allow their daughters to work for their masters.

For Christ's Sake

The other extract is under the heading of "For Christ's Sake," because it has to do with the Christian Church. There is a certain church that went out to christianize the natives. Immediately it got a few converts it suggested the idea of purchasing a farm on which to establish a mission station and induced the native adherents to contribute toward the purchase price. These poor Negroes gave of their best talent, their hard-earned money and stock in the hope that they would help to establish a permanent home for themselves. Their hopes were blasted, for after 50 years of occupation the Church Council—good Christians—levied heavy taxes and made life intolerable until the natives complained. Those who raised a protest against the heavy taxes were served with notice to quit the farm. This is interesting news for those of you who contribute so much to foreign missions to help to put your own brothers and sisters deeper into slavery and increase their misery. Other cruelties are practiced upon the natives, such as the chaining of native girls to wagons in the open and compelling them to sleep in the open veldts with a chance of being eaten up by wild animals; flogging men and women until the flesh hung like ribbons upon their backs and yoking young women with oxen and compelling them to draw the plow.

Surely it is not possible for any black man and woman to read of the misery, the wretchedness and the suffering of these our brothers and sisters without mingled feelings of sorrow for the Kaffirs and intense hatred for the white South African. And yet our colored preachers are telling us to leave everything to God. The reason we are in the position we are today is because God is tired of us lazy folks leaving everything to him. The old Uncle Tom Negro loafed on the job and went to sleep and God left him sleeping. God helps those who help themselves.

Must Fight for Freedom

If you want freedom you must fight for it and not beg for it. One thing only will give us our freedom, and that is force. It was force that compelled King John to sign the Magna Charta which gave to Englishmen the rights of which they are justly proud. It was force which battered at the gates of the Bastile and freed France from tyranny and made her the nation that she is. It was force which drove the English out of the United States and made a new nation in the Western world, and, as sure as there is a God, force, and force alone, will restore Ethiopia to her pristine glory and redeem this race. (Applause.) May the day come quickly when Ethiopia shall unsheath the avenging sword and black men be given a chance to show that heroism which is the dazzling and glorious concentration of courage—a heroism which is the brilliant triumph of our unconquered souls. (Applause.)

THE HON. RUDOLPH SMITH'S ADDRESS

The Hon. Rudolph Smith spoke on the subject, "Negroes' Ability to Govern Themselves." "The Negro race," he said, "has been criticized over a very lengthy period. It has been criticized because it was somewhat spasmodic and not attempting to do things on a constructive basis like other races until recently. The Negro race during the last decade has caused the world much anxiety, because Negroes form a part of the great governments of modern times. Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and other countries of Europe had fastened their tentacles on Africa, and the United States of America had charge of the Western Hemisphere. Wherever one turned, the Negro race was found under the control of the white man.

The Negro in Conference

"When the great world war took place from 1914 to 1918," he continued, "with a triple entente and a triple alliance, when Great Britain called upon her subjects from various parts of the world, Negroes were brought from the land of Africa to the battlefields of France and Flanders. Belgium, who had oppressed black folks most vilely for several decades, called upon her Negro subjects to fight for democracy. France called upon her Negro subjects and they responded. The call soon came to us here in the South and the North to go and help fight for democracy, and Negroes again trooped to the battlefields of France and Flanders. But the Negroes who assembled there had creative minds. They knew how to plan for the future, not to think of the past, but of how to prepare for the future. And West Indian and American and French Negroes began to exchange ideas and to compare notes, and they said, 'Something must be done.' The American Negro said, 'Yes, they lynch and insult me way back home.' The Belgian Negro said, 'Yes, they gouge out my eyes and trample my body on the earth.' The Negro from Africa said, 'Yes, they treat me mighty bad.' The Negro from the West Indies said 'Yes, Great Britain took away from us the sugar trade and gave it to Germany, the same country we are going to fight against. Things have been mighty hard with us. Some of us

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United States.

could only work for two shillings a day.' And they said, 'Let us work together. Let us settle all of these national differences.' God in His infinite majesty called upon a black man to draw together the Negroes of the earth and said to him, 'Go and unite your race.' The New World 9-29-28 God selected a man to do this. He meant that Negroes should get together to build up a government of their own." (Applause).

Banishing Petty Jealousies

The speaker then dwelt upon the splendid progress being made by the Universal Negro Improvement Association in eradicating petty jealousies between American Negroes and West Indian Negroes. "These Negroes," he said, "did not understand each other. And it was the business of the other fellow to foster this misunderstanding. The American Negro would call the West Indian Negro 'Monkey chaser,' and the West Indian Negro would call the American Negro 'Possum eater.'"

Mr. Smith created much laughter with his explanation of the origin of the term "Monkey chaser." He said there was a girl from St. Kitts, British West Indies, employed by a white woman in New York. The girl had but recently arrived in New York, and her employer, noting this, tried to take advantage of her. One day she was sweeping the steps and she was told to sweep the steps of the woman next door also. The girl became incensed. There was a place in St. Kitts named "Monkey Hill," and the girl told her employer, "Before I do that I prefer to go back to Monkey Hill and chase monkeys." Thus it was that "Monkey chaser" came into existence. As far as possum eating was concerned, no one ate more possums than white Southerners.

Negroes Able to Govern

He was convinced that Negroes were able to govern themselves. Negroes had visited the various institutions of learning, they had equipped themselves, and it only remained for them now to gather their forces together. No one was asking all Negroes to pack up and quit the United States or wherever they lived and go back to Africa. That would take a very long time indeed. But Africa was ready now to receive pioneers, men able to till the fields, build, bridge rivers, run factories and do some of the countless things on which modern governments thrive. One of the pressing needs was the establishing of a commercial exchange, so that goods could be readily sent from one place to the other, all handled by Negroes. There was a large industrial field waiting for Negroes to conquer, if only they would awake and see. There were limitless possibilities of trade with Japan and China, not to mention others, and the Negro could be kept busy in spite of any unwillingness on the part of some to keep him at the bottom industrially. The backbone of a nation was its industries, and Negroes must be prepared to create factories of their own, and they must have steamships to transport their goods.

U. N. I. A. Only Organization Bringing Independent Minds Together.

In conclusion, Mr. Smith said the Universal Negro Improvement Association was the only international organization that is bringing the independent minds together. But there is one thing which the organization was asking and that was to eliminate petty jealousy and hate. Africa cannot be redeemed, the speaker said, while those evils prevailed. The thing that is most important with us now is the creation of a black government by which means the Negro will be respected. All the other races and peoples of the world are respected because they had behind them a well organized government, but colored folks were kicked around and assaulted and insulted. When we consider how much the Negro had contributed to Western civilization and have helped to establish the governments of the world and behold him being kicked around and given no respect, we reach the conclusion that something is wrong. It meant that we have got to get together and create respect for ourselves. Mothers and fathers will have to bring up their children in a different way. Instead of giving their children white dolls to play with they will give them colored dolls. The Japanese children played with Japanese dolls; the Chinese children played with Chinese dolls, and the white people's children played with white dolls, but the colored people's children played with white dolls. Go into the houses of some Negroes and you find pictures of great men hung on the walls but never a picture of a great Negro. They read books telling them of the deeds of white men of the past, but very little is said about Touissant L'Ouverture, the hero of Hayti, or of Hannibal, who crossed the Alps and went to the gates of Rome and defeated the Romans; about Poushkin, the greatest Russian poet, or of Alexander Dumas, or of such men as Nat Turner and Frederick Douglass and Paul Lawrence Dunbar. But as long as there is a Universal Negro Improvement Association and a Marcus Garvey, Negroes shall learn about Negroes from now, henceforth and forever. (Applause). Learn something about Negro history, and after you have learned about Negro history, learn to do something for yourselves. That is what this movement is asking of you. (Applause).

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

The larger and more influential newspapers of the north and west have recently shown a most friendly disposition toward the south in the discussion of the causes for the more recent discontent and unrest of negro laborers in certain of the southern states and which have resulted in a renewal of the "migrations" which followed the close of the World war. The hegiras of 1919-20 had no significance other than that southern employers simply worked upon the cupidity of negro laborers with promises of easy work and large wages. Thousands of negroes were drawn away from their southern homes and environments by these glittering promises that were never realized, and the vast majority of them drifted back to the "old plantation" and their old familiar and none too exacting jobs "back home," wiser for their experience and more willing to remain among their own "white folks."

Chattanooga Times 7-8-28

The present drift has something more stubborn and alarming back of it. The negro isn't deceived now about wages and "easy work;" he knows that is a delusion and a snare. He has found out that wages in the north are based even more firmly on economic demands than in the south, and he has learned that "work" up there means "work," and that, too, of a kind that doesn't altogether appeal to his inclinations.

So there must be something else than the mere question of "wages" and "work" back of the present movement. It cannot be the ku-klux organization, for that organization is just as numerous and as active north of Mason and Dixon's line as it is in the south. "Social equality," so-called, has likewise lost its drawing qualities so far as northern communities are concerned. Negro writers and negro educators know better than to say that the negro's social conditions are better elsewhere than in the south. The only part "social equality" may have in the matter is that a few southern whites use it as a sort of propaganda in keeping alive racial prejudices. The negro himself is under no such delusion as that he may enjoy more privileges with the northern than he does with the southern whites. He is not thinking of social equality and is not seeking it, realizing, to his credit, that any movement looking to that condition would be his absolute undoing and destroy the splendid record he has made since slavery in advancing himself in material, spiritual and educational fields.

The New York World is fair enough to say in a recent editorial that southern men, and especially the editors of the leading southern newspapers, "are courageously demanding a 'square deal' for the negro," and that "they do not hesitate to say that conditions will have to be changed if the migration wave is to materially subside."

Interviews with leading negroes and manufacturers of this city establish the fact that herein is the real remedy for the situation. We have got to improve the living conditions of the negro; we have got to guarantee him a square deal before the law, and especially are we required to protect him against official oppression and rescue him "as the football" of the fee-grabbing gentry who find his little delinquencies and peccadillos the most prolific sources of their grafting; and, above all, we have got to give him better opportunities for education and for clearing himself of the stigma of illiteracy which is flouted against him at all times in statistics giving percentages of illiteracy in the southern states.

Herein, there would seem to be no doubt, is the remedy for this "migration" mania which seems to have seized the negroes of a number of southern states. Tennessee may point its neighbors to the reason why this state has not suffered greatly from a loss of negro laborers. There has grown up in Tennessee for the past twenty years a most generous spirit toward negro education and the betterment of his living conditions. The state normal school, maintained at Nashville, at which hundreds of deserving negroes are trained in industry and agriculture, domestic science, etc., under the wise and efficient guidance of President W. J. Hale, has had a tremendous effect for composing any dissatisfaction or discontent that agitators might otherwise be able to organize in the state. Negro schools in most of the cities and towns are thriving and are given at least sufficient support to enable them to run six and eight months of the year.

What is needed now is the following up of these proposals for negro betterment. The business men of the city are considering the employment of a public defender for the protection of the victims of official oppression; a strong sentiment has been growing for the enlargement and improvement of the facilities for affording negro children opportunities for getting at least primary education, and a disposition has been manifested—and it must be strongly fortified with practical and effective demonstrations—for improving the living conditions of negro families. Better buildings are to be provided for them; some of the comforts and conveniences of life are to be added to these homes, and the negro workman is to be taught that he is something more than a mere animal in the matter of his domestic living. Hundreds of well-to-do negroes are improving their homes and that is stimulating others at least to a point of desiring better things in their own living quarters.

FOOLS WILL TALK.

The Guardian 9-29-28

A certain white minister of the Gospel (God forbid), advances the matured idea, matured evidently in an incubator, that all black Americans be segregated into a separate and distinct part of these United States of America, where the Colored people could develop their own civilization.

He advances the statement that the white culture is getting dry rot thro contact with the black people.

He certainly woke us up for we have been thinking that white people had pretty well kept our civilization away from us until recently when news of King Tut's tomb accidentally got into burning print.

As a people we have been pretty good imitators of "Masser" white man's brand of civilization to be told that we are ourselves in some information so startling that we are almost speechless. The wild idea that some white people have is a conviction in itself that as a class they are slipping.

OPINION

By Chandler Owen
Editor
Messenger Magazine

White Supremacy Shaky

White Supremacy Shaky

"WHOM the gods would destroy they first make mad." The much-vaunted superiority of the white man is being challenged as never before in these United States. Despite all bars and obstacles the black brother is proving every day that he is the equal and often the superior of the whites. In business, athletics, music, art, literature, industry and general culture, he is alarming his white brother by his rapid strides. Naturally no one likes to have his position endangered by an "inferior." How can we preserve the myth of white superiority when Negroes of ability and courage in every walk of life are capturing first places? All around us we see the answer: Refuse to employ him in the skilled and professional positions. Don't play football or baseball with him when you can prevent it, or allow him to join your teams. Segregate him and discriminate against him at every opportunity. Don't allow him an inch because we know he is capable of taking a mile. What then would become of our much vaunted "Nordic" ascendency?

Portland Oregonian

It is this dreadful fear of the Negro and the other darker peoples capturing all the coveted prizes; intellectual, economical, artistic and athletic, that constitutes the foundation for the spirit of Ku Kluxism possessed by nine-tenths of our white brethren. Is the Negro an intelligent, thrifty workman, liable to become a property owner? Then, since the God of America is Property, we must, by hook or crook, keep him as far removed from the deity as possible, by the well known methods—discrimination and segregation. Is the Negro a great athlete? Then we must refuse to box him, play baseball or tennis with him, or allow him to compete in any championship contests. Is the Negro a great artist? Then we must do everything to discourage him. Is the Negro a great scholar? Then we must do everything to prevent him from showing up the ignorance of second-rate white boys and girls.

10-20-23

But the black brother seems to get on closer to the laurels, whether or no. Despite everything his ruddy-skinned friend has done, he continues to threaten the seats of the mighty. Even though the white papers do soft-pedal the achievements of Negroes, the pale-face brethren in the mass are beginning to feel insecure. The fear that they may not be as superior as they have always believed—is gripping their hearts as never before. The idea of Negroes owning banks, Locomobiles, mansions!

The destruction of a great idea is underway. In the general panic of "Nordic" America, force is resorted to as the only alternative to stem the rising tide of color that is threatening white world supremacy. So we have Johnstown, Stowe and the Indiana deportations.

How often will this happen in the future, with the dark brethren making rapid strides every day? No one knows. One thing, however, the Negro must resolve to do in the future: Not to leave his home and run away every time some white man shoves a Ku Klux letter under his front door. Such conduct is inexcusable in people aspiring to full manhood rights. A man's home is his castle and he has a right, yes, a duty, to defend it. There are times to go and there are times to stay, but there is no special virtue in consistency. Negroes are coming North in droves. Good! They found it expedient not to stay any longer in the South. It was time to go, when Northern industry and better living conditions beckoned.

Now the Negroes are here. It is time to stay, and no time to go, even when warned by a vigilance committee. If the Negro could stand the endless drill, confinment, segregation and discrimination of the cantonments in this country, and the filth, vermin, danger, disease, death and soul-sickening experiences in France, to make the world safe for democracy surely he should be willing and anxious to make America safe for himself.

WHY NOT A BUSINESS MAN AS HEAD OF THE BUSINESS LEAGUE

Dallas Express-Dallas, Tex.

Dissatisfaction with the failure of the National Negro Business League to function efficiently for the improvement of Negro Business is a fact and not a theory.

Sept. 1, 1923

In the past few years it has failed miserably to show any vestiges of a policy of any sort looking toward its growth into a potent factor in the economic life of the race.

It has no closely allied branch bodies in various cities. It does not seek actively to stimulate the organization of local leagues. It does not even employ methods in its own management businesslike enough to protect its own funds by bonding its treasurer. Though efficient enough in its inception by Booker Washington, by failing to keep pace with the economic development of the race it has actually fallen below the level of respectable living up to its name.

Shall it continue thus? We hope not.

But if it is to change from its present impotent state it must have different direction. And certainly a man who devotes his time solely to business would seem most fitted to give it the desired change of policy.

And in this connection let it be remarked that the suggestion of the change in president to a business man does not discount in any way the splendid service of its present head who doubtless has given to it of his best effort.

But a business man, conversant with the crying needs of Negro business today would have definite ideas of how best to supply those needs.

A business man would have a mind trained to concentrated effort along a certain line and that line would be business only. Other problems would more nearly be delegated to organizations whose duty it was to care for them.

As it now operates the league has no such direction. And its lack of direction is proof apparent of the racial failure to grasp its possibilities for good. It is an evidence of our economic backwardness. It stamps us as unable to enter largely into a co-operative scheme of commercial improvement. To allow this to continue to be true is unthinkable.

WM. PICKENS REFUSES TO BE SILENCED

St. Louis Argus

Banquet Is Arranged So He "Can Be Talked" To" Before Lecture At Terre Haute, Indiana, But The N. A. A. C. P. Field Representative Fails To Attend.

Associated Negro Press.

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., Oct. 17.—The Terre Haute correspondent is not "calling names" just yet, but reports that that K. K. K., of this town when they heard William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., and Contributing Editor of the A. N. P., was to deliver a lecture to a mixed audience down town, got alarmed lest the Dean might flay the klan, and actually rigged up a little scheme to buy him off or soften him without his knowing it.

10-19-23

This is how: The K. K. K. is said to have furnished a big check to certain usable Negroes to prepare a banquet for the speaker, said banquet to take place before the meeting. At this banquet there would be colored and white "friends," the whites being certain Republican leaders who are Kluxers. This combination was supposed to do the softening act, indirectly and cunningly, without letting on. This alarm came from the fact that the great downtown hall, at which the Field Secretary was to speak, was donated for the occasion by the Anti-Klan Whites of Terre Haute. The Klan wanted to counteract this by slipping something over to the Dean gently.

It was learned that telegrams and letters were sent to the Dean by both sides, and while the contents of these could not be learned, it is to be noted that William Pickens did not allow himself to be banqueted.—although the chickens were all bought and waiting for execution.

The Pickens meeting proved to be the biggest thing of its kind that Terre Haute has seen, the Knights of Columbus and the Jews were there strong with the colored people.

When asked about the Klan attempt, the speaker only replied:

"Frankly, I don't know. But one thing I do know: if the Klan had succeeded in getting a dinner into me, I could not have kept me from saying my say, unless the food were poisoned."

Race Problem—1923. I
United States.

PROMINENT WHITE EDITORS BELOW MASON-DIXON LINE ASK SQUARE DEAL FOR NEGRO

By LESTER A. WALTON
In N. Y. World

The frank analytical discussions of the causes of Negro migration, engaged in by editors of Southern dailies who are courageously demanding a square deal for the Negro in the South, should not escape the attention of the North. Many of the leading editors of that section do not hesitate to say that conditions will have to be materially changed if the migration wave is to materially subside.

"Let no Southern white man dodge the issue by contending that the Negro always gets a square deal here. He doesn't, and he knows it; and his white neighbors know it," says the Albany (Ga.) Herald.

"No people want to live in a state of fear, and night-riding has an element of terror that people like to run away from," declares the Macon Telegraph. "Unfortunately, some of the night-riding has had no better excuse than that the Negro drove an automobile or engaged in some new business that conventional prejudice was not accustomed to. Happily the whipping of Negroes for owning and driving cars has disappeared from most places, but the state of mind that caused things of this character and tolerated them is unfavorable to justice and opportunity to the Negro, and one of the shames of the worst moods of certain classes of the South."

The Enquirer-Sun of Columbus, Ga., thus comments on the exodus: "From time to time, for more than two years, the Enquirer-Sun has attempted to draw attention to the fact that the Negro was—and he still is—leaving the South in large numbers. Furthermore, we have asserted that the principal reason for the exodus is that he is not fairly treated in the South—that he does not receive justice in the same measure that the white man does, and that he is not given adequate protection. Too scant attention is paid to his physical needs. Those who rent him houses think that any sort of shack is good enough for the Negro.

We have been asked to make it clear that the South is the best place for the Negro, particularly its climate; but climatic conditions mean nothing if a human being, black or white, feels that he is unjustly treated, feels that his life and property are not safe from night riders and cowardly masked organizations; if he feels that he has no voice in making the laws under which he must live. In the past certain newspapers have looked upon our warnings as the result of an alarmist attitude. We have no feeling of pride in the fact that we are right. Our sentiment is one of chagrin and regret that we are not strong enough to prevent what is happening and what will continue to happen unless we decide to make it known that we intend to assert our Anglo-Saxon love of fair play."

"Why not tell the truth about the exodus?" inquires the Jackson, Miss., Daily News. "Nothing can be gained by fooling ourselves. We are facing a condition, not a theory. The Negroes are moving northward because they are offered better wages. The plain gospel truth is that we have not been giving the Negro a square deal on the wage question. This applies to the agricultural districts as well as the industrial centers. The wage scale for Negro labor has been too low. Worse than this, our employers of Negro labor have not shown their employees the kindly consideration they deserve. Housing conditions are almost invariably bad."

"Take in the matter of house servant. The average cook here in Jackson is paid $5 per week—and what she can carry off. She pays $2.50 per week rental for the hovel in which she lives— usually a two-room cabin—and usually she has a family to support. How in the name of common sense can your cook clothe herself, buy food for herself and family and meet other living expenses on $2.50 per week? She carries food in goodly quantities out of your kitchen because she is forced to do it in order to keep body and soul together.

"If we are going to keep our Negroes in the South we must quit trying to kid ourselves into believing that we are dealing fairly with them. * * * It is useless to try to ease our conscience with the idea that thousands of Negroes who are migrating northward are going to be bitterly disappointed. That is dodging the issue. Even if they all starve to death, if they are persecuted by labor unions, it cannot alter the fact that they are leaving us, and that is the trouble we are seeking to remedy. We can stifle the restless, migratory spirit of the Negro in the South only by seeing to it that life is made more pleasant for him; by giving him wages sufficient to support his family decently, by protecting him in all his rights, social, legal and moral; by giving him an honest deal in all business transactions, and not imposing on his ignorance or credulity. This may not be pleasant reading for a lot of folks, but it is cold and indisputable truth, and we may as well face it."

ATLANTIC CITY N. J. PRESS
NOVEMBER 25, 1923

TOLERANCE—THE ONLY CURE FOR INTOLERANCE

Impatient rejection of all class prejudice and kindly toleration and respect for all mankind—that's what we need to preach and practice in Atlantic City, as elsewhere, in order effectively to cope with the poison of bigotry and fanaticism.

"One of the humorous incidents that will accompany its decline," was the way the Philadelphia Evening Ledger commented upon the recent anti-Klan agitation of Mayor Bader's, staged here in an unfortunate moment of unguarded enthusiasm against class hatred. Unnecessary absolutely and dangerous perhaps, but certainly not very "humorous," particularly when it is considered that an appeal to class hysteria is almost as destructive to the cause of human tolerance as an appeal to class prejudice; neither points the true way to common brotherhood and love.

Only this week a colored man discharged a pistol at nothing on New Jersey avenue, explaining that he was nervous and thought the Ku Klux Klan was after him. One cannot blame colored people who are sensitive on this point and overly-apprehensive, especially when we thoughtlessly exaggerate the "Klan menace" ourselves; less than a century ago they were enslaved and treated as chattels by some white men, and it is going to take still more time to build up their confidence and faith in the preponderance of the white man who regards them as fellow human beings and brothers.

The age of tolerance so much desired by thinking and sensible people means the completion of that confidence and faith, and it can be done only by showing the colored man that we regard and treat him exactly the same as the white man or the man of any other color—according to his interests in the community, his standing, education, personality and the like, not according to his color. It most assuredly cannot be done by frightening him into the false frenzy that a thousand demons are after him.

"I am a Protestant and my skin is white," said Lt.-Colonel Raymond Robins at the High School this week, "but I have the utmost contempt for those who condemn a man because he is a Catholic or because he is a Jew or because he is a Negro." And the lecturer went on to demonstrate the folly of mass prejudice and class bigotry, citing the Catholic religion of Marshall Foch, French general, whose genius in leadership saved civilization in the Great War, and the religion and race of many other great, noble and lovable men and benefactors of mankind among Catholics, Jews, Protestants and all.

People who think require no brief on this point. They agree absolutely with Colonel Robins. They have not a particle of sympathy with any prejudiced people who would mask their faces to wage war on class or creed, nor have they any sympathy for any movement which arrays class against class, creed against creed, or race against race. Thinkers recognize in this the height of human folly and the essence of danger to civilization.

But there is no use fooling ourselves. Many people do not think beyond their prejudices; thoughts are chained by their passions. The great mass of human beings would not raise a lawless hand against any creed or race, and yet they do not hesitate to measure men by their religion and race instead of their heart and personality—the silliest and most erroneous measuring-stick that could be imagined. You hear them every day—they hate the Jews, or they distrust the Catholics or the Negro is a menace; you know the whispered prattling of ignorant prejudice—in all communities. It is human, as history shows; an inheritance of the human family. Condemnation and blame of those who so whisper may be justified, but it is all to no purpose. Why toy with purposeless condemnation of a thing which is a human weakness, to which all of us in a measure are heir? The only logical thing to do is to dissolve these petty prejudices that blind the vision of so many humans in the acid of enlightenment—enlightenment that preaches tolerance through a demonstration of the utter falsity and unreliability of prejudice. It cannot be taught on any other basis, certainly not by keeping up the class or creed appeal.

But let no one make the mistake that tolerance can be achieved by preaching and teaching alone. It must be acted as well. No program of "do as I say but not as I do" can rear on the century-old foundations of prejudice and misunderstanding, the beautiful edifice of tolerance and brotherhood of mankind. Every government, local, city, State or nation, that curries favor with this or that creed, this or that race, not only insults the intelligence of the creed or race it favors but also grievously injuries it by fanning the flame of intolerance without. Every statesman or politician, no matter how influential or inconsequential, who curries favor with this or that creed or race makes the same blunder, inflicts the same injury, incites the same feeling.

The same is true of every institution, every public movement, every public or private cause that blunders into the folly of indirectly encouraging and pandering to the crass ignorance that secretly arrays race against race, creed against creed, class against class.

For many years communities, here and abroad, and doubtless Atlantic City included, have made the

blunder, through political organizations or political leadership, of drawing class lines—first around one class and then around another. The harvest inevitably to be reaped from such unwise sowing, whether conscious or unconscious, is the whirlwind of intolerance—common enemy of all mankind. Yet how easily it might be avoided by giving consideration to all classes, including creeds, races and factions, on an equal basis! How much easier to deal with human intolerance by the fairness and broadmindedness that disarm hatred and educate to brotherly love, regardless of race, creed or color, than by a policy of thoughtless partisanship that only encourages by irritation the ignorance and narrow-mindedness of which intolerance is born!

In Atlantic City let us eliminate intolerance, so far as it is humanly possible, by adopting in all things the broad policy of equal consideration and just representation for all factions—whether factions of creed, race or color. Let us resolve on this as a future policy—"live and let live." And, in thus resolving, let us realize that we can do it without "making a mountain out of a molehill" and frightening ourselves to death.

OCT 6 - 1923

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J. L. Herring ..... Editor and Manager

SATURDAY NIGHT.

The White Man's Burden.

Here we break a precedent of a lifetime. We are going to print a part of one of our attempts at a speech. We do it because the problem to which that near-speech was addressed has grown more acute with the years that have intervened. That subject was the Georgia white man's responsibility for the condition of the negro.

About twenty years ago, when Comer M. Woodward was at the head of Sparks Collegiate Institute, and that institution was in its youth, a dinner was given in the dining-hall to the Laymen workers of South Georgia. The writer was asked to respond to the address of welcome. We had given some thought to the opening for constructive work by the Laymen of the Church toward a solution of the negro problem, and that was the subject we selected. It was not a very fortunate selection, considering time and place. To begin with, the dinner was served rather late. Then, it was set on the tables before the hungry crowd, which waited, still hungry, while all the speaking program was put through. We remember a rather bored and impatient audience, a Presiding Elder frankly yawning, young people chatting with less rather than more reserve—and, altogether, the talk did not make a hit. We never had the courage to make it again, but we wish we had. It is because we believe now the things we believed then that we are going to print some of the argument advanced, with the hope that somebody will read it. So far as possible, superfluities have been eliminated. If you don't care for it, turn to the sporting page:

Glorious the victories of the past, but great are the battles of the future. Prohibition and Primary Education lie behind you, before you is

The Negro Problem.

The discussion thereof is not popular before a mixed audience, but no subject is nearer the Southron's home or his heart. It is so close, and so strong is the need of the hour, that I have come to talk to you about it.

I say to you, despite any inclination to postpone the issue, that if this great question, the most complicated that ever faced a human race, is solved, it is the Christian Layman and the Evangelist that must work the solution out.

If it is not solved, one of two mighty races must go down into oblivion.

Do you believe it cannot be solved? I quote you Bishop Ward, presiding at the North Georgia Conference in 1906:

"If the Christian religion cannot save the Negro in America, neither can it save the Negro in Africa; and if it cannot save the colored man, wherever he may be located, why, then, my brethren it cannot save the white man."

Doubting Thomas, that would set a limit upon the power of the religion of Christ. If you say the race problem cannot be solved by the Christian worker, then are our millions of dollars and thousands of devoted lives given to missions thrown away, and our churches, that dot the countless hillsides and plains, are but whited sepulchres of a vain hope.

We do not agree with the fiery Tillman on one hand and silver-tongued Graves on the other. One is the surgeon who diagnoses your case as a malignant cancer and after telling you of its horrors and agony, concludes with the statement that if there is any remedy he knows none. The other would separate the Siamese twins with the surgeon's knife, to the end that one must surely die, the other suffer.

We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ can solve the negro problem and that only the Southern white man can put that solution into effect.

If the white man is, by race and otherwise, best qualified to rule, then is the governor responsible for the well-being of the governed.

If the negro is incapable of self-government, then is he the weaker race, and for his welfare will God hold us responsible.

If God, in His mighty wisdom, ordained that the white man should rule, then as surely as He requires more talents from he to whom He gave ten, just as surely will He, at the judgment bar, inquire of you and I the fate of the negro whom He created and over whom He gave us dominion.

This is a hard proposition, but it is as true as it is hard. We cannot assume to ourselves the power to govern without assuming also responsibility for the welfare of the governed. There is no more escaping it than the responsibility for the animals in our barns, the imbecile, the helpless and the poor of God.

By whom can this great problem be solved?

By the sons of the men who followed Lee.

To none do I yield one jot or tittle in admiration of the men who carried the Stars and Bars to Gettysburg's bloody field; who faced privation and death in the South's great cause, for of this I inherit and the heritage is greater than that left by Sparta to her heroes. But higher than my admiration for the courage that faced the cannon's mouth is that for the noble, true courage that bore up the battle-weary hero who limped, hungry and footsore, from a lost battle and a wrecked cause to a home devastated and a country in ashes, laid waste by the torch of the enemy; who laid aside the musket for the plow, the sword for the hoe, and out of a land of desolation, grief and ruin, brought this fair garden of peace and plenty. Truly, a noble heritage, worthy of the devotion of any man's life, of the very best that in him lies.

This fair land of ours was given to us in sacred trust by the heroes of '65. Are we of a different blood that we should shirk their trust or evade the responsibility for keeping it as it was given us?

Is the problem we face any more formidable than the ones they triumped over?

Then, you who march on the firing line, up and gird your armor on.

Your work is in the community, the village, the courtroom, the city, wherever men do gather. It is to mold, by precept and example, your fellow-man to a higher understanding of his moral obligation. Each of you is a missionary who must go out in as noble cause as any for which ever man donned the immortal armor.

True, missionary work at home is not always as attractive as in the foreign field—distance lends a halo even to service—but the need is greater.

Have we, the superior race, set before the inferior, the uneducated, the imitative one, the example of compliance with the law, of forbearance with ignorance, of pity for depravity? Have we Christian people given to the negro as our door the care and consideration, the solicitude for, and prayer for his welfare, that we have the cannibal in the South Sea Islands or on Africa's shore?

God help us if we have not.

Not for one instant would I be understood as not favoring, with every cent we can spare, the support of those noble men and women in the

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foreign mission field, but the church that gives the most to missions is strongest at home, and here at our door is the greatest mission field that ever a white man faced.

They live under the same government, the same laws, support the same institutions, as ourselves. We meet them on the streets, they are around our children, they are in the back-yards of our homes; their welfare is our own, yet when have our white preachers ever taught them or our white teachers instructed them?

I see you recoil in horror.

Yet is not the Georgia negro as clean as his naked cousin in Africa, or is he more repulsive than the palm-oiled cannibal of the South Seas?

Shall we go thousands of miles to find a duty and look over the foundling at our doorsteps?

No matter who put him there; nor who is to blame for his being here, the problem is before us, and as white men and Christians we cannot escape it if we would.

We wonder the negro does not progress, yet we leave him to be taught by the ignorant and vicious of his own race or by misguided so-called philanthropists who understand as little his needs as they do the conditions that surround him.

In olden times, the negro was taught at the "big house", and heard the gospel from the gallery of his master's church.

And in 1861 the men of the South marched to battle, and the negro at home guarded his wife and children.

There was no race problem, no lynching then.

But the negro of today is the outcrop of the neglect and contempt of the Southern white man, the misguided preaching of those of his own race and the ignorant efforts of the foreign meddler, to whom we have abandoned him, and who teaches him all that he should not know and little that he should know.

While for this condition of affairs the white man of the South cannot evade a share of the responsibility, yet he cannot be severely blamed. The terrible days of reconstruction, when the negro's ignorance and natural tendency to vice were taken advantage of by the carpet-bagger and politician—left their inevitable heart-burnings and prejudice, and for thirty years in the hands of the sons of the South did not lie the solution of the problem, for in the hands of the negro was the ballot. The problem was in part his own.

Little more than twenty years ago, the negro's vote was the politician's prize; he was sought after, cuddled and bribed then; not even the most patriotic dared breathe a suggestion of disfranchisement. But the white primary eliminated the black vote from the political pot-hunter's horizon, and now from every hilltop "disfranchisement" is megaphoned in thunder-tones.

With the negro disfranchised, was the negro problem settled? It was only relegated, with the responsibility of he who governs, to the shoulders of the white man.

Perhaps you say we have taken the bars away from him. Good. But he is still the go-between between the blind tiger and his customer, for the most complicated phase of this great question is that the vicious white man uses the negro for the dirty work he is ashamed to trust to one of his own color. Not only in the whiskey traffic, but in every vice he is a slave.

Before we can make the negro good, we must set him the example.

Some one, when you mention this on the streets, will say that as long as one crime continues, lynching will prevail.

Oh, miserable subterfuge. Out of each one hundred lynchings in the South last year, only eight were for the one crime that even the most rabid dare condone for community murder. For every eight that were executed, ninety-two were foully murdered, by the men who should, in their very pride of superiority, have set the example of law and order.

For the illegal taking of a human life is murder, be it an individual, or a community, or a State, and for this murder, as for the curse of Cain, must the individual, the community and the State suffer.

Your vaunted disfranchisement will not settle it. You can not disfranchise the educated negro, and with the same code that gave us the disfranchisement law came another that no corporation, cotton mill, saw mill, turpentine operator or planter, when incorporated under the laws of the State, can work the negro child under twelve years unless he has been sent to school four months each year. Disfranchisement but puts a prize, the ballot, on education, and the negro will see that he gets it. Too many now go to school while the children of our race are in the cotton fields.

Now, Christian Workers, before he gets it, while the power and responsibility of he who governs is yours, let us solve this question.

As sure as there is a God who reigns on high, it can be peaceably and amicably solved.

As sure as Christ bled for us, His religion can save the world. And of the world the negro is a part.

Teach these men of ignorance this race that is fast being steeped and smothered in vice.

Urge your own race to set them the example.

And as surely as you labor and pray, does God promise that labor and prayer shall be answered. As surely as the religion of Christ has redeemed the world, can it also solve the great problem of the South.

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I

SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO.

The Colored people of the United States have reached the stage in their development where they are extensively propaganized for this idea and that. Various schemes of political, social and religious colportage are daily laid before them. In one sense this is a good augury. It seems to show that the Colored people are wanted. Time was when they were regarded as a negligible influence. Their only function was supposed to be at work—to serve. For what they thought, for what ideas surged through their brains, nobody in the dominent race cared. All they had to do was to labor and to wait.

This is now changed. We hear of this and that propaganda directed toward them. Large sums are expended on religious proseltytism among them. They are reckoned as a possible, a desirable, asset. Their northern movement, as a race, emphasizes this tendency. It brings them under the influence of the kind propagandists who have their headquarters in our great cities. Little by little, the Negroes move into the radius of all the great movements.

In the process, they come under the appeals of certain "causes" from which they have nothing but ill to expect. One of these is the socialistic propaganda. Among others the Young People's Socialistic League in New York has opened a "drive" among them. A special effort is being made to infuse with socialistic ideas the minds of their boys and girls in Harlem —possibly also in Boston. They are being told that they have absolutely nothing to hope for from the old political parties, whereas Socialism offers them every equality, every sort of advantage.

This claim is absolutely not true. Considering socialism as primarily an industrial movement, it is hostile to their interest. They are excluded from nearly all the labor organizations. If they form unions, they must form them of their own color. If we can imagine the socialists in political control in this country, it is perfectly evident that under such control the Colored race would not have as good a chance as it now has in the South and wherever in the North there is a demand for the labor of Colored men and women. They have much more to hope for from a systematic and well organized development of the private and corporate industries of the land than they have from the reversal of the present social and industrial order.

The nature of the Negro is kindly and helpful, and it is always through his sympathy with broad American principles of individual liberty that his success is attained. If he expects more from subversive movements, he is leaning on a broken reed. And if his present condition is in many respect unsatisfactory, he may assure himself that it is happiness itself in comparison with what it would be under a disturbance of existing arrangements. Nature and destiny never made a socialist of the Negro.

—Boston Transcript.

William J. Bryan Views On the Negro Question

Houston Texas

By William J. Bryan in the New York Times.

Houston Post

3/25/23

Late last month I spoke at a banquet of the Southern society. I was not on the printed program, but was called upon when the advertised list of speakers was completed. One of the speakers, in emphasizing the importance of that part of the declaration of independence which affirms that all men are created equal, criticised the limitations that have been placed upon suffrage in some of the Southern States. I referred to the subject at this dinner, as I have referred to it before during the last 25 years, in order to point out that these limitations are not based upon a repudiation of the declaration of independence, but rest upon a principle—the first law of nature—everywhere recognized, namely, the right of self-preservation, which includes the right to preserve civilization and progress made in the science of government.

Back in 1898 when we were discussing imperialism, a man from the South cautioned me against laying too much emphasis upon the declaration of independence, adding that in the States where the blacks menaced white supremacy it had been found necessary to ignore the doctrine that all men were created equal. I replied that limitations upon the exercise of suffrage by the black race ought not to be based upon a denial of the doctrine of equality as found in the declaration of independence, but upon the real foundation, which in no way contradicts or weakens the declaration of independence. I defended the doctrine of equality in the inalienable rights enumerated in the declaration of independence and explained to him that the problem which the whites of the South had to solve did not involve the question of equality before the law; that no one denied that the blacks were entitled to equal protection in their rights. The question is, which race shall control the government and make the laws under which both shall live? The more advanced race will always control as a matter of self-preservation not only for the benefit of the advanced race, but for the benefit of the backward race also.

In the States where restrictions are placed upon suffrage for the purpose of excluding enough blacks to preserve white supremacy, the blacks have the advantage of living under laws that the white man makes for himself as well as for the black man. The laws make no distinction in the matter of crime between whites and blacks.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that no limitations were placed upon suffrage and that the blacks, voting in masse for officials of their own color, took charge of the government and made laws for both blacks and whites; is there any white man who believes that the laws made under these circumstances would be better for both, or administered with more fairness than now?

What Other States Would Do.

At the Southern banquet, I enforced my argument by suggesting that Massachusetts would do exactly as Virginia and South Carolina had done if confronted by the same conditions. There is not a State in the Union in which the whites would permit black supremacy. This ought to be admitted without argument but it could be easily proved if proof were necessary. Republicans are constantly coming South and they at once adopt the Southern view on the race question, as soon as they have to meet the race problem as a practical question. The fact that the republican States of the North never send black men to the United States senate and house of representatives is conclusive proof either that the blacks are inferior or that race prejudice keeps them in the background. The ra... the home of Lincoln ... ed that race feeling is ... ...rong in the North as in the South when a condition arises that gives it expression.

It is no reflection upon the black race to say that it could not formulate laws and administer government as well as the white. It is only a few centuries since the ancestors of the colored people of the South were brought from Africa as slaves. They have made wonderful progress and they have made it because they have been associated with and helped by white people. Slavery among the whites was an improvement over independence in Africa. The very progress that the blacks have made, when —and only when—brought into contact with the whites, ought to be a sufficient argument in support of white supremacy—it ought to be sufficient to convince even the blacks themselves. The members of the white race have been studying the subject of government for thousands of years; why should they not be more proficient than the blacks?

There is no advantage to be gained by ignoring the facts. The republicans of the North are deceiving the blacks for political purposes when they pretend a greater affection for them than is found in the South. Some one described the situation very accurately when he said: "The people of the South like the negroes as individuals but dislike them as a race, while the people of the North like them as a race but dislike them as individuals."

The inconsistency of the Northern republicans is proved by their attitude toward the Filipinos. They insist on governing the Filipinos by laws made for the Filipinos, under which the white republicans would be unwilling to live. Under the colonial system, the Filipinos have much less protection than the colored people of the South now have, for, as I have said before, the colored people of the South live under the laws that the white people make for themselves as well as for the colored people.

Matter of Necessity.

To prove that restrictions upon black suffrage is based upon necessity and not upon prejudice, we have only to cite the fact that the restrictions are only imposed where, without these restrictions, the government would be in danger of passing under he control of the blacks. It is only in those Southern States where the blacks are most numerous that the whites have, as a mater of self-preservation, imposed restrictions. They may have been spurred on to this by a recollection of ... eir experience under carpet bag gover...ment ... ...en a few designing white me... used black suffrage to exploit helpless whites, as they would today if they could (only the use now made of colored delegates in republican national conventions.) But such an experience is not necessary to justify the discrimination made in a few States in the matter of suffrage. Any one who will look at the subject without prejudice will know that white supremacy promotes the highest welfare of both races.

A frank and candid recognition of conditions as they exist will promote harmony between the two races. Republican politicans who have played upon race prejudice and who, in order to obtain colored votes have advocated laws dealing with the race question in the South as they would not ...with it in the North under similar conditions, are the prime cause of ...e antagonism; next to these come ...ose leaders of the colored race who, instead of trying to help their own people, aggravate the situation by encouraging the blacks to put social and political equality above the cultivation of character.

Whether for better or for worse, the whites and the blacks are here and must live together, unless some other solution of the problem can be found. While they live together, they should exchange services and co-operate for the promotion of the common welfare. This is only possible upon the basis of friendship, and friendship is possible only on the basis of honesty and frank understanding.

Where the percentage of blacks is small compared with the total population there will be no restriction on franchise based upon color; neither will there be segregation in schools or upon the railroad trains. Whether the percentage of blacks is large, rules will be made to meet conditions as they exist.

I repeat, in conclusion, that my views upon the race question do not depend upon my present residence in the South; they were formed long before I ever thought of living in the South. They were expressed as occasion required and, so far as I know, do not differ from the views of other white men who have had occasion to express themselves on the fundamental principles involved, when those principles were applied to themselves and their own families.

REP. LANKFORD AGAIN TACKLES RACE QUESTION

Washington Tribune

Washington D. C.

3-10-23

Tribune and Negroes of Washington Draw Ire of Southerner

Amid the scenes of a dying Congress, when leaders on both sides of the House were busy trying to push through needed legislation and "Lame Ducks" were singing the "Swan Song," Representative William C. Lankford of the 11th District of Georgia, who recently came into prominence by attacking the Negro of Washington and The Tribune, halted the wheels of Congress just before the close, long enough to make another one of his typical attacks on what he termed the "awful Negroes of Washington."

The Georgian started out to talk on the reckless automobile driving,

but before he was on the floor ten seconds, his real purpose was disclosed.

Part of the speech he delivered follows:

"I hope that the authorities of th city will do all that [illegible]

People visiting here go away saying; the city is beautiful in the extreme but there is such a disrgeard for law, such an absolute disregard for life by people using automobiles, such a desecration of the Sabbath, and the Negroes are something awful.

"Washington ought to be not only beautiful but decent. This city ought to be a model of law enforcement instead of a city awful. Time is too limited to speak fully on these matters now. I hope to do so later. There is a slight improvement in enforceing laws against the would-be murderers at steering wheels of automobiles. I hope the courts will some day go the limit in favor of innocent people against the speed maniacs. Let the people plead for law enforcemen and race segregation, and we may hope for a city beautiful and a city decent. I have pleaded and still plea for equal but separate accommodations for the races as being best fo both. I do not mean to nag at any one about this proposition, but I hon estly believe that with race segrega tion the two races can live here o better terms. The South is right a bout the race question. I have nev seen a white person from the Nort go South and get thoroughly famili with the situation there who did n become fully convinced that th South is absolutely right about th race question and the North is ab solutely wrong. William J. Bryan ithe latest noted convert on this sub ject. I have never known of a whit southerner who came North and de cided that the South was wrong abou segregation of the races; in fact the become more convinced than ever tha the North is wrong on the question o segregation. The northern negro i afraid that he will in some way admi the supremacy of the white race. truly believe in the supremacy of th white race. I believe the white rac gave us the greatest possible form c government. No other race cou have added to it. This government the white man was not helped wh the negro began voting. He will n make it better in the future. I wi to refer in this connection to one suggestion made by a colored paper recently.

"The Washington Tribune in its last issue mentioned my remarks of the 19th of last month and still opposes segregation of the races. This paper, though, is right about my belief. It says that I believe "that when this planet was created the Almighty personally turned it over to the whites."

"Here is what I said in Congress on January 18, 1922:

"He (the Almighty) took the dust of the earth and molded in into His own image, into the form of a man, and breathed into its nostrils His own creative, everlasting, immortal breath; and the image came forth a human being,a living soul, all dominating, all conquering, everlasting, eternal, immortal,a part of God Himself, a Caucasian,a white man; and God gave that first white man dominion over all things and told him to reach to the bottom of the sea and up to the highest skies and understand and know the mysteries of all time and space, and that first man, a white man, went forth to solve, understand, conquer, and know the universe in which he had been placed. And that first white man from that day to this has been the all-powerful all-controlling, all-dominating man of the world. He has conquered the depths of the sea; he has flown like a bird through the very gates of the skies; he has whispered around the world in the twilight of a new era; he has weighed the moon, the earth, and the sun; he is solving the knowing and bringing under his subjection and dominion all the mysteries of life, of space, and of all the universe of God, and as time goes by he is learning to think, understand, and know the thoughts of the Almgihty God of the skies.

"Commissioned by the Great Creator, he is the governing power of the world and is gradually shaping the nations of this earth into the highest and best forms of government, and is the ruler and the supreme power of all other races, whether the yellow, the red, or the black. He is the all-powerful, all-dominating man of the world. He always has been and always will be to the end of time.

"Forces of nature may oppose him, but he overcomes them. Other peoples races, and colors of humanity may resist him, but of no avail; he marches onward, conquering, and holding his God-given supremacy.

"White supremacy is not oppressive tyrannical supremacy, but is compassionate, God-like supremacy exercised for the good of our Nation, the happiness of the human race, and the civilization of the world. (Applause)."

The above remarks of Lankford are a good index to his intelligence. Born and educated in Georiga under the influence of a slave holding and klu klux ridden community, his lack of knowledge of the world's history and its earliest people is somewhat explained. His statement that "He (the Almighty) took the dust of the earth and molded it into His own image, into the form of a man and breathed into its nostrils His own creative, everlasting, immortal berath; and the image came forth a human being, a living soul, all dominating, all conquering, everlasting, eternal, immortal,a part of God Himself, a Caucasian,a white man;" is both amusing because of its humour, and pathetic because he (Lankford) actually believes such a ridiculous and preposterous thing.

In this connection, since Mr. Lankford is up on the Creative history of the world and knows so much about the Almighty's plans, we would like to ask the Georgian these questions:

If God created this white man out of the dust of the earth and gave him such broad powers over the earth, how did the black, brown, red and yellow men come into existence? Did this God who created the white man make them, and if so, out of what? As the black, brown, red and yellow people's physical composure is exactly like the white, did not God have a hand in their making? If this second question is true then why did the Almighty give the white man any more power than he gave the others? If the wise Georgian would clear up these points perhaps we could tolerate his arrogance a little more.

The truth of the matter is, facts mean nothing to Southerners of his type. They are so used to disregarding facts, especially when they pertain to Negroes, that it has become a second nature to them. This type of Southerners would defy the laws if they thought a Negro had anything to do with the making of them.

We would like to know Mr. Lankford's authority for his statement that the white man has received a commission from the Great Creator; we would also like to know his authority for the statement that God's creation was a white man (Caucasian).

Perhaps the Georgian has done a lot of research on this subpect and has discovered some authorities none of the great anthropologists have as yet seen.

The Aryan race is often cited in the world-wide propaganda employed by the Caucasians; we would like to know if Lankford or any Caucasian can point with historical or genealogical accuracy to a genuine Aryan?

Lankford's entire congressional record has been a series of speeches on the race problem. The 67th Congress was his first term so he had to make good with the voters back home. His complete record in the past Congress is as follows:

First Session

Introduced bill to donate captured cannons to certain cities in Georgia; a bill to increase pension of Wm. H. Mercer; a bill authorizing construction of toll bridge across St. Mary's river; a bill to further amend the War Finance Commission.

Second Session

Attended only five roll calls during session, according to the Index. Introduced bill to provide farm products for experiment and to establish sale directly from producer to consumer; a bill to create farmers finance corporation. Spoke on the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill; Muscle Shoals project.

Third Session

Offered amendment to joint resolution (H. J. 314) Tax exempt securities. Made remarks on color line at Harvard University; remarks on tax exempt securities; remarks on demise of Thomas E. Watson of Georgia (Memorial Sermon); remarks on British debt settlement; remarks on race question; (Attacked the Tribune and the Negroes of the North) remarks on race question; (again attacked The Tribune and Negroes of Washington).

Lankford's own record condemns him. The only thing he can constantly talk on is the so-called race question. However, his record is typical of most Southern Congressmen. They have been schooled so thoroughly in race prejudice until they have little knowledge of the work they are sent here to do. It is this type of Congressmen who are opposed to giving the citizens of the District of Columbia the ballot.

As it is this type of Southerners who make and enforce the laws in the South, then there is little wonder that the Negroes are leaving the South by the thousands.

LETTER TO EDITOR . .

Kansas City, Mo.,
February 4th, 1923.

Hon. Ben Davis, Editor
Atlanta Independent,
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Davis:

"Simple Souls" sounds so soothing, so sympathetic, so paternal, and so Christlike, that the "sting," if any was intended, by the "Sage of Manhattan," was not felt by millions of dependable negroes who do not feel like "dancing" every time the "Sage" "whistles."

The "negro problem" is a great problem, one that will never be solved without the aid of the "Simple Souls." I am,

Yours very respectfully,
J. SILAS HARRIS,
President Negro National Educational Congress, 1611 Forest Ave.

A HALF TRUTH.

Atlanta Independent
Atlanta, Ga.
2-8-23

One thing that has been a most serious handicap to the progress of the southland, is its apparent unwillingness to acknowledge the truth as regards to a number of the phases of its life. In presenting itself to the outside, it has always clothed itself in its best apparel, which very often concealed some very soiled linen underneath. It has willingly nursed itself into believing that it was measuring up to the standard set by other sections in education, social and political advancement, statesmanship and in the equation of economic aggressiveness.

This make-believe policy has ever been applied to whatever arguments that have been issued affecting the negroes of the south. The southern white people have at odd times set up the proposition that they were the negro's best friends—that they treated him better than any other people would—that they were doing more toward his advancement than any other people would do, and in the time of need, they could be counted on bet-

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ter than could other people.

A typical case of make-believe was presented in last Sunday's Constitution through a treatment of the exodus in a news article written by Mr. James O. Holloman and commented on editorially. The news article presents only a half truth regarding the exodus, because it fails to give a fair estimate of the number of negros who left the state during the year 1922 along with only a part of the causes for their leaving.

The survey coming from the Constitution's representative and some eighty-nine counties, gives an approximate number of 15,000 persons having left those counties in the past year. The counties from which reports were received are situated in every district of the state, a report from which should give a fair idea of a movement that is statewide. However, we do not think that a fair estimate of the number leaving in the year 1922 was made.

Again, in all but four of the reports from the various 89 counties the boll weevil and short crops was given as the cause of the exodus. In three counties, fear of the K. K. K. and lawlessness was given as the reason, while in one, a lack of educational facilities was set up.

While the foregoing reasons are true, and the boll weevil stands out prominently as a cause, our investigation has disclosed the fact that mob violence is the greatest cause, coupled with a lack of equal protection under the law, oppression on the part of landlords, boll weevil conditions and a lack of educational facilities as well as a denial of the right of participation in governmental affairs.

Truly, entirely too much responsibility has been placed on the boll weevil. It may be that the representatives of the Constitution were conscientious in their reports, and it may be that they were unwilling to publish to the world the fact that citizens left their counties because of mob violence. If they investigated the cause through nergoes, the reason for their answers is obvious, for negroes have learned that it is not healthy for them to complain of the real conditions that they face in their communities.

We can get nowhere by concealing the facts, and the reasons for the exodus may as well be admitted now as hereafter. No evil was ever cured where the causes were ignored, and it will not be so in this case. We may as well look the facts in the face, admit them and make an effort to remove the cause or there shall be no let up in the exodus.

Every negro is born a farmer—he knows how to till the soil and get all out of a piece of land that can be gotten out of it. He is well aware of the fact that he can make a living on the farm despite the efforts of the boll weevil. All of this, of course, depends upon fair chances offered by reasonable landlords. If he cannot get this, he cannot produce. Further than that, the negro has gotten tired of just living and has reached the point that he desires for himself and his an equal protection under the law, adequate educational facilities and a right to participate in affairs governmental.

We would not have our argument construed as an encouragement of the exodus, nor for that matter, a discouragement. As we have said in these columns before, we believe that the exodus is a two-edged sword cutting both ways, and that the negro who leaves along with the white man whom he leaves here will both suffer alike—that the negro's leaving is destructive to his religious, fraternal and economic status, and that it is here where he should let down his bucket and solve his problems. At the same time, we recognize the right of an individual to select his domain wherever he wills—a right guaranteed him by the constitution of the United States.

But the fact that we are trying to impress upon the minds of the public is that we will never get anywhere by overlooking the facts which cause the people to leave. The only way to cure the evil, if it might be called an evil, is to remedy the matters of which the people complain, and we cannot do that if we ignore a part of them.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION—NOT LAWS—CURE FOR MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE EVIL

For a number of years there have been many efforts put forth by various elements and organizations of American citizens to promote cures for the marriage and divorce evil. Many and divers arguments have been propagated for the purpose of taking out of American life this disintegrating influence. Each effort has been made with more or less enthusiasm, the same being true of the recent resolution offered by Senator Capper, of Arkansas. This resolution primarily purposes to remedy, if not cure, the marriage and divorce evil; but the clause prohibiting intermarriage between white and colored people and between white and mongolians, seems to be the chief topic of discussion.

This clause prohibiting intermarriage of races of color with whites is manifestly an injustice and contrary to the Constitution of the United States. There should be no proscription or limitation of rights in American life because of color as the clause purposes. The right of individuals should not be abridged in the social, civic, moral or political economy of American life, and any such proposal is an infringement upon the constitutional rights of individuals, as is, or is supposed to be, encouched in the principles of American liberty. It is argued that the proposed clause offers absolutely no protection to Negro women, while it virtually grants license to white men to prey upon women other than their own, and is a most splendid encouragement to bastardy.

But, we did not begin this article to discuss any phase of the proposed legislation, but rather to discuss it in its entirety, and upon its assumption that uniform marriage and divorce laws is the cure for the evil complained of, and to argue that what is absolutely necessary as a cure is a readjustment of American social phenomena.

As we afore stated, there have been numerous efforts to remedy marriage and divorce evils, but it appears that practically all of these efforts have been tending toward legislating this matter out of the lives of the people. The fact that this evil is a serious menace to the wholesome life of the nation, admits of no argument. Figures compiled in 1905 declare that the United States leads in divorces, and this year the aggregate number of divorces in the United States was sixty-eight thousand as against forty thousand in all the rest of the world. This, in itself, is proof conclusive of the alarming state of mock marriages and legal divorces. In the same year in France, there was only one divorce to thirty marriages; in England, one divorce to four hundred marriages; in Switzerland, one divorce to twenty-two marriages, and a similar proportion in other countries. In the United States there has been a proportionate increase of divorces, three to one, to its population. It appears then, that the evil is one that needs serious consideration.

In 1906, the governors of forty states met in an effort to find a remedy for this evil, which failed as most of the efforts had done. The truth of the whole matter is that there have been practically as many arguments against as in favor of uniform marriage and divorce laws. It has been argued that marriage and divorce laws must of a necessity be administered by local officials, and should be under the jurisdiction of the same. It has further been declared that the evil is so personal a one that it should not be removed to the jurisdiction of the central government. It has also been declared that because of the heterogeneity of the American people, local adjustment of various evils is necessary to adequately administer justice to the various modes of thinking. It has been declared, too, that the marriage and divorce laws of the country are practically uniform, and the argument is based upon the following facts:

In thirty-four states marriages of the insane, lunatics, and those incapable of consent are prohibited. Fifteen of these states prohibit marriage of idiots; nine prohibit the marriage of an epileptic; eight imbecile and feeble minded; two habitual drunkards, and in the state of Oregon, ten days before the issuance of a marriage license, a licensed physician must take oath that the person is free from infectious and contagious venereal disease.

There have been those who have propagated the doctrine that "those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." This has been argued against by those who set up the proposition, that only marriages that are perfectly harmonious are in the highest sense made by God. Rev. Wm. E. Barton, D. D., states the following: "I do not believe that the words of our Lord are to be regarded as legislation on this subject, or as constituting an eternal and inflexible edict to which every man must conform in the boldest and most literal sense or peril of his immortal soul." There have been those who bitterly attack migratory divorces, as well as a legal divorce in one state being illegal in another. All of which, and much more, has tended toward a futility of efforts to remedy this evil.

A careful study of the various efforts and arguments concerning marriage and divorce has led us to conclude that it will never be adjusted by legislation, but by a social reconstruction, such as will put an end to all the disintegrating influences affecting the home, and the moral, industrial, civic and political life of the people. It is true, however, that there must be certain laws permitting and limiting marriage, as well as permitting divorces. But the limitations, if not a positive cure of this evil, will be found in a social readjustment of the lives of the people. The moral tone of the people is at low ebb. It appears that certain influences have permitted the baser passion of sexual delight to run pell mell through the nation. Wild life characterizes city life where divorce is most prevalent. Like mindedness, the result of intelligent effort, is not considered, but has given way to personal appearance. Like ideals has lost its place in the nuptial equation. Poverty, crime and pauperism have lent their forces to breaking the bond of matrimony.

"AMERICANIZATION AND THE NEGRO."

By the Rev. D. M. Pleasants.

3-1-23
Southwestern Christian Advocate
New Orleans, Louisiana.

"O boys and girls, aren't you proud that you are American?" They were, and said so. A hint of tears lay behind the teacher's voice. The theme of the evining's lesson for this group of Epworthians was "The Outcasts of India." Manipulating her lesson material in brilliant fashion, and playing up adequately its human appeal—this teacher held her boys and girls to such thrilled attention, that, when developing a dramatic contrast, she exclaimed rather than asked, "Aren't you proud that you are Americans?" They gave reply almost savagely, "Yes! Yes! Yes!"

The pianist, with true appreciation of the psychology of the moment, turned unbidden to her instrument, and before even the opening bar of "America, the Beautiful" could be played, forty boys and girls were upstanding and singing with such voice and spirit as was well nigh inexplicable. It is a passing rare occasion, and one to compel remembering when youth in presence of adults and fellows forgets its stocism. The light of God was on their faces—veritably it was a theopany of Epworthians. One durst not breathe or move—in fear to dissipate its spell. If in the moment of that rapture we remembered not India's sorrow—but only America, beautiful America—may God forgive. It is so beautiful.

He who has the direction of young and developing lives to his charge must go prospecting far and continually farther adown the future. The magnificent expectancy of youth [illegible]ands it. For its sake we guilefully pretend Omniscence. Before its gaze, we strut and roar and nonchalantly boast Omnipotence. Racing before its swift, pursuing feet, we strain, here, at the portals of the Unknown—there, on the thresholds of the Impossible, to give this Youth disillusioned entry to the heritage of its hopes. Youth must be served. And better it is for a man never to have been born than to be an occassion of stumbling to one of these little ones. In the interest therefore of Humanity's uplift everywhere—it is imperative that the social heritage of the young Negro in America shall be unequivocally defined and guaranteed to him, as a perpetual possession forever.

That government of a dominant group, in which a weaker group by a sys[illegible] of social and industrial repression is kept "in its place" and is sternly punished for its every gesture of self assertion, may call itself—and as such be so regarded, a Democracy. But the nomenclature cannot make it different from, nor in any wise more virtuous than the respective social orders of Egypt and Hindustan, which have their basis in caste.

Nor can its "special pleaders", by any wizardy of words obscure the truth that a Democracy of caste is in its philosophy un-American—and in its operation subversive of the eternal principles of government which have been the peculiar glory of the American idea from its beginning. And that the conscience of the dominant race is not entirely easy because of its ruthless elimination of the Negro from the substance of American life, can be seen in the words of a paragraph that we take from the pen of a brilliant Southern writer, Mr. E. Gardner Murphy. The paragraph is as follows: "The American claims them, (these principles, and honors them as part of the traditions of his heritage. Conditions may obscure them, grave, unescapable difficulties may seem to compromise their reality and postpone their recognition, but our whole country, North and South, is steadily moving toward them rather than away from them. In their keeping is the future, for they are part of that moral and indefectable order which shall outwatch the blunders and tragedies of our generations." ("Shall the Fourteenth Amendment Be Enforced?" E. Gardner Murphy, North American Review, Vol. 180, p. 131). This Democracy must accept as the acid test of its genius the Americanization of the Negro. And the affixing of his status upon any other basis than one of Equality, will forever denote the failure of the American Idea. A Democracy based upon caste is infamous. A Democracy based upon special consideration to the Negro, insults that race. A Democracy based upon equality conserves the self-respect of all these groups concerned.

Conditions favorable for self betterment, opportunities for equality with other men—the right to be heard, freedom of thought and worship, the guaranty of life and liberty—are requisites fundamental to each man's life. These things are elementary in American traditions. And the people of America may well view with gravest anxiety the imposition of severe limtiatons, by will of the strong majority, upon even the least of its citizenry, lest by such action they establish a precedent that in the sure repetitions of history will be invoked against them to their dire peril.

Certan writers on Sociology have been quick to detect a marked tone of pessimism in the utterances and writings of Negro intellectuals generally. This is held to be proof positive of an "uncertainty and immaturity of our racial group ideals," and as an instance of the Negro's awareness of his own backwardness among the races. We believe this observation just. But not of the Negro only. What group today, racial or otherwise, professes any certainty or maturity as to itis group ideals? With what manner of consistency, if any, have the most advanced nations worked together for world peace? America, the admitted arbiter of international behavior, conscious that the world's salvation lay solely in the way of universal peace—repudiated with utmost finality—the League of Nations—a most momentous document—and crucified its author for no other reason than the sheer audacity of his far vision. The policy of doubtful expediency that so peculiarly characterizes the acts of the statesmen now at the head of the respective nations of the world but indicate a state of mind prevalent the world over—that is asking "What is best?" The Negro, pessimistic? Yes, and for righteous reasons. So long as the very reality of his citizenship is being constantly challenged,—nullified completely where he lives in largest numbers, and is but precariously maintained anywhere—is it to be expected that he sing the "Magnificat"? The treatment accorded the Negro in America in every period of its existence may be defended as democratic, but "O Americans, it cannot be calle[illegible]nd denied justice, we must complain.

The very presence of ten million Negroes in this country is in itself a strong presumption in favor of the idea that his equitable assimilation into the essence of American life is but a matter of eventuality. And it is certain that he laws of righteousness fully harmonize

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with such a presumption. It is conceded, however, that the largest factor to be considered in any such equitable assimilation must be the social worth of the Negro. Is his Americanization worth the pains of the process? If his worthiness be demonstrated, all such things as "ethnic differences", "racial antipathies" become as the chaff which the wind driveth away. A homogeneity of worth is the one essential implied in a true democracy.

The much vaunted ethnic solidarity of America's peoples is a delusion of hope. The attempted fusion of the races of Europe into some such solidarity was shown to be short of its achievement—when at the time of America's entrance into the World War—blood began calling to blood, and Bolshevism and hyphenated loyalty became a nuisance and menace to our national security. It yet remains to be disproved that the Negro is the most intensely American of all he American subjects in his loyalty to essentially All-American traditions. Truly the Negro is "proud to be an American!"

Mr. John Moffatt Macklin (Race Friction and Democracy, p. 180), a Northern writer with a Southern twist of mind, seems to voice the intentions of the white group as concerns the social heritage of the blacks in the future, when he says: "It seems hard that the Negro should be required to attain selfhood as best he can outside the higher cultural possibilities of the white group, and yet what other alternative would the social philosopher offer us? He certainly would not ask of the white group the supreme sacrifice of its ethnic purity, which is the bearer of its heritage, and, therefore the ultimate guarantee of the continuity and integrity of its peculair type of civilizaton."

In the statement, "He certainly would not ask of the white group the supreme sacrifice of its ethnic purity"—the learned gentlman begs the question. To guarantee the continuity and integrity of this peculiar type of civilization—namely, a white man democracy, what sacrifice has the white group not demanded of the Negro? In the catalogue of degradations which one has the Negro been spared? The "via Dolorsa" is unique among American highways in being classified as strictly a "Jim Crow" road.

The pont of immediate issue, however, is solely the success or failure of the American idea—as measured by its most difficult problem, the Americanization of the Negro. Whether or not the Ideal of Democracy in America is worth the sacrifice of an ethnic purity on the part of one or of all its groups must be decided by the group or groups themselves. In every such instance "the supreme sacrifice of ethnic purity" becomes the supreme test of ethnic patriotism. Noblesse Oblige, M'sieu.

In the broad sea of the commonwealth, the tiny streamlets of caste and color are lost. As a streamlet, singly flowing, the racial group [illegible] the unspeable Turk, and the unthinkable Bolshevik, we turn away from the revolting scene and hurry off with the Levite and the Priest.

Just here the Banquo's Ghost of "Money" rises up to spoil the scene. It costs to be a [illegible] "Oil and wine" are expen-

Letters to Editor

THE REGRETTABLE IGNORANCE OF MANY NORTHERNERS ABOUT THE SOUTH.

Verbena, Ala., March 2, 1923.

Editor The Advertiser: 3/7/23

I read with much interest your comment editorially, also that quoted from the Manufacturers' Record, of Baltimore, in your issue of February 28th, this is in keeping with my travels for the last twenty years. Montgomery Advertiser

In 1899 on the train from Madison, Wisconsin, to Minneapolis, Minn., again in 1911 on the train from San Francisco, Cal., to Portland, Oregon, I met a couple of middle-aged educated and in their way very intelligent ladies who both offered their acquaintance and who were both very delightful associates; each one (strange to say) expressed great admiration for the South and its people and remarked in the same words that I was the first Southern man they had ever seen to know him. In 1910 at the hotel in Quebec, Canada, in the hotel lobby of all together northeastern people they were discussing the usages and the conditions of the South, and one lady exclaimed, "They tell me they use cotton oil down there instead of lard." "I don't see how they can stand that awful stuff," showing their total ignorance of this valuable product of the South, she was the wife of the Governor of Vermont, the Governor himself being present, also a number of ministers, governors, judges and other high ups being in the crowd. I took the part of the South, of course, when they became very much interested in what [illegible] and especially on cotton seed products. In 1909 while on the California coast and in company with Captain Frank S. White and his family, we met a couple of teachers, teachers, mind you, well educated, from Reading. Penn. They, as usual, when we invited them South, expressed abhorrence or dread of the Chigesticks and reptiles of the South, and while I have known them and corresponded with them since I have never been able to induce either of them to come South of the Mason and Dixon line, only once during the world war they made a trip to Richmond, Va.

At Portland, Oregon, in 1911 I met an aged lady, Mrs. Eveleigh, and her daughter, of Montreal, Canada. We traveled together for ten days and they were very delightful and well educated people, but when I invited them to go further South they, as usual, referred to the reptiles, chigoes, ticks, mosquitoes and negroes; when I replied that they were misinformed and that I saw more mosquitoes in one week the year before in and within the vicinity of Halifax, than I had seen in all my life put together before, besides a colony of 15,000 negroes living in a town just across the bay from Halifax with the most backwoods, most outlandish, most filthy and ignorant negroes that my eyes have ever beheld.

Last summer I finished up the entire United States by triversing the State of Vermont. There was a band on the train, that had been down to Albany, N. Y., and were returning north. They found out I was from the South and one of them remarked, that he had always been informed that the Southern people would not let the negroes meet them in the road or on the sidewalks, would kick them off if they resented it, would shoot them and further that he had been informed that the Southern people talked like the negroes. When I remarked that his bunch might talk like the negroes but the white people of the South did not, and gave all his informants the lie and told him that the Southern whites and negroes were at peace and justice with each other, that the negro was naturally an emulator of his white friends and when a negro in the South became educated he emulated the whites.

I can only account for the charge that the Southern trains are usually late from the fact that the Southern railroad penetrates a large part of the country and hence might be the cause of the saying that the "Southern trains are late."

A Southern chamber of commerce as you suggest would be a great dispenser of knowledge as between the South and the North.

The average Northern person who is educated, when the conditions of the South for the last sixty years is explained to him, comments favorably and with consideration for the South. We should all cultivate a more kindly feeling for the North than we have because it is to our interest to do so from a social as well as a financial standpoint, again West of the Mississippi river you can hardly get any information from a paper concerning Alabama or any other middle South or Eastern State, yet any place in the West that you can find an Advertiser and that is nearly all over, you can read of incidents that took place right in the city where the paper is read. Thus I had a little tilt with the editor of the Arkansas Gazette a few years ago, when his only excuse for not publishing news of this country was the fact that it was regulated by the press association. Wherever I go on this continent and can lay hands on an Advertiser I feel like I am reading the greatest friend of the South.

Pardon this long and rambling letter.

Yours very truly,

F. A. GULLEDGE.

MINISTERS TELL WHY THE FOLKS LEAVE MEMPHIS

3-3-23

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 3.—A committee of ministers representing the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance here filed a lengthy memorandum with the chairman of the welfare department of the Chamber of Commerce of Memphis last Tuesday morning. Chicago Whip

Among the most important things cited as to why colored men are leaving the South and Memphis in particular for other sections is police oppression. This is given as the principal cause of the migration, which is seriously affecting labor supply.

The officials of the Chamber of Commerce immediately took up the matter with the police department and city authorities. The ministers cited two recent killings on Scott Street as unwarranted. It is claimed that officers unlawfully search homes. Pointed out that on one occasion a man told the officers that they had no right to enter his home without a warrant. He is said to have told them that he would protect his home against invasion. The police paid no attention to his statement and forced their way into his house. One officer was killed and another wounded. Following this several homes were entered by the officers, evidently for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts and minds of the residents. Two other killings occurred that same night. These unfortunate outrages were followed by an exodus of several hundred families.

BROTHER DAVIS ANSWERS BROTHER STEWART.

Atlanta Independent

"Ben Davis, of the Atlanta Independent divides the Negro leaders into five distinct groups as follows: The Tuskegee group, meaning Moton, et al; the Monroe Trotter group, the Aristocratic group, including Emmett J. Scott, et al; the DuBois group and the Linc Johnson group."—Exchange.

Atlanta Ga. 2-15-23

It has been our contention ever

since the passing of Frederick Douglass that there has been no single recognized race leader in this country. There have been many great men and many race leaders but there has been none of them that had the elements of leadership which has been recognized by this group of great men and leaders. Brother Davis has done us the service of indicating the different group leaders of the race and without admitting the correctness of his classification or the regularity of the assignment of the group leader, we have been casting a sheep's eye about, to see to what group some of those who are classified as race leaders belong. But there are others, because some of the most popular and most potential leaders of the race today are among the religious leaders and Brother Davis does not indicate that group or its leader. Then there is the fraternal group and its leaders and to determine the question of group and race leadership satisfactorily one must take cognizance of these groups. Now laying all levity aside it must be determined to which group Brother Davis belongs before the question of his judgment in this matter can be taken without a grain of allowance.—American Baptist.

Brother Davis desires to say for the benefit of Brother Stewart that he neither believes in or admits a race leadership; he does not believe that there is any place in the economy of race building for race leadership. He believes that the Negro, like the white man and other races, may have religious, commercial, economic and industrial leaders, but there is no place for race leaders.

In the automobile industry, Henry Ford is the leader; in finance. J. P. Morgan; in politics, Henry Cabot Lodge; in education, Booker T. Washington; in law, Chas. Evans Hughes; in literature, Kelly Miller; in church affairs, Chas. T. Walker; in oratory, Roscoe Conkling Simmons; in letters, W. E. B. DuBois; in politics, Henry Lincoln Johnson, and in journalism, Arthur Brisbane.

These men are group leaders, leaders in particular phases of the national life, but none of them are race leaders. And the man who poses as a leader of our race, is self-constituted, self-appointed and self-styled. There is no one man big enough to lead a race, nation or world along all the lines that are necessary to constitute a great and powerful race, nation or world.

HOW DO THEY FEEL?

When the bunch of men induced by Chandler Owen to sign the petition to lynch Garvey by advancing his case on the calendar of the district court in New York, read that the vexatious delays of his trial are over his protest and made on the motion of the government, they must feel ridiculous.

Our information is that Chandler Owens is in charge of the N. A. A. C. P. office, 2305 Seventh avenue, New York City, N. Y., and that the document sent out demanding the execution of Garvey without a hearing, is a part of the propaganda of this association. How will the managers of the Association feel when they find that their agents instead of trying to suppress lawlessness, are trying to increase it? Atlanta Independent

We quite agree with the Washington Tribune when it says, "Why all this clamor and uproar about Garvey? Why worry yourselves to death about his program of Back to Africa?" But the things that puzzle the public are why good, sane business men like Harry Pace, Jack Nail, Robert Abbott and George Harris would become the dupes of such radical fanatics as Chandler Owen. Bill Pickens and Rev. Bagnall. It matters not whether these men were duped by these radicals, or are part of the conspiracy to lynch Garvey, or shift the burden of proof from the government's shoulders to the accused's shoulders, does not lessen the responsibility fastened upon these gentlemen. Atlanta, Ga

In the language of Brother Vann of the Pittsburg Courier, it looks like a frame-up. The report so far discloses the fact that the delay in the trial of Garvey for using the mails for fraudulent purposes is on the motion of the government, and over his protest. 2-15-23

We join Brother Vann in asking the question, is the government the dupe of the radicals of the N. A. A. C. P., who seem to think that Garvey is in their way.

In American jurisprudence, a man is presumed to be innocent until the presumption of innocence advanced by the law is overcome with a preponderance of evidence and such a preponderance of evidence as to exclude every hypothesis from the minds of the jury except the guilt of the prisoner at the bar; and until the presumption of guilt is thusly overcome by preponderance of evidence and the jury is reasonably satisfied of the guilt of the accused, he stands innocent; but Brothers Pace, Nail, Abbott, Harris, Owen and Pickens and Bagnall would reverse this principle of law and evidence and shift the burden of proof to the shoulders of Garvey and write in lieu thereof, that the accused is presumed to be guilty until he overwhelms the hypothesis of his guilt, with positive and convincing proof of his innocence, but as we remarked in our last week's issue, we are unwilling to believe that sane business men like Pace, Harris, Abbott and Nail would be parties to so loathsome a crime, and that some strange "halo" of socialism must have overshadowed them.

In support of our position, we quote here a letter from Mr. Pace in reply to a letter we addressed to each of the gentlemen submitted as signers of the remarkable document, Mr. Pace being the only one up to date, who has answered our letter. These men did not think much of their business when they entered into such radicalism and bolshevism as the strange document propagates.

February 5, 1923.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a seven page communication sent out from 2305 Seventh avenue, marked, NOT FOR RELEASE UNTIL FEBRUARY 1st.

It is a dangerous document. One fraught with much mischief and calculated to stir up more racial strife than any paper I have seen in years.

The article is unsigned but bears the earmark of the N. A. A. C. P., and the following named persons are given as signers of this article and this letter is to ask you whether you are in any way responsible for the article which seeks to have the Attorney General proceed against Garvey and his followers.

Harry H. Pace, Robert S. Abbott, John E. Nail, Julia P. Coleman, William Pickens, Chandler Owen, Robert W. Bagnall and George W. Harris.

In our opinion the article is libelous and we refuse to carry it because we do not believe that you men stand for it.

If you gentlemen are responsible for the article, will you be good enough to inform me?

Yours very cordially,
B. J. DAVIS, Editor.

February 7, 1923.

Dear Sir:

Replying to yours on the reverse side of this sheet, I beg to say the letter referred to was signed by me under an erroneous impression. Certainly I have no quarrel with Mr. Garvey as an individual and I am not in the business of propaganda.

So far as I know the document has nothing to do with the N. A. A. C. P., or the N. A. A. C. P., with it. The matter was brought to me in the course of a busy day by Mr. Chandler Owen, who was in my office on other business. Mr. Owen explained to me that the communication was in the nature of a nation-wide protest, to be signed by thousands of people everywhere, the chief characteristic being a protest against Garvey's alleged alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and the adoption by his organization of the violent methods of the Ku Klux, examples of which were cited. The document was to be gone over carefully by certain eminent lawyers who were named to me and all libelous matter stricken out.

The document had already been signed by at least 6 of the signers when it was presented to me. I did not sign it as a sponsor for its contents and had I known that it was not to have been handled as indicated to me, I would not have signed it at all.

Very truly yours,
HARRY H. PACE.

NEGROES NOT HARASSED.

Caruthersville Officials Say Disturbance Reports Exaggerated.

CARUTHERSVILLE, Mo., March 4.—Officials of Pemiscott County, commenting today on the announcement that the government would investigate reports that negroes were being harassed and warned to leave Southeast Missouri, asserted every complaint received had been investigated thoroughly, with the result that every disturbance had been found to be of a minor character and that the complaints had been exaggerated greatly.

The county officials admitted several hundred negroes had left Pemiscott County in recent months, after receiving threatening notes, but that hundreds of other negroes had come into the county to take the places of those who departed.

Negroes are in demand here, it was said, and 4,000 have been imported from the south in the last six months to work in the fields. The bankers and planters had an ordinance enacted imposing a license fee of $500 on labor agents in an effort to keep the agents away from here, so the negroes would not be induced to leave, it was said.

THE MOORFIELD STORYS, THE OVINGTONS AND THE JEWS.

Atlanta Indep-endent

The "Atlanta Independent" introduces its readers to the year 1923 by almost a whole page of pure rot, "denouncing" the N. A. A. C. P. and all its officers. It misrepresents the colored men and women of the organization, and even dares to insult the voluntary white workers. It roundly cusses DuBois, Johnson, White and the others, and we do not intend to waste much time on the abuse which the "Independent" heaps upon these colored men; they have been cussed before; they are used to it. During all the thirteen years in which they have been building up the first national power of the American Negro, they have been abused—and some of them before that time even. And the queer thing is, that the cussing and abuse have not done them an accursed bit of good. 2-15-23

It is surprising how many plain falsehoods are packed into this single page of the "Independent:"

1. That the colored men and women of the organization are controlled and bossed by some white people or other, and that "not a single colored man or woman has or has ever had any voice whatsoever" in its control.

2. That people like Mary White Ovington and Moorfield Storey are in the association because they have "color prejudice" and want to keep the Negro down! As if any white person on earth who had brains enough even to desire to keep the Negro down, would not have too much sense to help the N. A. A. C. P.

3. That some Jews and other white people are making "profits" out of the association.

We would rather believe that the "Independent" was duped by the fellow who sent them this article,

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than to believe the article expresses the real views of that newspaper. The fellow who wrote the article is without influence in his own community, and the odd thing is, that no editor who knows him, would be willing to accept any kind of contribution from him.

We could believe that some enemy of the Negro race paid for that page in the Atlanta Independent in order to try to insult the few white friends whom the Negro can now count on, and so drive them away from the Negro's cause—if we did not know that almost any worth while enemy of the Negro would have more sense than to make his lies so plain and so ridiculously extreme that nobody would believe them. For example, take that first lie:

That Du Bois and other colored men are being "bossed" by somebody.

At least all of the intelligent colored people of the United States know that about all of the trouble Du Bois ever had in this world arose from the fact that he will not be "bossed" in any degree either by white groups or colored ones. And it is very poor skill in a liar to accuse a man of having the very "virtue" which nearly everybody else has been cussing him nearly all his life for NOT possessing: namely, the goodness to be "bossed and controlled." And it is much the same with the other colored men of the organization; some of them have left other and easier work because they would not be "owned and controlled."

But lie No. 2, is the limit, and suggests to us that perhaps after all, the hired liar meant to cheat those who may have hired him by overdoing the thing, so that nobody could believe it:

That Miss Ovington, for example, is actuated by "color prejudice" and a desire to hold the Negro down.

What a queer association for white woman to get into. wants to do any harm to gro race—what queer has written on the most queer speeches subject—and sent to President Harding she is always making. Think of it—she attacks the enemies of the Negro race more uncompromisingly than do the Negroes themselves, and certainly more boldly than the "Atlanta Independent" ever dared to do it. In the last ten years she has given more towards the advancement of the American Negro—without reward—than any other person who has lived in that time; invaluable services, without a cent of pay, with added contributions in cold cash And as for Moorfield Storey, another white person who must be very queer, if, as the "Independent" states, he means to "profit" by his connection with this association, has given services that could not have been bought; he has rescued the editor of the "Independent" from residential segregation, from "grandfather clauses," and while that paper was busy typing its scandalous little page, Moorfield Storey was busy trying to save its editor and all its readers from "peonage" by pleading the Arkansas cases before the supreme court without a cent of pay. When Storey rescued the "Atlanta Independent" staff from the awful damnation of residential segregation in Georgia, he did not receive from them or from anybody else, even a cent for his expenses from Boston to Washington and back. And, besides this inestimable indirect giving, MOORFIELD STOREY HAS GIVEN INTO THE TREASURY OF THE N. A. A. C. P. IN CASH, MORE THAN SIX THOUSAND DOLLARS. The association then, has cost Moorfield Storey more in cash and services than it has cost any other person in the world, and Mary White Ovington has donated more in unpurchasable and devoted services than any other mortal. Perhaps the benevolent liar accused them of making "profits," just in order to give us a good chance to tell how much they have been giving.

And lie No. 3 is about the nastiest of all. Why on earth should a Negro newspaper ever strike an attitude of hostility toward Jews? How can the Negro scorn the cooperation of the Jew? The only reason why a goodly number of leaders of the Jewish race can understand the Negro's struggle, is that experience, the only teacher, has made them know what race prejudice is. And one of the most creditable things in human nature is, that some Jews, wealthy and independent, have given the American Negro a lift by their services and their money through the N. A. A. C. P.

About the only thing that saves us from disastrous effects of a lying page like that in the "Independent" is, that most of these white people have worked so long and so intimately with colored men and women, that they now know, that although some colored folk, like some white folk, are venal, cheap-spirited, short-visioned and untruthful, still there are other kinds of Negroes. That is why the petty insult cannot shake their faith and loyalty nor break their co-operation.

It must be said, too, not as a statement of policy nor as a thing valuable in itself, but merely as a fact in contradiction of the falsehood of the "Independent," the colored element, not the white, controls the destiny of the N. A. A. C. P. The truth of the matter is, there are not nearly enough white people in it, and it is always a problem how to get more of them more interested. So far, only the most liberal-minded whites can endorse the association's program, and we know that no "race question" can ever be settled by one race alone. All the races concerned in any interracial matter must get together in some agreement before an abiding settlement can be reached.

But meanwhile, the N. A. A. C. P. and the just cause of the American Negro, will go forward, with or without "The Atlanta Independent."

(Signed)
WILLIAM PICKENS,
New York City.

January, 1923.

"Stereotype."

2/21-23

Clement Wood, author and poet, addressed the Booklovers Club at the West 135th Branch library last Wednesday evening. His subject was "What the Negro can Give to Literature", this, he said, was at present chiefly an interpretation of himself to the white man.

"All literature" he said "is a crystallization of man's desire. It means I want that." There are two methods of expressing this desire, he said, by realism and romanticism. In the latter the author presented what he wished to bring about as being already accomplished, the good was triumphant and the handsome, dashing hero married the beautiful heroine. In the latter life was presented as it was, the mirror was held up to nature, so that all could see. It was in this vein, that he had written his book "Nigger," he said to whose title so many Negroes had objected.

"When I wrote that book" he said, " I never thought of the Negro readers at all. I wrote for the white people. I painted things as they are in an effort to show my race the great difficulties that beset Negroes when they tried to rise. The story is of an aspiring Negro family who leaves the black belt for the South, where they are living on the "dollar down, dollar a week for the rest of life," plan. The picture is an unpleasant one, but true, nevertheless.

North Still Thinks of Runaway Slaves.

"Why have a spineless succession of presidents and law-makers, North, South and West, permitted the laws giving equal rights to the Negro to be violated?" he asked. 'Why does'nt the North, the land of Garrison Sumner and Wendall Phillips rally to the side of the Negro now? It is because of the mental picture—the stereotype in the brain of the Northern whites regarding Negroes. Northerners still think of Negroes as runaway slaves. They are willing to give charity but not an opportunity to develop manhood. The South still has the black mammy type in mind and it is ready to lynch the black mammy's children when they depart from that stereotype.

"When a white man thinks of a Negro he has a stereotype in his brain that runs like this: black face, thick lips, poverty, lack of culture, vice, unrestrained passions of every kind. He thinks of Johnson, Siki, Battle not of Pushkin, Tanner, the Johnsons, McKay Fauset, and other Negroes of distinction. Now what is your job? To change it—to build up a different stereotype. It is a very very hard task but still Negroes will have to do it if they wish the whites to think differently."

He spoke of another kind of stereotype being built up in popular magazines as that by Roy Cohen, whose characters he said were "Jews in blackface. I have lived in the South all my life and have never seen any Negro that was like that."

Negro Leads in Contributions.

In speaking of the contributions of the respective races to American life he said that there were six things distinctively American, and that of these the Negro had given four, the Indian one, and the Caucasian, one. He gave many illustrations of peoples who had been forgotten simply because they had no literature, or had had their records destroyed. The Negro, he insisted, must make every effor to build up his own literature—a realistic literature.

Wrote on Conditions in Alabama

Mr. Wood in a recent article in "The Nation" said things about the race problem that few others have dared or cared to say.

His book "Nigger" is published by Dutton & Co. and costs Two dollars.

Noted Author Talks at 135th St. Library

new York Amsterdam News

Clement Wood Urges Race to Change White Man's

Culture In The North And South

By Roland M. Harper, University, Alabama.

In recent years, since statistics have become popular, many newspaper and magazine writers have made comparisons between Northern and Southern States, which seem to show that the former are decidedly superior in wealth, education, etc. But most of these writers have merely skimmed the surface, and used State averages for all races combined; and if they would dig a little deeper and separate whites and negroes and city and country they would get some very different results. For example, if the officials who keep records of automobile licenses would divide the returns in this manner it would probably be found that the white population in Southern cities are not behind those in Northern cities in this respect.

Very few comparisons of Northern and Southern cities based on statistics that really mean anything seem to have been made. About three years ago a small wave of indignation swept over this section on account of a comparative study of 36 American cities, made by a professor of sociology in a far Western State, in which four Western cities led in most things, and four Southern cities brought up the rear.

His statistical criteria included several

matters whose validity as measures of culture is questionable, such as cost of living, church membership, and per cent. of population married, and all these things were given equal weight; and worse still, whites and negroes were not separated.

Comparison of Cities.

I have long had the impression that people of the same race in cities of the same size and character rank about the same in all parts of the United States (and perhaps in other English-speaking countries), and also that Southern cities are heard of oftener than Northern ones of the same size, and have just as good newspapers; but I never attempted any statistical comparisons of cities until very recently. Some of the results are so striking that they deserve earlier and wider publicity than a scientific journal could give.

The last two United States censuses have given the percentage of illiteracy among various race, age and sex groups in each State, for rural and urban population separately, but in order to get the ratios for all whites of any age group it is necessary to add three pairs of figures, for native whites with native parents, native whites with foreign or mixed parents, and foreign whites, and then divide; and the difficulty of doing all that for every State has caused some very significant facts to escape attention. "Urban" population as defined by the last three or four censuses comprises all persons living in towns and cities with over 2,500 people, and "rural" the remainder; but if the limit was 1,000 or 5,000 it probably would not make much difference in the ratios discussed below.

In the following table I have arranged all the States in the Eastern half of the United States in order of urban white adult illiteracy in 1920, with the United States average in its proper place. (The Western States, which are omitted here to save space, generally rank higher than the Eastern ones in this respect, except Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, which have too many Mexicans.) I have used adult illiteracy rather than that for all persons over ten mainly in order to have smaller figures to add, but the use of a larger age group would not make much difference in the results.

The first column gives the percentage of "urban" population in each State, and the second the percentage of whites in the urban population. Both have been taken direct from the census reports, where they are carried out to one decimal place, but decimals are omitted here for the sake of simplicity. The third column is the most important one, giving the percentage of urban white adult illiteracy, carried out to two decimal places (one more than the census gives) in order to give the States their proper ranking.

The last column gives the percentage of urban white population taking the Literary Digest in 1920. A preliminary communication from me on this subject, extracted from a personal letter to one of the editors, and not intended for publication, appeared (without my name) in The Advertiser of January 23rd, and I have since extended and revised my calculations. I have used the circulation figures for the Literary Digest because I happened to have them, those for almost any other weekly or monthly with over a million subscribers might do as well. The detailed circulation figures available are for 1922, but I have reduced them to a 1920 basis (to be comparable with the population figures) on the assumption that the rate of increase in circulation between those two years in every community has been the same as in the whole United States.

Of course the apparent urban circulation of that or any other periodical is exaggerated somewhat, for many copies that go through city postoffices are bought by commuters and transients in the larger cities, or sent out on rural routes from the smaller cities, but this ought not to materially affect the comparison between different State sand cities. The assumption that all subscribers to the Digest are white also involves a small error, which, however, ought to be pretty evenly distributed.

Statistics Illustrating Educational Status of Urban White Population of Eastern United States, 1920.

Montgomery Advertiser

3/3/23

States, Etc.	Per cent. Urban	Per cent Urban White	Adult White Illiteracy	Literary Digest Ratio
Dist. of Col.	100	75	1.00	3.3
Iowa	36	98	1.54	1.8
Arkansas	17	75	2.07	2.4
Florida	37	66	2.11	2.9
Mississippi	18	59	2.20	2.5
Minnesota	44	99	2.20	1.7
Missouri	47	91	2.32	1.3
Georgia	25	62	2.60	2.2
Indiana	51	95	2.63	1.6
Kentucky	26	83	2.66	1.5
Virginia	29	69	2.70	2.2
ALABAMA	22	61	2.80	2.1
South Carolina ..	18	60	3.23	2.6
Wisconsin	47	100	3.27	1.3
West Virginia ..	25	94	3.28	2.0
Tennessee	26	72	3.37	2.1
Maryland	60	86	3.47	1.2
Ohio	64	96	3.68	1.5
Michigan	61	97	4.06	1.2
Louisiana	35	70	4.07	1.9
Maine	39	100	4.36	1.9
U. S. average ...	51	93	4.70	1.4
North Carolina ..	19	68	4.76	2.6
Illinois	68	96	4.80	1.1
Vermont	31	100	4.93	1.6
Delaware	54	89	5.30	1.1
Pennsylvania ...	64	96	5.92	1.3
Massachusetts . .	95	99	6.00	1.0
New Hampshire .	63	100	6.52	1.2
New Jersey	78	96	6.75	1.0
New York	83	98	7.06	0.9
Rhode Island ...	97	98	8.16	0.8
Connecticut . ..	68	98	8.43	1.4

It will be seen at once that most of the Southeastern States are above the United States average in urban white literacy, and most of the Northeastern States below; and the Literary Digest figures run generally in the same direction, though not so regularly. The lowest Southeastern State in literacy is just a trifle below the United States average, and the highest New England State a little above. The illiteracy percentages decreased a little in nearly every State between 1910 and 1920, but the relative rank of the States did not change much. Comparisons of this kind for earlier periods than 1910 are not feasible. It would be hard to reconcile these findings with the belief widely held in the North that Southerners must be lazy and inefficient on account of the "enervating" climate in which they live, and the supposed prevalence of malaria, hookworm, pellagra, etc.

The reader may now wonder what is the explanation of this state of affairs. It is to be found not in the schools, but in the factories. It is a startling coincidence that if the illiteracy figures in the third column should be multiplied by two they would in most cases approximate closely the percentages of the total population engaged in manufacturing. (The 1920 figures do not seem to be available yet, and it is hardly worth while to publish those for 1910 which I have used, though they may not differ much from the 1920 ones.) If the census would only separate urban and rural manufacturing and white and negro factory hands, and not include laundries, bakeries, newspaper plants, sawmills, etc., with real factories, the correlation could undoubtedly be made still closer.

The Foreign-Born Factor.

Modern manufacturing requires a great deal of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, which can be performed perfectly well by persons with little or no education, and as fast as the natives are educated above such labor by our efficient schools, ignorant foreigners from the less enlightened countries of Europe pour in to take their places, as I pointed out in a communication on illiteracy in Alabama, in The Advertiser of April 9, 1922. Fifty years or so ago, when there was much less manufacturing (and less public education), the demand for ignorant foreigners was very small, and most of our immigrants came from the more civilized countries of Northwestern Europe, and made very good citizens. Nowadays the strenuous efforts of Northern educators are making very little headway against the inexorable economic law of supply and demand as applied to labor, and that part of the country is filling up with undesirable foreigners at an alarming rate, in spite of recent attempts to restrict immigration.

It would take too long to discuss many individual cities, but a few comparisons between different groups of cities will be of interest. The ten largest cities in the United States (the first nine of which are in the Northeastern quarter of the country and the tenth in California) had 6% of their adults (95% of whom were white) in 1920 illiterate, about 1.05% of Literary Digest subscribers, and one person in 1740 listed in "Who's Who in America" of that year. The ten largest Southeastern cities had 7.2% of their adults (or 2.3% of their white adults) illiterate, 1.55% of the population (or 2.18% of the whites) taking the Digest, and one person in 2,535 (or about one in 1,800 whites) in Who's Who.

A dozen of the leading textile manufacturing cities in New England and New Jersey, with about 99% of their population white, had 11.1% of their adults illiterate, 0.65% of Literary Digest subscribers, and one person in 11,380 in Dhio's Who. Twenty cities of the same kind in the South, with about 25% of negroes, had 12.4% of the adults of all races (and of course a much smaller population of the whites) illiterate, 1.45% of Literary Digest subscribers, and one person in 7,620 (or about one in 6,000 whites) in Who's Who. In the last few months there have been many items in Southern papers about the migration of the cotton manufacturing industry from New England to the South, as if that was something new. But the movement has evidently been going on for some time, for the Northern textile centers just mentioned increased in population only 11% between 1910 and 1920, and the Southern ones 33.5%.

Quite a number of cultured and attractive Southern cities, such as Huntsville and Talladega, Ala., and several in Georgia and the Carolinias, have cotton factories, often placed just outside the city limits to avoid city taxes. But as the cities grow the factories outside are bound to be taken in sooner or later, and the statistical results are not very gratifying. A striking case is that of LaGrange, Georgia. In 1910 that was a typical Southern town, a trading point for the surrounding farming country, with 5,587 inhabitants, mostly white (where negroes are in the majority), with a few cotton factories on its outskirts. Some time between then and 1920 it must have annexed its factory suburbs, for the population by the last census was 17,038. Many of the citizens were doubtless very proud of the fact that their city had more than trebled in population in ten years; but there is a dark side to the picture. In 1910, 13.9% of all the adult males, white and colored, in LaGrange, 12.7% of all persons over 10, and 1.94% of the whites over 10, were returned as illiterate. By 1920 the illiteracy percentages for all races combined had increased a little, and that for whites over 10 had jumped to 7.67, nearly four times what it was in 1910. In the annexed territory alone the white illiteracy was about 10%, or nearly as much as in the Northern textile centers. (Only one of the 17,000 citizens of LaGrange is listed in the 1920 edition of Who's Who, and only 187 were taking the Literary Digest in 1922).

Montgomery and Birmingham.

Most cities, especially in the South, seem anxious to get new factories to locate with them, apparently for no better reason than to have an increasing population to brag about (for it has never been demonstrated that the average inhabitants of a large city are any happier or richer than those of a small one). But although we can not very well get along without factories, it is not necessary to have them right at our doors, and it would seem better to locate them as far as possible in settlements by themselves rather than to inflict them on cities already established for commercial and educational purposes. There are possibly some people in Montgomery who cast envious eyes at Birmingham because it is larger and growing faster; but Montgomery seems to have the advantage in culture. The white adult illiteracy in Montgomery is only 0.73%, as compared with Birmingham's 2.2%, and about 3% of the whites take the Literary

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Digest, as compared with Birmingham's 2.1%. In Who's Who for 1920 there were listed 37 residents of Montgomery. Excluding twelve State officials, who have to live there whether they like the city or not, and one negro bishop, leaves 24, or one to every 984 white inhabitants. Birmingham at the same time (including Ensley, which has a separate postoffice) had 63 Who's Who people, or one to 1,725 whites. That, however, is a pretty good showing itself, for it is nearly the same ratio as that for the ten largest cities in the United States.

There are various other interesting aspects of this question which can not be discussed here for lack of space, but must be left to the reader's imagination for the present. This communication may be summed up by saying that Southern cities have nothing to be ashamed of in comparison with Northern ones, except in mere numbers, but they would do well to weigh the advantages and disadvantages carefully before offering too many inducements to new manufacturing enterprises. It is sometimes a pretty good policy to let well enough alone, unless there is some decided advantage in making a change.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PUBLIC LEDGER

Richmond Planet, Richmond, Va.

We have just read editorial comment in the Philadelphia Public Ledger on Garveyism as expressed in a document addressed to the Attorney-General, by a set of men styled by the Public Ledger as a representative group of leading educators, business men and publicists of the Negro race.

Our Yankee contemporary, like our southern contemporaries, has fallen into the error of expressing its opinion before an investigation—arguing the question and convicting the accused without a hearing or investigating the character or animus of the accusers.

In this discussion, we wish to state that we neither hold a brief for Garvey's propaganda nor believe in the possibilities of his program—that our only object in this editorial discussion, is to defend the principles of American fair play—and beyond these fundamentals, we have no interest.

2-22-23

The Public Ledger asserts that Garveyism is a counterpart among the Negro population of America what the K. K. K. is among the white people, and bases its findings upon a letter addressed to the Attorney-General without investigating the character of the men behind the letter, or knowing their animus.

There were four sane business men who signed the article—H. H. Pace, John E. Nail, Robert S. Abbott and George W. Harris. Neither of these men had anything to do with the preparation of this article which was brought to them by Chandler Owens, a radical of the deepest dye and a Bolsheviki, who has contributed as much to race prejudice as Garvey. This letter was handed them for their signatures during their busiest hours and they read and signed it under such restrictions and caution as is expressed in Mr. Pace's communication, which we incorporate as a part of this article. Another signer is Mrs. Julia P. Coleman, who sells to her race a preparation to bleach their skins and straighten their hair.

Robert Bagnall is a radical who is usually engaged in straining the relations between the races, and a preacher who has left the pulpit to engage in radicalism. Wm Pickens is a Socialist and is committed to all kinds of isms—having recently announced that there is no hell or heaven. Chandler Owens is connected with the N. A. A. C. P., which is fermenting all of the charges against Garvey for no other reason than it believes that Garvey overshadows it in stirring up racial strife and embittering feelings between the races. This organization has done far more to poison the stream of cordiality existing between the races in the South than Garveyism is capable of doing.

If the chief editor of the Ledger will read Mr. Pace's letter, he will understand why the business men signed the communication.

We would like to ask the Ledger a few questions:

First—Is it advised that the letter addressed to the Attorney-General was issued by the N. A. A. C. P. and is a part of its propaganda?

Second—Is it advised of the character of the men who conduct the propaganda of this association?

Third—It is advised of the character, and we do not mean moral character, of Wm. Pickens, Chandler Owens, Robert Bagnall and the other men who conduct the N. A. A. C. P.?

Fourth—Is it advised of their propaganda—that it is the policy of this association to hold up the crimes and wrongs perpetrated against the Negro race by the white race and to obscure every virtue, every kindness and every deed of Christianity propagated or performed for the Negro by the white race?

Fifth—Is the Public Ledger advised that the propaganda of this association, fulminated by some of the men who signed the letter to the Attorney-General, has been so radical and revolutionary that in many communities of the South the whites have prevented the Negroes from meeting and propagating the publicity sent out by the association?

Sixth—Did the Ledger investigate the source from which the letter issued to find out whether or not it wasn't a condition of rivalry in radicalism and bolshevism which inspired the men to address the communication to the Attorney-General?

Knowing the men who signed the communication as we do and Garveyism as we have had the light to interpret it, we are of the opinion that the country would be better off and racial relations would be one hundred per cent better if neither of these movements existed. Both movements—one headed by Garvey and the other by DuBois, exploit the race for their living, and to do away with the propaganda that they teach, which is racial strife and hatred, neither bunch could make a living.

The signers of the letter to the Attorney-General, did not issue the document for the good of the race, or out of any spirit of loyalty to race or country, but merely as a vehicle to railroad Garveyism out of their way, even if it was necessary to legally lynch him. They called on the Government to proceed to try and convict Garvey without knowing whether the delay in his trial was on his motion or the Government.

The Ledger is too old and has too honorable a record of public service to join any bunch of men in trying the case of an individual already indicted, in the public forum before he has his day in court. It is a rule of evidence that evidences are to weigh in the trial of a cause according to the credibility of the witnesses.

We are opposed to both Garvey and his detractors when they are wrong and favor both when they are right. We are for the truth and have no patience with rival organizations like the N. A. A. C. P. and the U. N. I. A. when they are both engaged in the same work of destruction. Both of these organizations are propagating race hatred, and neither is in a position to arraign the other.

It is true that the bunch of Negroes you call educated, did graduate from Yale, Harvard and other standard universities and colleges, but it is equally true that these men, like "rolling stones," have gathered no moss since they left college, and have lived very largely by exploiting the people—the same class of people that you join in indicting Garvey for exploiting. Their chief stock in trade has been racial strife and race hatred. Neither of these men give anybody employment. They are hirelings themselves, in spite of all their education—they own no factories, banks, businesses or other industries—they are on payrolls from sources which express the poverty of the black race.

The communication addressed to the Attorney-General is merely the

fulmination of one evil trying to put the other evil out of the way that it may have a clean field to make its living upon the dissension and strife among the masses.

The four business men who were induced to sign this article, as expressed in Mr. Pace's letter, were all duped and were sought to give the paper prestige among the people and weight to the Attorney-General. The Attorney-General will hardly give judicial cognizance to the letter.

Here is Mr. Pace's letter. 'As a matter of fairness, we ask that you give this letter space in your columns. We are enclosing you our editorial page of the Atlanta Independent that you may see our views of the document in question:

"February 7, 1923.

"Dear Sir:

"Replying to yours on reverse side of this sheet, I beg to say the letter referred to was signed by me under an erroneous impression. Certainly I have no quarrel with Mr. Garvey as an individual, and I am not in the business of propaganda.

"So far as I know, the document has nothing to do with the N. A. A. C. P. or the N. A. A. C. P. with it. The matter was brought to me in the course of a busy day by Mr. Chandler Owen who was in my office on other business. Mr. Owen explained to me that the communication was in the nature of a nation-wide protest, to be signed by thousands of people everywhere, the chief characteristic being a protest against Garvey's alleged alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and the adoption by his organizatioin of the violent methods of the Ku Klux, examples of which were cited. The document was to be gone over carefully by certain eminent lawyers, who were named to me and all libellous matter stricken out.

"The document had already been signed by at least six of the signers when it was presented to me. I did not sign it as a sponsor for its contents, and had I known that it was not to have been handled as indicated to me, I would not have signed it at all.

"Very truly yours,

"HARRY H. PACE."

BRYAN SAYS NORTH WOULD ACT AS SOUTH ON NEGRO QUESTION

Speaking before the Southern Society in Washington the other day, William Jennings Bryan made a brief statement of his views on the negro question. It attracted wide attention. Mr. Bryan has amplified these views in this special article for THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The New York Times
7/18/23.

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

LATE last month I spoke at a banquet of the Southern Society. I was not on the printed program, but was called upon when the advertised list of speakers was completed. One of the speakers, in emphasizing the importance of that part of the Declaration of Independence which affirms that all men are created equal, criticised the limitations that have been placed upon suffrage in some of the Southern States. I referred to the subject at this dinner, as I have referred to it before during the last twenty-five years, in order to point out that these limitations are not based upon a repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, but rest upon a principle—the first law of nature—everywhere recognized, namely, the right of self-preservation, which includes the right to preserve civilization and progress made in the science of government.

Back in 1898 when we were discussing imperialism a public man from the South cautioned me against laying too much emphasis upon the Declaration of Independence, adding that in the States where the blacks menaced white supremacy it had been found necessary to ignore the doctrine that all men were created equal. I replied that limitations upon the exercise of suffrage by the black race ought not to be based upon a denial of the doctrine of equality as found in the Declaration of Independence, but upon the real foundation, which in no way contradicts or weakens the Declaration of Independence. I defended the doctrine of equality in the inalienable rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence and explained to him that the problem which the whites of the South had to solve did not involve the question of equality before the law; that no one denied that the blacks were entitled to equal protection in their rights. The question is, which race shall control the Government and make the laws under which both shall live? The more advanced race will always control as a matter of self-preservation not only for the benefit of the advanced race, but for the benefit of the backward race also.

In the States where restrictions are placed upon suffrage for the purpose of excluding enough blacks to preserve white supremacy, the blacks have the advantage of living under laws that the white man makes for himself as well as for the black man. The laws make no distinction in the matter of crime between whites and blacks.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that no limitations were placed upon suffrage and that the blacks, voting in masse for officials of their own color, took charge of the Government and made laws for both blacks and whites; is there any white man who believes that the laws made under these circumstances would be better for both, or administered with more fairness than now?

What Other States Would Do.

At the Southern banquet, I enforced my argument by suggesting that Massachusetts would do exactly as Virginia and South Carolina had done if confronted by the same conditions. There is not a State in the Union in which the whites would permit black supremacy. This ought to be admitted without argument but it could be easily proved if proof were necessary. Republicans are constantly coming South and they at once adopt the Southern view on the race question, as soon as they have to meet the race problem as a practical question. The fact that the Republican States of the North never send black men to the United States Senate and House of Representatives is conclusive proof either that the blacks are inferior or that race prejudice keeps them in the background. The race riots in Illinois, the home of Lincoln and Grant, showed that race feeling is just as strong in the North as in the South when a condition arises that gives it expression.

It is no reflection upon the black race to say that it could not formulate laws and administer government as well as the white. It is only a few centuries since the ancestors of the colored people of the South were brought from Africa as slaves. They have made wonderful progress and they have made it because they have been associated with and helped by white people. Slavery among the whites was an improvement over independence in Africa. The very progress that the blacks have made, when—and only when—brought into contact with the whites, ought to be a sufficient argument in support of white supremacy—it ought to be sufficient to convince even the blacks themselves. The members of the white race have been studying the subject of government for thousands of years; why should they not be more proficient than the blacks?

There is no advantage to be gained by ignoring the facts. The Republicans of the North are deceiving the blacks for political purposes when they pretend a greater affection for them than is found in the South. Some one described the situation very accurately when he said: "The people of the South like the negroes as individuals but dislike them as a race, while the people of the North like them as a race but dislike them as individuals."

The inconsistency of the Northern Republicans is proved by their attitude toward the Filipinos. They insist on governing the Filipinos by laws made for the Filipinos, under which the white Republicans would be unwilling to live. Under the Colonial system, the Filipinos have much less protection than the colored people of the South now have, for, as I have said before, the colored people of the South live under the laws that the white people make for themselves as well as for the colored people.

Matter of Necessity.

To prove that restrictions upon black suffrage is based upon necessity and not upon prejudice, we have only to cite the fact that the restrictions are only imposed where, without these restrictions, the Government would be in danger of passing under the control of the blacks. It is only in those Southern States where the blacks are most numerous that the whites have, as a matter of self-preservation, imposed restrictions. They may have been spurred on to this by a recollection of their experience under carpet bag Government when a few designing white men used black suffrage to exploit helpless whites, as they would today if they could (note the use now made of colored delegates in Republican national conventions). But such an experience is not necessary to justify the discrimination made in a few States in the matter of suffrage. Any one who will look at the subject without prejudice will know that white supremacy promotes the highest welfare of both races.

A frank and candid recognition of conditions as they exist will promote harmony between the two races. Republican politicians who have played upon race prejudice and who, in order to obtain colored votes have advocated laws dealing with the race question in the South as they would not deal with it in the North under similar conditions, are the prime cause of race antagonism; next to these come those leaders of the colored race who, instead of trying to help their own people, aggravate the situation by encouraging the blacks to put social and political equality above the cultivation of character.

Whether for better or for worse, the whites and the blacks are here and must live together, unless some other solution of the problem can be found. While they live together, they should exchange services and co-operate for the promotion of the common welfare. This is only possible upon the basis of friendship, and friendship is possible only on the basis of honesty and frank understanding.

Where the percentage of blacks is small compared with the total population there will be no restriction on franchise based upon color; neither will there be segregation in schools or upon the railroad trains. Whether the percentage of blacks is large, rules will be made to meet conditions as they exist.

I repeat, in conclusion, that my views upon the race question do not depend upon my present residence in the South; they were formed long before I ever thought of living in the South. They were expressed as occasion required and, so far as I know, do not differ from the views of other white men who have had occasion to express themselves on the fundamental principles involved, when those principles were applied to themselves and their own families.



William Jennings Bryan.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States. — Book Reviews.

JUDGE BENNERS ON "SLAVERY AND ITS RESULTS."

Montgomery Advertiser

We think it will be necessary for Judge Alfred H. Benners of Birmingham to take up his pen again. In his old age he comes modestly before the reading public with a brochure which marks him as a writer of distinctive charm. In writing this historical sketch, which he calls "Slavery and Its Result," Judge Benners performs a feat in condensation without injury to his thesis which we did not believe before that any writer on the same theme was capable of doing. 7-30-23

Judge Benners' essay is remarkably accurate in its historical features, and sound in its judgment. It is free from all semblance of bitterness, and is not controversial. It is a human interest essay, a retrospective view of the negro question before, during and following the War Between the States, and includes a satisfactory view of the negro today. It is written by a scholar and a gentleman, who is representative of the best in the old South, a lawyer and jurist of distinction, born and reared in the Black Belt of Alabama. He was a slave owner, and his people before him were slave owners. Close association with the negro in the different periods of his development in Alabama, and with the two classes of whites who were so distinct from each other before the war, but whose points of difference tend to disappear under post-slavery conditions, and acquainted with good literature, Judge Benners was well equipped for the pleasant work which he stopped to do.

It will interest Advertiser readers to follow Judge Benners' description of a Black Belt plantation in slavery times. He gives an intimate and graphic view of life on a well-regulated plantation, such as Arcola plantation was. He writes:

"My grandfather, Alfred Hatch, was a type of the 'old marster' of ante-bellum times. His Arcola plantation, of three thousand acres, was on the Warrior river six miles above Demopolis. On it was the handsome pillared mansion, in a grove on a bluff overlooking the river. Nearby were the barns, mills, ginhouse, overseer's house and the long rows of white-washed cabins, the homes of several hundred slaves. Their labor provided their food, the upkeep of the place, and several hundred bales of cotton every year, which brought wealth and luxury to the master and his family. A large bell by the overseer's house called the laborers to work at sunrise, and had them keep to their cabins after bedtime.

"A hospital building, called the 'sick house', was in charge of old Aunt Marthy Ann, skilled in the simple remedies of the fields and forest. There were open sheds in the fields where the hands gathered for their dinner or for shelter from rain. There was a roomy cook-house and bake-oven where their dinner was prepared. The dinner usually consisted of several vegetables, salt pork, and corn-bread baked in thick, round loves and cut into half-pound slices. At noon old Aunt Hester, with the cart and gray mule, carried out the tubs of warm food and made the round of the fields where the hands were waiting at the sheds. She issued to each laborer in his tin bucket a ladlefull of vegetables, a slice of pork and two slices of bread. One of the joys of my childhood was to ride in the cart with Adam, my negro boy, and eat dinner from the tubs, and gather plums and berries from the fence corners during the stops. Sheltered from the sun, the laborer lolled and slept during their noonday rest; a few of the livelier ones patted and danced Juba for my entertainment—simple joys, now only a distinct memory.

"The dairy, in charge of old Aunt Sophy, stood just inside of the side gate to the Big House. There each day she made the golden butter from the milk of twenty cows, and the buttermilk, fresh from the barrel-churn, was issued to the negro children in their buckets. Each boy and girl was clad in a long, white cotton shirt, fastened at the top with one big white button, and a split at the bottom a foot on each side, showing their twinkling black shanks as they capered. Seen from the side porch of the Big House, their long winding file looked like a flock of white-sea-gulls.

"'Old Marster' from the porch often watched them with pride in their healthy looks, thinking no doubt of their early entry into the trash-gang of the cotton pickers. He was the busiest worker on their place, and from the overseer to the small-est water-carrier, he was the driving power.

"Hospitality ruled supreme at the Big House, and kin, friends and strangers found constant welcome and lavish entertainment. At night Jim Pritchett with his fiddle, Mingo with his triangle, and Moses with his banjo, came up from the quarters and made music for the happy belles and beaux. They danced cotillions and the Lancers, winding up with the Virginia Reel. Sundry drams livened old Jim's fiddle, as the 'Forked Deer,' 'Arkansas Traveler,' and other old tunes of a like lilt and swing quickened their flying feet. Jim was a noted mimic, as well as fiddler, and usually wound up with an improvisation of his own, which he called the "Dying Coon,' in which his voice added to the witchery of his bow the shouts of the hunters, the baying of the dogs and the snarls and dying wail of the fighting coon.

"Misery and suffering were unknown among those Arcadian scenes; but the clouds of civil war were gathering; and when the tempest broke 'Old Marster' and his domain were swept into oblivion, even as Babylon and Carthage."

The chapter titles will suggest to the reader the nature of the general contents of the book which can be read in an hour or so: Slavery and Its Results, The Slave and His Treatment, The Slave Owners, Arcola, Another Story of Master and Slave, Race Caste, The Three Classes in the War, Development of Initiative by the Negro, Domestic Relations and Morals of the Negro, The Present and Probable Future Habit of the Negro, Liberia, Negroes in the Cities, Climatic Influences.

The brochure is published by the J. W. Burke Company, Macon, Georgia, and the price is 75 cents. It is attractively printed and bound.

As we said in the beginning, it will be necessary for Judge Benners to write some more. One who can produce literature that is out of the ordinary—such as this little book is—will not be permitted to hold sentinel over an idle pen.

A New Member

Norfolk Journal & Guide

An advance copy of *Opinion—Black and White* published by the Opinion Publishing Company, Boston, Mass., came to the editor's desk this week. The publication is an attempt to convey to the two major racial groups in America the opinions of each on topics which are essentially of their mutual interest.

In this connection it is distinctly original and has assumed for itself the rendering of a mighty service, as there is no doubt that if white and black opinion could be equally diffused and disseminated among the two groups it would make for the happiness of both groups. Negro journalism loses much in not being able to get its message over among the other race in whose hands the power to right the wrongs against which we declaim rests. If Opinion should only partly succeed in carrying the voice of the Negro press over to the other side, it will serve mightily.

In the words of the publishers the purpose of Opinion "is to give to the public a condensed monthly review of black and white opinion on topics which are essentially of interest to the two groups. The idea being that, local or group opinions may not be lost; that such opinion may be given to the masses without bias, criticism or editorial comment." 9-29-23

In editorial presentation and craftmanship it is a creditable magazine. In it the race press is liberally quoted on topics of the day and upon the same topics white opinion is presented. *Opinion—Black and White* is interesting from cover to cover and pleasing to look at. The JOURNAL and GUIDE hopes for it an era of success.

N Y C TIMES
JANUARY 7, 1923

American Racial Problems

AMERICA'S RACE HERITAGE. By Clinton Stoddard Burr. Illustrated. 337 pp. New York: The National Historical Society.

THE unprecedented growth of the United States, evolving out of European settlements planted on the Atlantic Coast three centuries ago, has not provoked among thinking Americans a sense of unmixed gratification. We are no longer self-satisfied and wholly confident of our future greatness. Moreover, that assertive, boastful type of American, the type which Dickens, Matthew Arnold and many other visitors deplored in the middle years of the nineteenth century, seems to have vanished overnight from our large cities, or at least become strangely taciturn. We are more interested nowadays in an objective examination of our institutions and national capabilities, unobscured by the flag-waving patriotism which is frequently enough simply an inverted manifestation of individual egotism. In "America's Race Heritage" the author has made a careful analysis of the racial stocks which have contributed to our growth. He denies that we are yet, broadly speaking, a mixed people, for the reason that nearly four-fifths of our population is still pure Nordic. The threat against our institutions and our culture comes from the remaining fraction, for whose presence we have to blame our unwise immigration laws and the cupidity of Europeans and Americans who fostered the African slave trade in bygone times.

For generations the negro problem has been discussed with all the passionate intensity of a great moral issue. Our bloodiest war was fought to settle this issue, but of course it was no more settled in 1863 than it is today. The negro is still the South's greatest problem, and we of the North are beginning to realize it is far from a local one. Race riots in Northern cities no longer surprise us. As the deep-rooted racial antipathy that exists between the Nordic and Negroid elements of our population is fortunately strong enough to prevent the interbreeding of blacks and whites and the gradual fusing of the two races (resulting in a mongrelized people), we must regretfully anticipate even more dissension as the blacks increase and force their white competitors from new fields.

Until the World War proved that America could, within a few months, transport over two millions of her population overseas, the often suggested solution of sending the negroes back to Africa was deemed by many too gigantic a task to be seriously considered. Although we now grant its feasibility, Mr. Burr believes for economic reasons it will never be attempted. However, he does foresee the likelihood of the segregation of the negro in large districts of the South which the white population will abandon to them. Already, he noted, there is a very definite movement in this direction, and in certain districts on the lower Mississippi there are now to be found large sections inhabited solely by negroes who are on excellent terms of cooperation with the whites of the surrounding areas.

After a careful and analytical study of the white population as given by census returns and immigration statistics, Mr. Burr arrives at the following enumeration of racial groups:

Nordic	80,984,319
Mediterranean (Iberian)	3,993,894
Alpine (Slav)	4,978,178
Assyroid (Semite)	3,391,498
Unknown	323,729
Total "white"	93,671,618

The author believes that what we call progress has always been the particular achievement of people of Nordic blood. Retrogression and chaos he holds invariably resulted when the Nordic blood was "mongrelized" by the infusion of fundamentally antagonistic racial mixtures.

In support of his thesis Mr. Burr quotes copiously from the books of Lothrop Stoddard, ("The Rising Tide of Color"), Edward A. Ross, Madison Grant and Seth K. Humphrey.

In the CENTURY MAGAZINE for May, Mary Johnston, the well-known novelist, depicts in a short story under the title, "Nemesis", the community effects of a lynching. The writer shows with her graphic pen the psychological and moral effects of a lynching upon the white men of a small Southern town who took part in it. The savage passions aroused by the burning of a Negro hurriedly jailed on suspicion of rape run riot for weeks following among the men of the town. One man turns out to hate everybody and everything and murders one of the others who has peculiar pains for which his physician finds no diagnosis or remedy; another becomes melancholy, locks himself in his own house for many days, shoots his dog, and finally in despair hangs himself. The whole story pictures the horrible aftermath of lawlessness when fellowship among the citizens of the community breaks down. Those who had lawlessly wreaked their hatred upon a helpless black victim are themselves consumed by the very inhuman passions which their action aroused.

N Y C POST
MAY 5 1923

Dixie-Land

THE LAND OF COTTON. By DOROTHY SCARBOROUGH. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923.

Reviewed by HERSCHEL BRICKELL

A notable addition to books about the South, a number of which have appeared in recent years, is Miss Scarborough's novel. It is a story full of facts about the growing and marketing of cotton, about its insect pests, about floods and droughts, and all the many troubles of the cotton planter, remarkably accurate and enlightening in its details; but it is more than that, for it is a good story and a novel that has its moments of moving beauty. Its author has caught the idea of the mask of loveliness that covers the tragedy of the production of cotton under present conditions and has presented it effectively.

To round out her picture of conditions in the Brazos River cotton country immediately before, during, and after the World War, she has put some essentially human characters into her settings, characters very much alive and appealing. If her plot is slight, she has made good use of it, and the problems of the individual people she has created need little extraneous aid anyway. She knows her folk; her skill is equally in evidence in presenting the lives of cotton planters' families as in drawing "poor whites" and negroes. She has understanding and a brooding pity for them all, which, without any sentimentalization, stirs the reader. Her negroes are treated only in their relation to the whites; they are the usual happy-go-lucky plantation darkies, with few cares and many songs, the latter of which are here set down, some of them probably for the first time—folksongs that are sung in cotton fields from Texas to North Carolina.

Miss Scarborough's novel is done with a pleasing breaking away from the sophistication so characteristic of the present-day writers of our country; a younger intellectual would probably scorn its simple beauty, is lack of anything expressionistic, and its reticence about sex, which marks its characters as sane, ordinary human beings, and, curiously enough, leaves them interesting. Its style is rich in color; Miss Scarborough not only sees nature, but loves it, and writes about it accurately and feelingly. Altogether, her story is one hardly less well done, and interesting than it is informative, while for pure information there are few books extant that give so perfectly well-rounded presentations of "The Land of Cotton."

Race Problem-1923
United States, -Book Reviews

BOOK REVIEW

By FLOYD J. CALVIN

FINDING A WAY OUT—An Autobiography, by Robert Russa Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y. 296 pages. Price, $2.50.

* * * *

Dr. Morton stepped into the limelight proper when he succeeded Booker T. Washington as President of Tuskegee Institute. That was in 1915. He made his own record and enhanced his own popularity (?) during the four succeeding years. When he took over Tuskegee he was merely given a chance—considered the best Negro prospect who could successfully handle Booker T.'s job. He was taken on faith, because of his past constructive record at Hampton. But in 1919, at the close of the World War, when he had safely brought the Institute and himself through the greatest crisis in history, it was considered that he had proven his worth.

At this point Moton wrote his autobiography. And this was the most appropriate time. People wanted to know about him, white and colored, just as they had wanted to know about Washington at the height of his success. They wanted to know what was behind him, upon what were his achievements built. To quote Dr. Morton's own words, this is his background: 12-15-23

"I have tried to record the events that have given character and color to my own life, and at the same time to reflect the impressions made upon my mind by experiences that I could not always reconcile with what I had learned of American ideals and standards. In doing this I have also found the opportunity to acknowledge the kindly advice and help that have come to me from hundreds of friends among men and women of both races and sections, and of every walk in life.

"Whatever of labor and pains may have gone into this story I shall feel amply repaid if it encourages any member of my race to greater faith in himself, as well as in other selves, both white and black; and shall help him to make his life count for the very most in meeting and solving the great human problem which we in this country call the 'race problem.'

"And I shall be further repaid if it shall have some slight part in leading any youth of the white race to follow the example of other members of his own race of both North and South, and dedicate himself to the service of human welfare in securing justice and a fair opportunity for the humblest American citizen, whatever his race or color, to the end that the white man of the North, the white man of the South, and the Negro shall work harmoniously together in bringing forward that Peace on Earth which results when men have Good Will."

Here we have the Principal's life in perspective. Here we have his whole existence from his birth and boyhood in obscure Farmville, Va., to his leadership of the world's greatest school of its kind.

Stated in fewer words, Dr. Moton's life has revolved around three main issues: The Negro, the Northern white man, the Southern white man. His life-long job has been an effort at getting these unruly elements to co-operate and work harmoniously. His steadfast belief has been that no matter what happened, if, after all, these three elusive powers could be made to pull in the same direction, besides it other achievements would pale into insignificance. Nor has he ever doubted that the feat could be accomplished. With the application of his personal brand of "Good Will" he has climbed to where his remedy merits careful consideration.

There is almost a popular belief that Moton will not stand up for the rights of his race. But anyone reading "Finding a Way Out" can hardly reach such a conclusion. Through the whole book there is a spirit of aggressive honesty that at times seems it will carry the author into "radicalism." One feels that it is only his level head, poise, and his ability to look ahead for the best interests of the greatest number, that keeps his feet on the ground. "I used the opportunity to appeal to the cooler heads among them to do nothing for which they would afterwards be ashamed." This refers to an incident during his Hampton student days, but one sees clearly from the whole story that Moton has all his life "appealed to the cooler heads." His character is solid; the kind that invites confidence and trust.

Dr. Moton's "way out" has been through "Good Will." However, much we may differ from his personal method of prescribing and applying it, we must, in fairness, admit that it works—at least below the Mason and Dixon line.

NEW YORK CITY POST
DECEMBER 8, 1923

Negro Tales

CANE. By JEAN TOOMER. New York: Boni & Liveright. 1923.

Reviewed by HERSCHEL BRICKELL.

THIS is Mr. Toomer's first book, although his short stories, sketches, and poems have been known for some time to readers of *Broom, The Little Review,* and others of the more radical magazines. Waldo Frank, in an enthusiastic preface, hails him as the authentic voice of the negro race, an artist who has escaped all inhibiting consciousness of persecution. The praise is not wholly unjustified; but allowance must be made for the fact that Mr. Frank's praise may be colored by the striking similarity of method of the two writers.

Mr. Toomer's prose is amorphous, staccato, full of repetitions of phrases and at times not at all clear. He has his moments of sweeping power, however, and rarely loses a sense of moving tragedy or pathos in his loosely strung together words. Poignancy might be heightened by more crystalline construction, but he does achieve striking effects, and his style and method are peculiarly suited to the subject—the negro on the plantations of Georgia and in the crowded tenements of Washington.

There is craftsmanship back of this nervous, restless writing; its appearance of formlessness is not wholly borne out, for when some of the better stories of "Cane" are finished one detects beneath the words a clearly defined pattern, although the patterns are not those of the conventional short story. It is only when this skill is lost, as in the story called "Box Seat," that the weaver's design slips away and a meaningless tangle of twisted skeins is left behind.

The longest story in the volume, which is made up of short stories, sketches, and poems, and by all odds the best of the lot, is "Kabnis," which is, in a measure, at least, autobiographical. Among Mr. Toomer's varied experiences was a session of teaching in a Georgia school, and "Kabnis" is a Northern negro caught up in the semi-barbaric, hot-blooded, loose life of his race in Georgia and tortured by it. It is an uncompromising picture of a soul in agony, done without thought of turning aside from its sufferings, singularly moving, and effective in its totality of impression.

The poetry in the volume is of little consequence; it is Mr. Toomer's unusual prose cut into metrical lengths, and only rises above the mediocre when it swings into the occasional minor beat of a field song. Both poetry and prose are grimly realistic in their impressionistic way; profanity is not ignored, and blood is blood. But it is of no highly civilized life that Mr. Toomer writes; somewhere beneath the veneer of civilization one catches the rhythmic beat of jungle tom-toms.

It is worthy of note that Mr. Toomer's treatment of his race is marked by a sophistication of manner and style that has been curiously lacking in other recent books about the South by white authors in which the negro played an important part. Such novels as "Black and White," by Shands, or Miss Scarborough's "In the Land of Cotton" shared a naïveté—a sort of pastoral simplicity and a completely conventional method. Stribling's "Birthright" was only a little less so, and Wood's "Nigger," the nearest approach in manner to "Cane," still held fairly close to accepted construction and style.

Of greater significance than this, however, is the fact that all these works have been honest attempts to make interesting and at the same time truthful books out of the South and its peculiar problems. White and black alike have at last awakened to the rich material for literature that lies at their doors and the coinage has begun. Mr. Toomer was born in Washington, but has spent much time among his race in the South. It is not too much to expect that the Southern-born negroes may soon begin to contribute their share to the present-day literature of their race.

HOLIDAY

HOLIDAY. By Waldo Frank. New York: Boni & Liveright.

IN a long passage of "Les Miserables," generally omitted in the truncated English translations, Victor Hugo, with one of his inimitable grand gestures, hands in his homage to the past, but on the sole condition that it consents to remain the past, and does not project its misconceptions and muddled thinking into an age that has outlived them.

N. Y. Times
12-16-23
Book Review

Using much the same line of argument, one might say, with reference to Waldo Frank's "Holiday," that it could be more indulgently regarded if a brief phrase on the last page dismissed the Freudian fever dream, of which it is the colorful record, to the limbo where it has all the evidence of belonging. In other words, it would not only have been pleasanter, but better art, if we had parted with a Virginia, who was watching her dusky lover disappear into the undergrowth of the subconscious, like the white rabbit of her fellow adventuress Alice, and wiggling her toes with a happy consciousness of volition recovered.

It need hardly be said that it is in no such crude and frank fashion that our symbolists conceive the dualism of dream and business. Their creations are the stuff that dreams are made of, and bad dreams at that. But once these have been imbued with flesh and blood, nerves and instincts, with everything but will, no ambient is too bleak and real if it will but secure the contrasts their creators are seeking. No bird, fluttering on the ground at the mercy of tooth or talon, is more hapless and exile than these invertebrates, shivering in the cold contact of actuality and homesick for the warm ooze from which they have been filched.

12-16-23

"Holiday," if the reviewer reads it aright, and has not come to grief over some esoteric totems where only the initiate can be trusted, is the story of Virginia Hade, a white woman in mature girlhood, who casts her eyes upon John Cloud, a personable young negro, and lures him to death at the hands of her race. The theme is not the new one that Mr. Frank, or Mr. Frank's admirers and critics, appear to think. The unexpurgated Arabian nights

opens with it. It will be found by the curious in the tales of Scarron. The misogynists who wrote the early Italian "novelle" exploited its possibilities pretty thoroughly. It was even (but with what incomparable naïveté of treatment, the subject of an early and all but forgotten romance by Hugo. To avoid misconception, the prurient minded are advised that they will waste money in buying, and time in reading, "Bugle Largal."

Nazareth, a tidewater town in the remote South, is the theatre of Mr Frank's tragedy. Here the religion of the dominant race is represented by a windy tent gospeler, its pride by an autocratic and suspicious father, and its chivalry by youths who let a negro drown under their eyes on the levee. In sudden revolt against the aridity of its life, Virginia Hade wanders off to the woods where her sable affinity has gone before her and watches him swimming in the creek. What happens subsequently on this perilous and unpleasant ground is not quite clear—nor is the reviewer quite sure it is meant to be. There is a sort of Mithraic interlude. An exchange of knives takes place between white girl and colored man. Virginia plunges that of the negro, still wet with his blood, into her side and walks back to her own people, holding it above her head, as automatically as she has walked away. She is put to bed and cared for, while the hapless Cloud perishes in an orgy of sadistic hatred. If this outline of "Holiday" appears unfair to Mr. Frank, the reviewer pleads only that he is a man of quite average intelligence, that he has read the book attentively three times, and that of the friends whom he has consulted many of them also very friendly to Mr. Frank and his work, none has been able to assist to a clearer understanding.

Baffled in his objective search, if the reader turns to the subjective, the trail grows clearer and more sharply defined. No pursuit is more fascinating, for those whose goal is the intimate thought of writers whose style is obscure or involved, than to try to trace the symbols which they use most instinctively when invention tires or feeling runs intense. This is especially true of poetry, and "Holiday" is poetry often of a very high order.

No one can read "Holiday" even cursorily without noticing the frequent use of the word "white." "I am a white soul naked worn away and weary" * * * "Perhaps death is white." Gilbert Chesterton, in one of his early essays, has noted as a thing significant of modern thought the loss of the sense of whiteness as a positive thing—its apprehension as the mere absence of color, even as virtue has come to be regarded as the mere absence of vice. Whiteness, it will be noticed, is invariably used by Mr. Frank in this deprivative sense. As a symbol, it lies in the negative order of his thought.

Another recurrent symbol, somewhat harder to trace, for its forms are more varied, is that of dryness. "The town lies straggling on the rugose street, gray, like the shell of some archaic bug whence the black blood has oozed." * * * "Jaggedly brittle along the rugose road, Main Street fights night." * * * "I thrash about in the straw, dry, dry." The outstanding symbol, then, of Mr. Frank's distaste, his negative obsession, is something that is both white and dry, bleached and desiccate, colorless and brittle. A moment's thought will suggest that the emblem most closely answering both these requisites is bone. It is not a very extravagant use of logic to expect that his preferred positive symbol will be its antinomy in the same order of thought. In brief that it will be flesh and all that flesh suggests.

Nor shall we be disappointed. Through all the strident neologisms with which Mr. Frank elaborates his perverse prose-poem—the "saecades," "breakpelts," "aggluti-nates," "whimmerings," "rondures," "debiles," "larvals," "rugoses" and "vacillants," this symbol persists and beats the measure out like the throb of the voodoo drum.

The new writers, like the new painters, are a fairly arrived and jubilant group, but it is not certain that their victory, like all victories won against the world's sober judgment, is not more apparent than real. It has been gained, in French phrase, by "surprising the conscience" of those with whom the final estimate lies. The very vaunt of the new men that they are "new," that criticism guided by the canons they have put out of date fails to elucidate them, makes criticism hard, but not impossible. Any critic may hold them to a rigid account for their ultimate thought, even though he bring to his task no more formidable equipment than common sense and sense of proportion. He should have no difficulty in showing that the turbulence of their style is often the outward symptom of a disorder of which intelligence is not the source. It is not so much a question of psychoanalysing the new writers as of standing by while they psychoanalyse themselves.

N Y G PUB
SEPTEMBER 22, 1923

Race Relations

THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO. A STUDY IN RACE RELATIONS AND A RACE RIOT. By the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. University of Chicago Press. 1922. $6.

Reviewed by ALLAN NEVINS

WHEN a city is the scene of a disgraceful race riot business men and officials are alike eager to hush it up and minimize its importance. After the East St. Louis riot of 1917, the most terrible that has ever occurred in America, with its toll of almost fifty known dead and probably many unknown, the Mayor—according to a Congressional committee—led in "an open, paid advertising campaign," supported by plenty of money, to vilify the Attorney General of Illinois and block prosecutions and convictions. Thanks to the courage of Gov. Lowden, the Chicago race riot of 1920 has been made the subject of the most thorough investigation ever given an occurrence of the kind. The City Administration, the police, and the press are all treated without gloves. This inquiry was supervised by thirteen leading citizens of Chicago, including white men like Julius Rosenwald and Victor F. Lawson, and negroes like Robert S. Abbott, the owner of the Chicago *Defender*. The comprehensiveness and scientific thoroughness of the report are to be credited to them and the large staff of social workers, economists, and investigators headed by Graham R. Taylor.

So far as immediate causes of the race riot go, the negroes were about as much to blame as the whites. On a hot Sunday afternoon in July, at about 4 o'clock, a negro of seventeen, swimming in Lake Michigan off the foot of Twenty-seventh Street, drifted down to a patch of water off Twenty-ninth Street, which whites were using. At that moment the passage of some negroes across the white section of the beach provoked a fracas between hoodlums of both colors. Stones were thrown at the negro boy in the water, he loosed his hold on a floating railway tie, and was drowned. The rumor spread that he had been hit by a stone, though this was not the fact, and negroes gathered in excited groups. They demanded of a policeman that he arrest one of the stone-throwers, and the officer instead finally arrested a negro. The colored men mobbed him and the riot had begun. Until nightfall most of the violence was committed by negroes, who shot one white, beat four, and stabbed five. Then white gangsters became active, and during the night no fewer than thirty-eight negroes were beaten, stabbed, or shot. Thereafter the blame rested almost wholly on white men and boys. The rioting reached its climax on Tuesday, when it was accompanied by arson, and continued till Friday, when the militia—the police having signally failed—stamped it out. It was almost wholly confined to the South Side, and was most intense in the so-called Black Belt (Twenty-second to Thirty-ninth Street) and the stockyards district.

But the immediate origins of the riot are of comparatively little interest. The materials for an explosion were piled ready for lighting, and several times previously a trifling incident had threatened a blaze. The commission appointed sub-committees on housing, industry, public opinion, crime, racial contacts, and racial clashes. One after the other these topics are discussed, not in relation merely to the riot, but to friction and social maladies which should be eliminated whether they are grave enough to cause rioting or not. The discussion shows conclusively that the people of Chicago as a whole, not merely the roughs and irresponsibles, are to be blamed for the riot.

The housing question rises as the chief single cause of racial ill-feeling. The negro population increased during the decade 1910-1920 from 44,000 to 110,000, this extraordinary growth, almost 150 per cent, resulting from the war-time migration of whole negro communities northward. No new large Chicago colonies were formed, but the old colonies expanded in a way that dwarfs the recent expansion of the Harlem settlement in New York City. Particularly in the Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and Kenwood districts of the South Side, anual offences are no more numerous than intense opposition to the negro advance sprang up among property owners. Mass meetings were held to protest, incendiary broadsides were printed, and in three years and eight months fifty-eight bomb explosions occurred on the premises of negroes—an average of one every twenty days. Two persons were killed and over $100,000 worth of property was destroyed, but only one indictment has been returned. The commission points out that the fear of property depreciation was exaggerated, and that the blocks into which the negroes moved were almost invariably on the down grade before the blacks came. Few if any white Chicagoans of means and influence were interested in attempting a proper solution of the housing problem, although the inflammation that it bred was plain.

As for the negro in industry, it is evident from the mass of testimony here adduced that he has made a creditable record and has felt but little friction with white workers. Where colored people are used to break strikes or lower wages ill-feeling results, but on the whole the wage-earners of the two races get on well. The chief difficulty in the industrial field is that the white labor unions harbor a prejudice against the negro and for the most part refuse to admit him to their locals. A certain tendency, though a weak one, among the negroes to form their own unions strengthens this conflict. Obviously the labor movement, for strictly selfish reasons, will be foolish unless it makes up its mind to erase the color line. A changed attitude on the part of the unions is much needed and labor leaders should recognize their duty to open a campaign for it.

Upon the press of Chicago the commission, which includes the publisher of the *Daily News*, is very severe. It showed ridiculous inaccuracy in reporting the riot, but that does not greatly matter. The principal count in the indictment brought against it is that for years it has exaggerated the amount of negro crime, has published much sensational matter upon racial clashes, the prostitution of the negro vote to the Thompson-Lundin machine, and the invasion of white residential areas by negroes, and has neglected to furnish news of praiseworthy negro activities. The negro press also has its faults, the chief being an exaggerated emphasis upon race and the too frequent publication of matter representing the negro as wronged beyond endurance. But it is the publishers and editors of the three leading white journals of Chicago who should feel most keenly the heavy share of the Chicago press in the responsibility for the wrong and outrage of that July week.

Some evidence is gathered here to show that the negroes are little if at all more criminal than whites and that their sex-those of other races. The commission, however, found no real means of determining how great a proportion of the city's crimes is committed by colored people. There is plenty of testimony that negro workmen, if given the opportunities their white comrades have, will show equal industry, efficiency, and thrift. Some of the figures for earnings by negroes are surprising. It appears from a study of this volume that prejudice and irritation between the two races have been only sporadic in Chicago and that in many parts of the city they would never be noticed. There has been little friction on the transit lines, where blacks and whites use the same seats. On many public playgrounds white children and colored children mingle freely and amicably. The commission is too sensible to hope that racial prejudice will disappear for generations, if ever, but it has good reason for believing that it can be kept within such bounds as to be almost harmless.

The recommendations brought forward by this body are addressed to the city officials, the police, the courts, and the State's attorney, which can prevent or punish violence; to the Board of Education, which may be held responsible for the poor educational facilities in negro districts; to the labor unions; to employers of colored labor; to the theatres, restaurants, and car companies, which should all protect the negro against discrimination; to the press; and to social, civic, and religious organizations, by which many bridges can be thrown across the division between the races. It is greatly to be regretted that the commission apparently passed out of existence with the issuance of this report

Race Problem — 1923.
United States — Book Reviews.

Memoir of a Southern Gentleman of Letters

A Review by

CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

THOMAS NELSON PAGE. A Memoir of a Virginia Gentleman. By his brother, Rosewell Page. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THOUGH the South always boasted its literature and conceived that nothing but sectional prejudice kept historians and essayists from acknowledging its supremacy, the truth was that it never had any till the dawn of Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris, and of these Page alone was versatile enough and catholic enough to challenge the North and Europe. Harris was "the singer of one song," though he tried to sing others. Antedating them and possibly in some measure the cause of them came Sidney Lanier, deploring the way in which Southern neighbors beslavered each other with praise and calling on the South to acknowledge manfully the fact that in literature it was a talentless mutual admiration society. With this confession, urged the truly gifted Lanier, let the South humbly fall to work and learn how to produce something that might be called literature without any sectional prefix.

Whether Page knew of these manful adjurations and this shamed contempt on Lanier's part I do not know, but Lanier had hardly done with his bewailings when "Marse Chan" appeared with an electrical effect which has not yet begun to slacken. Harris's work was not at once recognized as literature in a generation accustomed to separate dialect stories from the mass. But the effect of "Marse Chan" and its successors was to obliterate the high-sounding novels which sought to transport Scott into Virginia and to make ridiculous the attempt to label poets'-corner stuff "literature" whenever it was written by some member of a fine old Southern family. I wonder, by the way, how many admirers of "Huckleberry Finn" realize that in the ludicrous description of the young woman who wrote mortuary verse for the local weekly, and of the general acknowledgment of her genius, he was satirizing the whole of Southern literature as it existed before Lanier; or, one might better say, before Page, for Lanier never succeeded in making himself heard very far, and did not put his own principles in effect as Page so abundantly did.

Today the result of "Marse Chan" is that the South is writing real literature, and, what is still more a matter of congratulation, that it is not prefixed with the word "Southern." Nobody inquires from what State or section a writer comes, but only whether the book is good. "Marse Chan," Southern as it was, had the characteristics of world literature, and it set the Southern writers who were to follow Page a mark to aim at. Page himself, as quoted in the memoir of him now under review, said of the Southern school which he overthrew:

> Carruthers, Simms, Kennedy, Cooke and the other Southern writers all picture the life of the South as reflected through the lenses of Scott and his imitators, such as James. They dressed their gentlemen in wigs and ruffles and short clothes, and their ladies in brocades and quilted stomachers, and flashing jewels; housed them in palaces and often moved them on stilts, with measured strut as automata strung on wires, and worked, however skillfully, from behind the scenes. They spoke book English, and ilved, if they lived at all, in slavish imitation of men of England, mirrored from the printed pages of generations gone—

although it must be admitted that William Gilmore Simms today, in spite of his occasional Johnsonese, is often readable and even thrilling, as for instance in "Katherine Walton." Still, his plan of writing, like that of John Esten Cooke, was the very thing which drove Lanier to anguish and the thing which Page brushed forever.

Another great effect of "Marse Chan" and "Meh Lady" was to create real dialect; that is, to make dialect writers study the thing they were trying to imitate. The negro dialect which Page used was the result of his own observation and not in the least like the negro dialect which had been employed by his unobservant predecessors, who made the negro say "berry" for very, "sar" for sir. The change which Page brought about was universal and applies today to all dialects as well as that used by the Southern negro. Some writers, such as Bernard Shaw, have not a sufficiently good ear to reproduce dialect, but at least they make heroic attempts at it. Before Page's time dialect writers used to think they had done their work when they distorted the sound and spelling of a word in any arbitrary way that occurred to them. Even Dickens was an occasional offender, and Charles Reade a frequent one.

This memoir of Page by his brother follows, no doubt unconsciously, the precepts of Lanier and in a measure the style of its subject. It has the effect of being unconsciously the memoir of two Virginia gentlemen, Thomas Nelson and Rosewell Page, and this although its writer has effaced himself with the utmost care. His conscientiousness in this respect is utterly impotent to keep his admirable personality out of the mind of his reader; adds to the growth of the picture, in fact. The measured grace of his manner, the genial tolerance and kind humor of his matter, make a portrait of himself in spite of his determination to keep himself out of the book, and at the conclusion the reader is bound to feel that it would be no less a pleasure to see Rosewell Page enter the room than it would have been to see his more distinguished brother. Their characters have a perfectly evident similarity.

Unpretentious as this memoir is, it paints a picture, models a lifelike figure. It leaves us with a powerful impression of having known Thomas Nelson Page intimately. It explains "Marse Chan," and it is not mysterious how this modest young man —so modest that his classmates in college do not remember him—could walk into the Scribners' home with his epoch-making story, a flat contradition of all that had been known about Southern literature, dialect literature and many other kinds of literature, and fill them with such enthusiasm that they became on the spot his backers. He had been studying and reflecting on these subjects all his life, and, maugre all his modesty, knew he was right.

Nor did he ever fail, through his after life, to convince everybody with whom he came in contact that he was right, whatever might be the subject. Rosewell Page does not dwell on the charm he carried with him, but the reader sees it in the facts he narrates. He evidently had but to enter a room or shake hands to make a conquest. Yet he never became any more pointed or aggressive than he had been in college. Neither was he shy. Modest as he was, he was no such fool as to be unacqainted with his merits or to be afraid to proceed on the assumption that he had them. He charmed those he met, but he did not have to use many words to do it.

In everything he wrote, so he said, his object was to efface sectionalism and bring North and South together. He knew no sectionalism in his own friendships. Like most true Southerners, he numbered negroes in them. He charmed the King and Queen of Italy, to whom he was first presented at the King's country home. "We are farmers out here," said the democratic King, sizing up his guest, "and we do not dress this way all the time. Today I am dressed to meet the Ambassador from the United States." To which the Ambassador, sizing up the King, replied: "I'm a farmer myself in Virginia. I hope you do not think I dress this way all the time. I've only put these clothes on to meet the King of Italy." This was the beginning of a friendship not official, the story of which ends with a more than official parting, "when the Queen, with emotion, embraced the American lady whom she had come to know and love in the six years of her residence in Italy."



Rome
November
In the year of the Peace.

Your affectionate Brother
Thos Nelson Page

Meanwhile, at home in Hanover, another friend of Page's was following his career and analyzing the war in which he was one of the prominent figures with an anxiety and acuteness you would not expect from her; for she was an old negro woman and unlettered. Still, her analysis was an accurate if figurative one, and was made to Page himself when he came home from Italy on a visit and sat with her out on the back porch of Oakland, his home, discussing the world's affairs. As she looked at it, "Germany had got so big and heavy that it had got the world on a slant; and the rest of the world had to join in to push the Germans back, so that the earth could get level again." What was revealed to old Charlotte [illegible] Hanover was hidd[illegible] dent, suc[illegible] Mr. Keynes. But such, from Kings to old negresses, were the friends of Thomas Nelson Page.

Curious to the ignorant Northern mind to see the smileless respect which both Thomas Nelson Page and Rosewell Page pay to the Rev. John Jasper, the Richmond negro who preached a sermon to prove that "de sun do move." He was a client of Page's when the future author was practicing law, and this sermon was preached not once but many times. Rosewell Page describes it as "the sermon in which he argued for the Ptolemaic system," and calls Jasper "the great colored preacher from Richmond." He describes an occasion when "the wonderfully eloquent and powerful old man" came from Richmond to preach this sermon, whose title was "The Lord Is a Man of War," to an audience of a thousand or more flocking from all the neighboring counties. "He was," concludes Rosewell Page, "without doubt, one of the most eloquent of men." So one learns, not for the first time, not to laugh prematurely. The Ptolemaic system is out of date, but a tender smile, not a hee-haw, is the meed of an orator who could so command the respect and admiration of the two Pages, and evidently of that whole

countryside, white and black.

With all this ancestry goes without saying, and the finest of bringing-up. In fact, what we are driving at in these few illustrations is that as one reads this memoir one sees how Page's stories came to be. He was reproached for their comparative plotlessness. That grew out of the fact that each of them was merely an expansion of some incident of his life, either his outer and physical life or his mental and spiritual life. After he had published "The Old Gentleman With the Black Stock" he was able to send a copy of it to the heroines of the story with a note recalling the occurrence on which it was based, and humorously suggesting that if they had stopped the carriage when the old gentleman approached, he, Page, might have married one or other of them. In other words, the story was so exactly true to the fact that Page could safely count on their recognition of the details. In some cases he used the real names of characters, as F. Hopkinson Smith did in that very inferior but still good story, "Colonel Carter of Cartersville."

So Page, gentleman, scholar and patriot, wrote his stories out of his own life, and that life is vividly unfolded by his brother in this most charming of memoirs. There is an effortless skill about its tracery which one does not find once in fifty memoirs. It deserves rank among Thomas Nelson Page's own books; for certainly it is written according to the school dreamed of by Lanier and brought into being by Page, Harris and their followers. It has all the charm, all the universality, all the simplicity, and all the command over the reader.

Miss Minerva On the Old Plantation, by Emma Speed Sampson. Reilly & Lee, Chicago. Pages 301; price $1.75.

William Green, the most delightful small boy ever set down in a book, is the host in this most delightfully funny story. This is the fourth story in the "Miss Minerva" series and is full up to the standard of its charming predecessors. With the Major as his ally Billy arranges for a visit to his old plantation home. Miss Minerva is won over by the "scarlet fever" ruse, and with the irresistible little daughter, Josephine, the ever present Willie Booth Lincoln, the faithful little black comrade, the sapient and ponderous Aunt Cindy—along with Jimmy Farner and Lina Hamilton and Frances Black—a party is formed that keeps one amused all the way along, and wondering what will happen next. The summer is literally filled with hilarious experiences and situations, in which the old acquaintances, Uncle Jimmy-Jawed Jupiter, Aunt Blue-Gum Tempy, Peruny Pearline, and their numerous progeny, have interesting parts. The deft chronicle of these busy-idle days on the Mississippi is one continued round of laughter that will bring endless happy hours to the vast army of readers who have enjoyed the earlier "Miss Minerva" stories.

NEW YORK HERALD
SEPTEMBER 23, 1923

DARK DAYS AND BLACK NIGHTS
By Octavus Roy Cohen. Dodd, Mead & Co.

THERE is no thought of disparagement in saying that Mr. Cohen's new book may be dismissed with the minimum of attention. Readers have come to expect from him stories of riotous and whimsical invention and rollicking humor. If a new book from his pen happened to be lacking in these qualities, it would be the occasion for surprise and for extended discussion. This book does not so fail.

Here again we have those familiar figures of the upper social strata of the Darktown of Birmingham, Alabama—Florian Slappey, the ornately attired Ethiopian Mr. Micawber, always waiting for something to turn up; Lawyer Evans Chew Acey Upshaw, Semore Mashby, Sis Callie Flukers, the various Sons and Daughters of the I Will Arise Society, and the patrons of Bud Peagler's Barbecue Lunch Room and Billiard Parlor.

In addition there are new characters, Mr. Faro Sneed and Mr. Percy Yeast of the clothes pressing firm of "Presto Change," Eli Gouch of "The B. V. Demon," Prof. Roscoe Griggers, "world's most greatest colored musician and orkestra leader," of Music Hath Harms and, of the fair sex, Miss Zinnia Sanders and Miss Gussie Muck, bitter contestants in the beauty contest arranged under the auspices of the Daily Epoch as narrated in "Focus Pokus."

Mr. Cohen maintains here his high standard of ingenuity in the matter of surprising climaxes.

OCTOBER 14, 1923

THE REAL NEGRO

CANE. By Jean Toomer. Boni & Liveright.

"CANE" is a volume of short stories studded with poetry that is instantly identified with the "Little Review" and "Broom" schools of emotional expansion. It is a most unusual and colorful volume, too, notwithstanding its periodic lapses into a naive incoherency. It is a volume depicting what one is convinced are the real negroes of the South, negroes altogether removed from the Octavius Roy Cohen and Irvin Cobb sort of inadequate caricatures. Some of the stories possess a sweep of emotional power saturated with a moist lyric beauty that positively sings. The heavy, languorous beauty of the book as a whole stuns the intelligence entirely, lulls it into torpor and compels it to recognize the authenticity of the racy negroes depicted.

Here are the high-brown and black and half-cast colored folk of the cane fields, the gin hovel and the brothel realized with sure touch of artistry. The religious fervor of the negro that affords solace of a sort in lieu of his spiritual bankruptcy is present in every page of the book. Here one becomes acquainted with the old negro who tosses "religious fits" on the street corner of some old Georgia town while the morbidly curious population gathers about and applauds his ecstasy. Here is the hysteria and emotional pandemonium akin to it prevalent in the negro camp-meeting; and the superstitions of the negro and his fear of white exploitation and persecution are painted with all of the negro's hitherto inarticulate woe accentuated.

It can perhaps be safely said that the Southern negro, at least, has found an authentic lyric voice in Jean Toomer; a voice and a heart, likewise, that is synchronized with the aspirations, the hopes and fears of the genuine darky. There is nothing of the theatrical coon-strutting high-brown, none of the conventional dice-throwing, chicken-stealing nigger of musical comedy and burlesque in the pages of "Cane." Even the recent attempt of Broadway to capitalize the wealth of folk-lore and music latent in the negro spirit is here outdone with a bravado that smacks of audacity.

These negroes drawn by Mr. Toomer seem to breathe their native air, they seem to express themselves with a vigorous, earthy resonance of emotion that rationalizes our previous conceptions of that race gathered from bogus sources. The negro, heretofore, has been libeled rather than depicted accurately in American fiction, libeled because it was supposed that he was an eternally funny sort of fellow, always shooting craps and singing "blues" songs and wearing gaudy neckties with big diamonds in them and stealing chickens from any hen-coop he came across. He was never presented as a human being possessed of spirit and an identity. He was seldom ever presented to white eyes with any other sort of intelligence than that displayed by an idiot child with epilepsy.

Nevertheless, it has always been felt that there are negroes in America with genuine poetic feeling, intellect and discrimination approximating the standards of the more civilized whites. One has always known this and wondered, likewise, why they were never presented in our fiction. Seemingly until this book was written no one has had the courage or perhaps the inclination to seek out these real negroes and hold them up to view honestly.

It is patent that the author has yet a lot to learn about elucidating his sometimes rather strident reactions to the negro, for at moments his outbursts of emotion approach the inarticulately maudlin. Yet the negro under religious emotion does evolve himself into a sort of pathological entity, and perhaps this criticism is unjust. Nevertheless, the difficulty the author encounters is apparent, for to paint the emotional color vivacity of the negro requires a resource of sensibility whose ultimate dimensions often escape rather than are captured by the sure touch of artistry. The religious fervor pursuing word.

However, the author of "Cane" has created a distinct achievement wholly unlike anything of this sort done before. The book is, indeed, a spiritual chronicle of the negro that was expected long ago.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

HOLIDAY

BONI & LIVERIGHT have just published a novel by Waldo Frank that every man and woman of you and my acquaintance ought to read. This publishing house has a way of taking unusual things and giving them to us without frills or apologies. We owe something to the perspicacity which made the publication of this novel possible. We will not attempt to call this notice a review. It is just a sincere recommendation of the novel for the attention of the readers of this column. Unfortunately we have not read any of the other novels written by Mr. Frank, so we are unable to give an opinion as to whether this particular one is better than anything else he has done or not.

"Holiday" we hardly know how to characterize, except to say that of all the books that have been written on this question of race it is the most startling because so true in its portrayal of those conditions which white men in the South know, fear, and refuse to admit the existence of and which the black man knows and shuts his eyes to in an effort to deny their existence.

Although there is a lynching there is no criminal black man involved. There is no false cant about saving a race or about race separation. There is just a strong black man who was a man before he was black and a woman who happened to be white who was denied by her men that freedom of movement or self-expression which is denied to all Southern white women and most white women everywhere. The sureness and deadly matter-of-factness with which Mr. Frank drags out to the light the basic difficulty between white men and black men and portrays some phases of it is startling and gripping. Whether as a progaganda it will do any good or not we do not know. As a masterly portrayal of Southern conditions and life it has no equal in our experience since "Uncle Tom's Cabin," with which it is only to be compared on the basis of truth and fairness. The story is grim, it is naked, it is fearful, and we believe it is true. White men who read it will find therein the answer to the conditions in the State St. cabarets. Black men will look at their women with clearer eyes and better understanding. You will not put this book down until you have finished it because many men who know the South and women, too, will be able to recognize in it the telling again of things which they know to be true and of tales which they could match again did not prudence dictate otherwise. As a literary work it is a finished performance. Try to read it as if you were not white or black, although that will be difficult, but try it just the same. Waldo Frank seems to have written it that way, as only an artist can do. "Holiday" will bear reading twice, and we think it will turn you upside down, but then what else do you go to the theater or the movies for but to be turned upside down and moved about inside?

Race Problem-1923
United States

WATCH YOUR STEP, WACO!

Paraphrasing Dr. Coue's celebrated health maxim again, "Day by day, in every way, the Waco case is getting funnier and funnier."

When this widely-heralded murder was first committed several white and colored men were arrested, but the whites were released and the crime charged against th customary "Negro."

A few issues since, The Informer discussed, editorially, how such "funny things" and "peculiar crimes" are always being pulled off at "Barbecueville" and sounded a note of warning.

Now, with the girl identifying the usual "COLORED" man as her lover's murderer and her assailant, the Texas rangers, acting, it is reported, upon advice of the district attorney's office of McLennan County, placed the girl and her two brothers under arrest for the crime. ("Dere, now!") Houston Informer

With this act done and the prisoners transferred to other localities, a veritable storm arose and even the governor of the state joined in the protesting and disclaiming delegation.

It seems, by such actions, that there is a determined effort on the part of certain forces to make some innocent colored man atone for this crome, whether he committed it or not.

It is something like the rule in vogue at so many of the commissaries at certain large Dixie plantations and lumber camps.

Often it happens that, when a colored employe attempts to get a settlement of his account, he is charged for articles that he never purchased and for telephone rent, when he never used the 'phone. Houston, Texas. 1-20-23

When this colored man protests and declares that he bought no such articles nor used the telephone, this rejoinder often greets him from the "boss." "Well, John, it was here for you and if you didn't get it, it was your fault."

Thus speaking, the charge sticks and poor John has the same deducted from his small stipend and if he shows dissatisfaction or displeasure at the transaction he receives a six-shooter drubbing or is a victim of mob-law, the charge being that he "talked back to a white man."

The trend of events leads one to reason similarly regarding this Waco case, i. e., the crime should have been committed by a colored man and if one did not perform it, it was there for him to do it.

This really sounds silly and ludicrous, but doesn't it begin to look that way? ("Uh-huh!")

The person who said that "things are getitng in a 'heluva' shape in the South," did not miss the mark very far—looks like at this angle he hit the bull's eye.

The Informer does not believe in condoning crime, not even when perpetrated by a black man, but when public officials resort to undue methods and high-handed measures to prevent a thorough and impartial investigation of alleged crimes from all angles, they simply increase rather than diminish crimes, and also create additional disrespect and contempt for law and order, thereby becoming particeps criminis.

The scape-goat dispensation has long since passed, yet thousands of colored men, women and children have been lynched and punished in the South for crimes they not only had no part in committing, but were grossly ignorant of the same.

"Yeth thur," we reiterate our former declaration that "funny things happen at Waco (Barbecueville)," and they seem to be getting funnier and funnier, every day, in every way.

If those probing and investigating this crime have sufficient evidence to warrant additional arrests, why all this furore and opposition from judicial and executive sources?

Must such arrests be confined to certain persons or races despite their innocence?

If the South is in a devil of a fix (and every sane and sensible person must admit the truthfulness of this assertion), it is due to continually straining at a gnat and trying to swallow a camel.

Not only is our section disgraced and humiliated before the civilized world by such brutal, illegal lynchings, but even legalized lynchings are no uncommon happenings in "Bam."

Is there any wonder, then, that mob-law, gang rule and disrespect and contempt for constituted authority have secured such a firm grasp and tenacious hold upon so many self-styled "patriotic citizens," to say nothing of the rabble element and hoi polloi?

Those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad, and the South seems to be afflicted with a malignant type of lawless hydrophobia, superinduced by chronic indigestion rendered acute by mob-law, injustices and inequalities.

If coming events cast their shadows before, then it will pay Waco, as well as other Southern communities, to watch her step. ("Doxology. We're all leaving now!")

NO SUCH THING AS RACE PROBLEM, WRITES THOMAS

By JESSE O. THOMAS

The social and economic situations and different experiences in human relationship suggest or create different terms or phraseology. Some of them grow out of scientific analysis; others of them come down to us through age-old traditions. If one took the time to scientifically inquire into the basis or justification of many of our modes of expressing with reference to specific situations, we would doubtless discover that many of our overworked, mouth-filling terms or phraseology would be misnomers.

Take the expression, "Negro problem"; I am not sure there is a Negro problem. I am not sure there is not a Negro problem. I doubt seriously if there is anybody in this country that is able to state with any degree of undisputed authenticity that there is or that there is not a Negro problem. That is to say, there may be somewhere along the lines of our human progress some conditions that are peculiarly racial that are shot through with racial instincts, impulses and idiosyncrasies. This may be true of all racial groups in a corresponding degree. But what America has learned to regard as a "Negro problem" has little or no racial significance. The fact that the Negro death rate is almost twice as high as the death rate of white people living in the same communities is referred to as a "Negro problem." The fact that a larger percentage of Negroes are ignorant than is correspondingly true of white people constitutes another "Negro problem." The lack of paved streets and adequate lights, water supply, sewage disposal facilities or what-not, become again a "Negro problem." When large numbers of foreigners are brought together in any American community who are without education and unable to speak the English language, they do not produce or create German, Irish, Italian, Polish, French, Jew, Russian, Greek or what-not problems. They simply make necessary a problem of Americanization, of education. The congested and overcrowded housing conditions and other evidences of lack of economic efficiency do not produce race or racial problems, simply problems in economic and social adjustment. And if any group, whether in America or elsewhere, becomes so impoverished that charitable aid is necessary because of starvation or hardship or otherwise, they are not racial problems of the group involved. When the American white man is ignorant and economically inefficient he does not produce a white race problem, but a problem in social and economic adjustment. In the city of Atlanta, out of the 14,000 Negro children that are enrolled in our public schools, less than 2,000 of them are on full time schedule. None of the Negro children are attending high schools provided for by public school funds of the city of Atlanta, as is true in many other cities throughout the South. This is not a "Negro problem"; it is simply a failure in the educational system to provide adequate educational facilities for Negro children and in the last analysis a problem in education. Negroes live in worse houses, more insanitary and more hazardous to health and well being, than the white people, taking it in mass by and large. But here again, this is not a race problem—a problem in economics. Because of the lack of education, lack of training, the lack of opportunity, the double economic standard, together with racial prejudice, the average Negro's earning capacity is very much lower than the average white man's earning capacity. But this is not a "Negro problem." It is a problem of education and training, of elimination of racial prejudice and proscription. The Negro does not vote for the officers who are to make and administer the laws that he is compelled to obey. But this is not a "Negro problem." It is a problem of enfranchisement or the result of disfranchisement, a matter of denying a group the right guaranteed by the Constitution.

What I would seriously like to see is the Negro given the same advantages and opportunities, the same opportunity for training and development, a chance to earn and spend his money in a manner that will mean the highest possible development to himself and his family, unrestricted, unmolested and undisturbed, and a chance to move about to serve and spend himself and his energies to the advancement of human progress without interference in so far as he remains in harmony with the laws governing other individuals; the same chance for education, the same chance for economic development, the same guarantee for protection of life and limb, and then see whether there still remains a problem peculiar to his racial group. In other words, let's take out the educational, economic, social and political problems and see if there still remains that which may be called a "Negro problem."



A GOOD deal of newspaper space has lately been filled in trying to determine whether President Lowel of Harvard is right or wrong in ruling that colored students may not live in his Freshman dormitories. The brethren who think that Dr. Lowell is wrong rise up to slam him. The brethren who think he is right are not so vocal, but probably not less firm in their opinions.

It is not really Dr. Lowell that is on trial in these matters; it is all of us who are on trial. Each of us

puts to himself the question—what would I do about it? The only peculiarity of Dr. Lowell is that he has brought a very much discussed and difficult question out into the open and made it necessary to talk about it. It is the question how people of different races may best live in harmony in this very large and mixed-up country, whether by ignoring differences of race or by recognizing them and trying to provide enough separateness to prevent friction.

The solution of this question may be advanced if every observer will look inside of himself and try to recognize and understand his own inclinations. It seems practicable to have two or three negroes in those Freshman dormitories. But if the number increases very much, what then? Would it really be wise to require the negro scholars to live in the dormitories so long as you require the white scholars also to live there? Is it highly expedient to require any Freshmen to live in them? Those dormitories represent a great effort to nurse democracy and fellowship in Harvard College. Is it successful, or not?

These are really difficult questions. One may read in the paper that there are three million negroes in the South that would like to come North where they think they will have better protection and more security than where they are. If the infusion of negroes into Harvard College should be very much increased, this question of the Freshman dormitories would really become pressing. Dr. Lowell seems to want to get a decision on it before that happens. What he seems to want to do is to provide that it shall continue to be possible for negroes to be educated in Harvard College.

Perhaps the immediate problem may be solved by modifying the requirement of residence in the dormitories so that students who object to living with negroes may be excused. It is the requirement of residence that has made the immediate trouble, but the fundamental difficulty lies much deeper than that and involves the whole question of our duty to the negro.

COLORED WOMEN AND POLICE RAIDS.

The daily papers chronicled, in their Sunday edition, the news of the first raid engineered under the new superintendent of the police department, and while nearly two hundred men and women were apprehended in the dragnet spread by the department, not a solitary colored woman was found, captured or arrested in the wholesale raid. Houston Informer

Several women of other races were caught and haled before an attache of the corporation court, but for once not any race women were included in the number.

This little news item speaks volumes for the women of our race in this locality and The Informer would like to see this record maintained. Houston Texas

Denied many of the agencies for human uplift and social betterment provided for women of other races, it has been the rule rather than the exception to always nab a large number of colored women in these raids on vagrants.

Perhaps quite a number of our women have been Coued, in that "day by day, in every way, they are getting better and better."

If this is true, then it is a hopeful sign, indeed, and augurs good for the future of our race. 1—20—23

No race can rise above its women and the colored woman is subjected to more insults, temptations, trials and tribulations that test and try her very soul, than the womanhood of any other race in this country.

That the colored woman has stood and made good to the extent that she has is a feather in her hat and demonstrates the material out of which colored women are made.

Like other races, we have some bad female characters, but unlike other races the colored race is always judged and rated by its worst type rather than by its best element.

The salvation of the colored woman is not only a race problem, but a task and job for society, for in proportion as our women are good and given proper environments and protection, they are rendered and maintained better assets to society.

Let our colored women conduct themselves with becoming decorum, keep off the streets at nights without an escort and only frequent those places that are decent and not under police surveillance.

We have made a good start in this respect for 1923, according to the police blotter, and here's hoping that subsequent raids will net no appreciable number of colored women.

NEW YORK PROFESSOR THINKS NEGRO DISCONTENT GROWING

St. Louis Argus 1/12/23

(Preston News Service)

New Haven, Conn., Jan. 11.—At a meeting of the American History Professors' Association here Prof. Holland Thompson of the College of the City of New York, declared that he is convinced that discontent among Negroes in this country is increasing. He said changed conditions had given rise to more apparent hostility to Negroes as a race north of the Mason and Dixon line than south of it.

For years, he said, the Negro had been urged by certain members of his race, backed by white sympathizers, to demand all the rights of citizenship and to oppose every form of segregation and discrimination.

"This advice," he continued, "had more effect in the North during the World War than in the South, and Negro populations in Northern cities had more than doubled. Large numbers of Negroes came from the West Indies, and as these latter had not been accustomed to racial discrimination, their resentment influenced the native Negroes in the cities."

Professor Thompson described the increased circulation of newspapers for Negroes and the encouragement given by publications to the contentions that Negroes must resist oppression by force, if necessary. In politics, the speaker said, the Negro was beginning to vote as a Negro and not as a member of any political party. Race prejudice, he said, was increasing and not diminishing. In short, he declared, the Negro question has become a complex and national one.

Professor Thompson's subtle attack on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; his direct praise of the South; his reference to the Garvey movement; his stab at Negro newspapers; his accusation of Negro voters; his slap at broad-minded white people all go to show his place of nativity as well as indicate his secret organization affiliations, if we are to read between the lines.

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Preston News Service

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RIGHT THINKING WILL BRING WORLD PEACE.--DUBOIS

Norfolk Journal and Guide

Says Settlement of Race Question Hinges on Distribution of Income. Race Prejudice Economic In Final Analysis.'

Norfolk, Virginia

AFRICA AND INDIA MUST BE FREE ECONOMICALLY

3-17-23

Crusader Service

Los Angeles, Calif—Dr. W. E. DuBois, speaking before a large audience at Trinity Auditorium last night branded as impractical Garvey's "Back to Africa" dream.

RACE ADJUSTMENTS

"The thing that I am emphasizing in my lectures," he said, "is the light the world war has thrown upon the economic divisions of mankind. We used to think and talk of races as physical races. Now we see them as economical races.

"White men," Dr. DuBois said, "were now attempting to organize their work and income in Europe so as to eliminate drudgery and provide an income. They are trying to use democratic methods in the distribution of that income.

"But they have no such ideas," he went on, "with regard to Asia and Africa. They are still thinking of the profit that can be taken out of those countries. There they will use drudgery and reduce income to the lowest terms and prevent democratic development.

"They will still think of superior and inferior races because profit lies in that relationship."

PERMANENT PEACE

Until this kind of thinking ceases, according to Dr. DuBois, there can never be permanent world peace.

"The settlement of the race question hinges on the distribution of income—using income in its broadest and most comprehensive meaning.

"Race prejudice in the last analysis is economic. It is always the races who are looked upon as sources of income for others rather than users of income for themselves who are from without impressed with a sense of inferiority."

It is the opinion of Dr. DuBois that justice alone can still the rising tide of protest which is welling up from millions of lips throughout the world, especially in those countries inhabited by the dark races of mankind, but at present under the forcible control of the whites.

Race Problem — 1923
United States

WILLIAM. J. BRYAN DEFENDS SOUTH

American Forum

Great Commoner Says White Supremacy Is a Matter of Great Necessity

2/31/23

Regardless of all the numerous political defeats that have overtaken William Jennings Bryan during the last quarter of a century, the old Democratic Veteran still retains a mighty warm place in the hearts and minds of the American people.

Whenever that man talks, he "says something"—and that fact puts him in a class alone, among the politicians in America. He is a champion of the south, with no tinge of antipathy against the north. He knows people, and reads them like an open book—and no matter where he is—north, south, east, or west—men and women sit straight up and pay attention, when William Jennings Bryan is the orator of the evening. San Antonio, Tex

Recently he gave an interview to the New York *Times*, upon the "Race Question," in the United States. Notwithstanding the fact, that the editor of the *American Forum* has written and printed this *identical theory*, announced by the Great Commoner hundreds of times during the last quarter of a century, I herewith reproduce it, in Mr. Bryan's own language, for it is more than interesting. The address was made before the Southern Society in Washington, and has attracted National attention.

—Editor American Forum.

Late last month I spoke at a banquet of the Southern Society. I was not on the printed program, but was called upon when the advertised list of speakers was completed. One of the speakers, in emphasizing the importance of that part of the Declaration of Independence which affirms that all men are created equal, criticised the limitations that have been placed upon suffrage in some of the Southern States. I referred to the subject at this dinner, as I have referred to it before during the last twenty-five years, in order to point out that these limitations are not based upon a repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, but rest upon a principle—the first law of nature—everywhere recognized, namely, the right of self-preservation, which includes the right to preserve civilization and progress made in the science of government.

Back in 1898 when we were discussing imperialism a public man from the South cautioned me against laying too much emphasis upon the Declaration of Independence, adding that in the States where the blacks menaced white supremacy it had been found necessary to ignore the doctrine that all men were created equal. I replied that limitations upon the exercise of suffrage by the black race ought not to be based upon a denial of the doctrine of equality as found in the Declaration of Independence, but upon the real foundation, which in no way contradicts or weakens the Declaration of Independence. I defended the doctrine of equality in the inalienable rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence and explained to him that the problem which the whites of the south had to solve did not involve the question of equality before the law, that no one denied that the blacks were entitled to equal protection in their rights. The question is, which race shall control the government and make the laws under which both shall live? The more advanced race will always control as a matter of self-preservation not only for the benefit of the advanced race, but for the benefit of the backward race also.

In the States where restrictions are placed upon suffrage for the purpose of excluding enough blacks to preserve white supremacy, the blacks have the advantage of living under laws that the white man makes for himself as well as for the black man. The laws make no distinction in the matter of crime between whites and blacks.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that no limitations were placed upon suffrage and that the blacks, voting in masse for officials of their own color, took charge of the Government and made laws for both blacks and whites; is there any white man who believes that the laws made under these circumstances would be better for both, or administered with more fairness than now?

At the Southern banquet, I enforced my argument by suggesting that Massachusetts would do exactly as Virginia and South Carolina had done if confronted by the same conditions. There is not a State in the Union in which the whites would permit black supremacy. This ought to be admitted without argument but it could be easily proved if proof were necessary. Republicans are constantly coming South and they at once adopt the Southern view on the race question, as soon as they have to meet the race problem as a practical question. The fact that the Republican States of the North never send black men to the United States Senate and House of Representatives is conclusive proof either that the blacks are inferior or that race prejudice keeps them in the background. The race riots in Illinois, the home of Lincoln and Grant, showed that race feeling is just as strong in the North as in the South when a condition arises that gives it expression.

It is no reflection upon the black race to say that it could not formulate laws and administer, government as well as the white. It is only a few centuries since the ancestors of the colored people of the South were brought from Africa as slaves. They have made wonderful progress and they have made it because they have been associated with and helped by white people. Slavery among the whites was an improvement over independence in Africa. The very progress that the blacks have made, when—and only when—brought into contact with the whites, ought to be a sufficient argument in support of white supremacy—it ought to be sufficient to convince even the blacks themselves. The members of the white race have been studying the subject of government for thousands of years; why should they not be more proficient than the blacks?

There is no advantage to be gained by ignoring the facts. The Republicans of the North are deceiving the blacks for political purposes when they pretend a greater affection for them than is found in the South. Some one described the situation very accurately when he said: "The people of the South like the negroes as individuals but dislike them as a race, while the people of the North like them as a race but dislike them as individuals."

The inconsistency of the Northern Republicans is proved by their attitude toward the Filipinos. They insist on governing the Filipinos by laws made for the Filipinos, under which the white Republicans would be unwilling to live. Under the Colonial system, the Filipinos have much less protection than the colored people of the South now have, for, as I have said before, the colored people of the South live under the laws that the white people make for themselves as well as for the colored people.

MATTER OF NECESSITY

To prove that restrictions upon black suffrage is based upon necessity and not upon prejudice, we have only to cite the fact that the restrictions are only imposed where, without these restrictions, the Government would be in danger of passing under the control of the blacks. It is only in those Southern States where the blacks are most numerous that the whites have, as a matter of self-preservation, imposed restrictions. They may have been spurred on to this by a recollection of their experience under carpet bag Government when a few designing white men used black suffrage to exploit helpless whites, as they would today if they could (note the use now made of colored delegates in Republican national conventions). But such an experience is not necessary to justify the discrimination made in a few States in the matter of suffrage. Any one who will look at the subject without prejudice will know that white supremacy promotes the highest welfare of both races.

A frank and candid recognition of conditions as they exist will promote harmony between the two races. Republican politicians who have played upon race prejudice and who, in order to obtain colored votes have advocated laws dealing with the race question in the South as they would not deal with it in the North under similar conditions, are the prime cause of race antagonism; next to these come those leaders of the colored race who, instead of trying to help their own people, aggravate the situation by encouraging the blacks to put social and political equality above the cultivation of character.

Whether for better or for worse, the whites and the blacks are here and must live together, unless some other solution of the problem can be found. While they live together, they should exchange services

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN ON THE NEGRO

Christian Register
Philadelphia, Pa.
3-29-23

Many people concluded years ago that William Jennings Bryan was an opportunist whose ambitions led him to adopt many views of which he became the advocate solely because he thought they would advance his personal interests. They looked upon him purely as an ambitious and shrewd politician, ready to pounce upon any opinion on whose waves he hoped to ride into popularity—and perhaps into the ultimate goal of his ambition—the Presidency of the United States.

He came into popular favor so far as the Democratic Party was concerned in 1896 because of his advocacy of free silver. He was defeated that year for Presidency and "free silver" was buried so deep that it has never since become a serious issue in our national politics. Then came Bryan, after the Spanish-American War, and again as candidaate for the Presidency, with his anti-imperialism doctrine and his opposition to the annexation of the Phillipines. He asserted that the Phillipines should be independent. Again he was defeated. In later years he became an advocate of world peace and prohibition: but he let Wilson steal his peace thunder, and he could never bring his party to the place where it would risk him for the Presidency on the prohibition platform. In still more recent years he has taken upon himself the task of defending the Bible against evolution, in which he has displayed some fine qualities of oratory, but very little comprehension of modern scholarship.

Men have called him demagogue and hard names. We must confess we always believed in Mr. Bryan's sincerity, even when we did not agree with his judgment. But his latest pronouncement regarding the Race Problem in the South causes us to believe that those whose views of Mr. Bryan as a demagogue are correct, for never has a man appeared in more demagogue fashion than Bryan in his expressed view of the Negro. The reason is that Bryan has moved South. He is no longer a Nebraskan—having lost out there—but is now a Floridian. His bluster against evolution was intended to get the sympathy of the South, for that section is about the only place in the world where the Bryan position might have any popularity. But even the South did not respond. What little scholarship there is there pooh-poohed Bryan, and the general view was not to enthuse over a subject which is purely scientific and on whose truth or falsity the Christian religion is in no wise dependent.

So Mr. Bryan looks for another bait with which to catch the South, and drawing upon his experience with Vardaman and Ben. Tillman and Jeff Davis, Hoke Smith, Tom Watson, Heflin, and others, he seeks to rise on the eternal Negro question. He raises the bogey of "Negro domination." He puts race against race and says suppose all the Negroes voted one way and all the whites another and there were more Negroes than whites, what an awful thing would happen. He even further says that it is the white man's right to rule in order to preserve our civilization! Of course we do not believe Bryan believes himself, but he is seeking popularity. But Bryan won't get this popularity. Even the South is slowly awaking to the fact that it has been fooled on the Negro question by designing politicians, that they have been made to fear what has never existed—the possibility of Negro domination. The South is slowly waking up to the fact which the census has long plainly shown that there is now and never has been a chance for Negro domination so far as mere numbers are concerned. But even if there were more Negroes than whites (which there are not) when did ignorance and poverty dominate intelligence and wealth? The South is gradually seeing this. Even in the so-called carpet bag days there was no such thing as Negro domination. Of the large number of Congressmen representing the South, not one in ten were ever Negroes, even in carpet bag days, no state ever had a Negro governor; no state legislature was ever dominated by Negroes.

But in the days when Negroes were represented in legislatures there was not as much corruption as to-day when there are no Negroes. Mr. Bryan ought to know that the men responsible for corruption in the '70's were white men (see Lynch's "Facts of Reconstruction"). He certainly knows that during the second term of his erstwhile Democratic protege, Mr. Wilson, there was more stealing in three years by white men—educated white men, most of them sworn to protect the country—than by all the Negroes for all purposes since the landing at Jamestown in 1619. Mr. Bryan is a Floridian and he ought to know of the Florida convict scandals, from which even an ex-governor's name was not able to escape.

Mr. Bryan says he believes the Negro ought to have justice before the courts. If Bryan were not a politician, thoroughly familiar with the working of our governmental system, we might believe him sincere in this statement. But how can a man get justice in this country when his status is based upon fundamental injustice—depriving him of his right to vote—the fundamental right of every American citizen, white or black, rich or poor, man or woman. Now this same Bryan used to advocate that the Filipinos ought to have a right to run their own affairs (Wilson called it self-determination). Bryan thought it a great shame that this Government should so suppress the far-away Fillipino. But he thinks it is just—saving civilization—to oppress the Negro, and deprive him of his fundamental right, the Negro whose labor helped to build up the country and whose valor helped to save it, while the fathers and grandfathers of those to whom Bryan now caters were trying to destroy it.

Bryan is wrong. Bryan is insincere. And Bryan will not fool the South on his Negro position any more than he did on his stand against evolution. It is bad enough for South Carolina to have to tolerate a Ben Tillman, or Mississippi a Vardaman—they were natives of their states; but to have an immigrant come in and pose as a genuine Negro hater, as Bryan is trying to do, we believe is even more than the South can stand, as Mr. Bryan will probably find out when the next Democratic Convention meets in 1924.

Race Problem — 1923
United States

WHY NOT AN AMERICAN NEGRO RACE CONFERENCE?

Dallas Express (Texas)
1/13/23

A racial conference composed of representatives of every organization and agency which is working in the interest of our group has been proposed by Kelly Miller who bases his argument for its need upon the following circumstances:

"The times are out of joint. Racial portents are ominous. The rising tide of color threatens to engulf us. The problem is becoming more complex and perplexing. Unless the Negro's courage rises with danger the cause will be lost through timidity and cowardice. The welfare of the ten million Negroes in the United States is less well, safe guarded through self-directive leadership than that of any other group of similar size and like advantage in the world. There is the widest margin between what is and what ought to be. Loudsome boasting of our present attainments blinds us to the magnitude of things yet to be attained. This gap can be bridged only by wise guidance and direction. The incoming of the new year emphasizes our delinquency. Within the next half generation there is going to be a tremendous change in the scheme of race adjustment. Whether this is to be for the better or for the worse depends upon the initiative, the courage and the wisdom which the Negro displays. The present tendency is in the wrong direction. Forces and influences now at work if unchecked will fix him for good in a helpless and hopeless position. Instant action is demanded. Hesitancy is dangerous. Delay may prove fatal.

The time if fully ripe for a race conference to deliberate upon the serious phases of the problem, and as far as practicable, to formulate a platform of principles and a program of programs of procedure.

The Negro group has special and peculiar interests and relations infinitely more serious and vital than any other subordinate element into which our population is divided. The peculiar problems of the foreigner are temporary and limited to one generation. The Jew is isolated only in religious and semi-religious relations of his own making and preference. The Catholic differs from the Protestant only in the mode of worship.

The Negro alone is separated from the rest of the nation by the whole diameter of social difference which entails the regulation of all of the essential intimacies of life. This regime is imposed upon him. He didn't make and he cannot unmake it. Special and specific racial interest require as thoughtful and as wise deliberation as the Congress gives to the affairs of the Nation. And yet today we have no statesmanlike consideration. At present the various interests and activities at work in the field are absorbed in their own objectives and are wholly without efficient coordination or union of aim and purpose. The waste and friction are inexcusable.

The Negro can no longer look to the white man for intimate advice and direction. No one outside of a group can regulate the intimate procedure for the inside. The white philanthropists have done a good part. The people who must be helped forever are not worthy of being helped at all.

Lynching and lawlessness of which the Negro is the chief victim, the shift of population, congestion in cities and the acute situation resulting therefrom, the moral aloofness and religious indifference of the abducted classes, the downward moral tendency of the times in which our young people are being carried away, the necessity for cooperation in business and trade, the growing apathy of the white race and the need for concerted endeavor to stem the tire all unite in demanding the proposed conference at an early date. The situation calls loudly for the requisite race statesmanship."

There is no doubt but that this suggestion is most practical and timely. We need some means by which our efforts along all lines may be so coordinated that their resultant may be more productive of progress than is now the case.

The times demand unity of thought and unity of action. These can be had only as a more definite program of procedure than is now the case, is determined upon and followed. Such a program can be determined upon only as conference on the part of all concerned makes it possible.

The Express is heartily in accord with the idea. But how will such conference be called? So far we have not produced a leader in whom the confidence of the general public is so placed as to make a call by him equivalent to a command.

It is of the opinion however that the discussion widely of the proposal of Mr. Miller will make more apparent the imperative need of such a conference and it will eventually be held.

So far, we have proven ourselves cowardly—and inefficient in taking care of our own concerns. That we are now becoming more fully awakened to the gravity of the situation which confronts will be proven only by the co-ordination of our agencies of progress by the adoption of a common sense program such as the proposed conference would make possible of formation.

BELOW THE SURFACE.

(From Macon Telegraph.)

It is easier to theorize than look below the surface. Partial viewpoints are more popular than the whole. Opinions are more convenient than to search for the truth. In thinking, or pretending to think, men much prefer to do so in terms of their own prejudices. They are color-blind because they want to be. This is not always true, but nearly always. Independent

It is remarkable how far apart two attitudes of mind can be—for instance, the attitude of an accuser and the attitude of the accused. At one time, Americans were prone to regard the Japanese as vicious, and yet a closer examination than was made reveals the fact that Japanese as a whole who do not think viciously. 1/11/23

One lesson to be learned is that, before one intelligently criticises or even praises an individual, a race or a nation of people, it is necessary to first get and understand their attitude of mind. This brings us back to the sociological precept that primarily the question is not what a man does but why he does it. To understand the true cause of the World War so far as Germany was concerned, it is necessary to have an insight into the frame of mind of the German citizen, and as well, that of the German higher-up.

The South must, as the years go by, make more and more a study of the Negro, to be sure that whatever responsibility rests upon the White South in this regard will be fully and properly met. This does not mean that it is best for the South to act as father and mother—although some paternalism is due the colored race—but that it should always stand ready to do justice and to act as teacher and guide into the ways of life and inspiration that best suit the Negro.

In making a conscientious study, it is necessary to find out what the Southern colored man himself is thinking. And, really, in the work of ascertaining his thoughts, one finds no little interest.

It appears that the Atlanta Independent, edited and published by Negroes, presents a fair example of what many Negroes are thinking, although it may outdistance in some instances. In the current number of the paper is an article by Jesse O. Thomas that should be of interest to all students of the race subject, the essential part of which article is as follows:

"I am not sure there is a Negro problem. I am not sure there is not a Negro problem. I doubt seriously if there is anybody in this country that is able to state with any degree of undisputed authenticity that there is or there is not a Negro problem. That is to say, there may be somewhere along the lines of our human progress some conditions that are peculiarly racial that are shot through with racial instincts, impulses and idiosyncrasies. This may be true of racial groups in a corresponding degree. But what America has learned to regard as a "Negro problem" has little or no racial significance. The fact that the Negro death rate is almost twice as high as the death rate of the white people living in the same communities is referred to as a "Negro problem." The fact that a larger percentage of Negroes are ignorant than is correspondingly true of white people, constitutes another "Negro problem." The lack of paved streets and adequate lights, water supply, sewage disposal facilities or what not become, again, a "Negro problem." When large numbers of foreigners are brought together in any American community who are without education and unable to speak the English language, they do not produce or create German, Irish, Italian, Polack, French, Jew, Russian, Greek or what not problems. They simply make necessary a problem of Americanization, of education. The congested and over-crowded housing conditions and other evidences of lack of economic efficiency do not produce race or racial problems, simply problems in economic and social adjustment. And if any group, whether in America or elsewhere, becomes so impoverished that charitable aid is necessary because of starvation or hardship or otherwise, they are not racial problems of the group involved. When the American white man is ignorant, and economically inefficient, he does not produce a white race problem, but a problem in social and economic adjustment.

In the city of Atlanta, out of 14,000 Negro children that are enrolled in our public schools, less than 2,000 of them are on full time schedule. None of the Negro children are attending high schools provided for by public school funds of Atlanta, as is true in many other cities throughout the South. This is not a "Negro problem;" it is simply a failure in the educational system to provide adequate educational facilities for Negro children and in the last analysis, a problem in education. Negroes live in worse houses, more insanitary and more hazardous to health and well-being than the white people, taking it in mass by and large. But here again, this is not a race problem—a problem in economics. Because of the lack of education, lack of training, the lack of opportunity, the double economic standard together with racial prejudice, the average Negro's earning capacity is very much lower than the average white man's earning capacity. But this is not a "Negro problem." It is a problem of education and training.'

When a Southern Negro newspaper speaks out as frankly and clearly as this, it has won the right to a hearing. But this is not the end of the talent. The editor Benjamin Jefferson Davis—not a bad name, by the way—and Kelley Miller, of Howard University, also display a genius for speaking out in clear tones. Says Editor Davis:

"If the Negro would succeed in this world, he must look facts in the face. He must meet issues squarely; he must rise to the height and importance of the situation; he must face actual conditions. . . . Frontal attacks are unwise and will not pay in the end. The white man is opposed to our constructive progress most largely because of his belief in our capacity. If he believed us capable of developing the highest efficiency and independence, he would stand for our progress and uplift, as he does for the progress of every other integral factor entering into our cosmopolitan population. He is the fellow we have got to convince, and we cannot succeed in bringing him our way by frontal attacks, by radicalism, by criticism based upon racial antagonism; but we must undermine his prejudice by indirect attack. We must disarm him by meeting the objections and criticisms he brings against us, by developing the highest degree of independence—convince him that we are a contributing factor, that we are an asset to the community instead of a liability. . . . Stop deserting the section in which you were born and reared because of an outbreak of lawlessness; stay home, stand your ground, let your buckets down where you are and help to work out your salvation in the Southland, where in the fitness of things, the highest order of Negro character and Negro respectability and the greatest accumulation of Negro wealth and intelligence must be achieved."

Kelley Miller gives this observation: "Unless the Negro's courage rises with danger, his cause will be lost through timidity and cowardice. . . . **The people who must be** helped forever are not worth being helped at all." However, there is help that is necessary, and "self-expression on the part of the Negro will encourage our white friends to extend the necessary assistance. But they cannot be expected to carry the Negro on their shoulders any further. He henceforth must walk with his own legs. The white man can only furnish him with a crutch."

A journal with insight like this, published by the colored man, has indeed a large worthy mission before it, and if it places the emphasis on just such a program as these words from its contributors suggest, there will be cause for regret if its subscription list does not include the names of many who

THE SILENCE OF GOOSE CREEK

A child screamed in the night—a little girl eight years old—but no one stirred. Savannah Tribune 2-8-23

Instead, a man—a painted, disguised man—drew his gun and threatened her with death, if she did not cease.

A woman was lifted from her sick bed and carried forth into the darkness to be whipped like a dog.

There were strong men to wield the strap, to take the Spanish inquisition for a pattern, but there was not one to raise his voice for common decency, for the teaching of his father, for orConstituted authority had been flaunted, secrecy prevailed, men and women refused to talk, while the two victims lay mourning and suffering.

Is this white supremacy? Is this Gentile civilization? Is this Protestant justice? Is this Southern chivalry? Is this Anglo Saxon law?

And what scared the lips and paralyzed the arms of so many people?

What drove them to be deaf to the cries of a child?

What caused them to remain mute?

Nothing but the terror of masked violence. Nothing but fear of a disguised hand that might strike from behind. Nothing but an alarm that has spread, and spread, and spread, until people do not dare to move or speak, lest they expose themselves unaware.

And suppose the woman had offended, of which there is no proof, was there no law to make her answerable?

Is the machinery of our government so clogged with rust, so eaten and corrupted, that it can no longer function?

After 133 years of constitutional democracy, must we admit failure—admit that justice is only to be had thru masked violence?

After winning such glory on the open battle field, after living for more than a century with open courts, are we to acknowledge that the mob offers us our only salvation?

There are men to laugh at the grand jury, more's the pity, and to hope its efforts will prove futile.

There are men to ridicule Judge Robinson's charge.

There are men to applaud that brutish band, and to rejoice that its identity has been concealed.

There are men to become drunk with the thought of anonymous power, and to take delight in its exercise

There are men to prefer disguise, extro-legal violence to the slower processes of the law.

When the kiser threw down his gauntlet and all Europe was forced to defend itself, Lord Grey turned to us and cried. "You next."

We refused to believe it—refused for three long years—but it came to pass.

Who strikes at civilization, strikes at everybody and everything depends on it.

Who strikes at the law, strikes at everybody and everything that looks to the law for protection.

If the time has come when the law cannot protect the humblest citizen in his legitimate rights, can not grant him a fair hearing, can not guarantee him against arbitrary convictions and punishment, the time will sure come when the law can do these things for no citizen.

If the time has come when a mob can invade the poorest home, in defiance of our traditions, in contradiction of our fundamental rights, the time will come when the mob can go anywhere.

We are not dealing with an isolated proposition in this latest outrage, but with an illustration, with a symptom a warning.

The silence of Goose Creek is not significant because of what it shows how any and all communities may be terrorized, may be frightened, intimidated and made to serve the will of ruthless but organize groups.—The Houston Chronicle.

PEOPLE WE HAVE WITH US.

There is a tendency in more recent American fiction to depict the real life of the negro in this country. We have had much of stories [illegible] to prejudice and hatred. We have also had much, perhaps too much, of literary lollypop in which "Mammy" and "Marse" have figured, kindly and perhaps well meant, but falling far short of dealing with that tragic figure in our national life which the negro has been since emancipation. Lately, there are indications of better things. Somber and almost forbidding as it is, Clement Wood's novel, "Nigger," can claim a high place in literature because it raws, with many touches of real power, a picture of he life of a negro family, in the South and North, during years following emancipation; years crowded with vicissitudes, trials, hardships and oppressions. The picture is a gloomy but a true one. To minds which have been turned to a contemplation of this phase of our national life, his book cannot fail to carry conviction. To other minds it will bring reflection ripening to conviction. In the same class of fictional works, lately appearing, and marking the tendency toward a higher and more worthy literary treatment of the negro as a tragic or dramatic and not always a comic or sentimental figure, is "Black and White" by H. G. Shands, "Birthright" by T. S. Stribling, and a few others.

It is not too late. The poor we have always with us, and in the United States we have had the negro since war set him free, unprepared by training, to compete in the struggle for existence, and, tragic mistake, thrown into the political arena before his time, to intensify and fan into fiercer flame the race antagonism already existing. He has appeared to all reflective minds to be a victim not only of his own mistakes, which have been expected, but of the mistakes of others away by the intensity of their philanthropic to elevate, by the force of laws cutting against the grain of old and deep-seated prejudice in the dominant race, one asking only for justice in human relations.

Those who have assumed to understand the negro most have misunderstood him least. The family history set before us in "Nigger" is more tragic than that of the "Rougon-Macquart" family, although Zola, with his great powers of delineation, followed the fatalities pursuing members of that family through several generations. We have with us, and of us, a people deserving our consideration than some on whom we have lavished it abroad. The new literary dawn can hardly fail in giving us a clearer light to see them more as they are than as fantastic figures.

ST. LOUIS MO. GLOBE DEM.
JANUARY 8. 1923

Race Problem—1923
United States.

THE TEETH OF THE DRAGON.

Just a few days before Christmas a note appeared in a New York newspaper, which may be cited by the historian of the future as an index of the character of these times and an explanation of that future time. This obscure note, which may be a luminous commentary in the future read:

"He had served in the U. S. Navy for 10 years, but since the importer had received his citizenship rights the first time, the United States Supreme Court had rendered a decision making it illegal to serve naturalization papers to Japs and Chinese. Judge Davis refused the merchant's appeal."

This was a Japanese merchant. As a pledge to our "ex-service" men, he had received the first steps in citizenship papers from the United States, —for he had been in the Naval Service, not of Japan, but of the United States for 10 years. Yet among 1,500 applicants from many other parts of the world, some of which are not nearly so enlightened as Japan, he is denied American citizenship on a generalization, in spite of his personal character or individual merits and rights. It would have been all right if only he had been born in Russia, Turkey or Czecho-Slo-Vakia, or even in some illiterate and backward district of Poland, Greece or Roumania. But because the seed which produced him was planted in Nippon, and not in some fly-infected street of Naples, this man is accounted lower than the human being of nearly all the rest of the earth. Neither the "Divine" right of human kings, nor witchcraft, nor ghosts, nor the hell-doctrine is more curious or unreasonable than this brainless and cowardly judgement against a felow-human being.

And the queerest thing of all is, that most people float along feeling and imagining that there never is to be any consequences to this queer thing. But everything means something further, in the physical, mental and moral worlds,—and this devil's sowing cannot raise a crop of wheat any more than we can pluck figs from thistles. This evil and unjust seed will never fruit into love and goodness and justice. Any scheme which does recognize the rights of a man as an individual, is unjust and inhuman, and will some day be outlawed by a more reasonable mankind.

WILLIAM PICKENS.
New York City.

IS EX-DEAN PICKENS A JOKE?

We are puzzled as to whether to take ex-Dean Pickens seriously or not. We have watched him carefully from the time he took the prize at Yale in an oratorical contest until the present day, and if he has adopted any definite policy or vocation to follow through life, it escaped our observation. We have watched him in all the jobs he has held; none of which has he remained in long enough to establish himself permanently. But we have always had faith in the fellow and believed that some day he would find his place and make good. But we are about to despair.

A fortnight ago we published a communication from Editor D. E. Tobias, of the New York Independent. In this communication, Editor Tobias alleged the shortcomings of the N. A. A. C. P., of which Brother Pickens is one of the field secretaries. Among the charges brought against the Association are the following:

1. The Association is owned and controlled by white people;
2. The Association is commercial rather than racial;
3. That DuBois, Johnson and others are hirelings and obey the directions given by their white superiors;
4. Southern sentiment dominates the Association;
5. The Association exploits Negroes;
6. The publicity program of the Association is clipped from white dailies.

In this communication, Mr. Tobias took Messrs. DuBois and Johnson severely to task and charged the white management with insincerity. The Atlanta Independent published the letter as a news item as it does communications from various individuals; but Brother Pickens, who is a field secretary, and whose name was not mentioned in Tobias' article, seems to take it upon himself to answer for his superiors. His superiors have said nothing, so far as our information goes. They have not paid any attention to Mr. Tobias' article, but ex-Dean Pickens, who is a subordinate and assigned to the field, takes upon his shoulders the full responsibility of defending both his white and colored superiors. But the ex-Dean does not show the mental aptness necessary to differentiate between a news item in a newspaper and an editorial. He takes the Atlanta Independent severely to task without mentioning the author of the article at all. He deals in a lot of abuse and vituperation against The Atlanta Independent, which neither vouched for the truthfulness of nor took the responsibility for the item.

In the first place, we would not pay any attention to the mouthings of this underling if it were not for the fact that the public, to some extent, might be misled by reading the personal abuse in his article. The Independent would feel like discussing the matter with the Editor of the Crisis or the Secretary of the Association; but it will depart from its policy of not entering into an argument with a correspondent, in order that the people might know what manner of man ex-Dean Pickens is.

Many people have not measured the ex-Dean by his contribution to Negro life; he is sized up as a graduate from Yale and the people have covered all his shortcomings, including his migratory life, with the fact of his graduation from Yale University; thinking it impossible for a man who comes from Yale or Harvard to be anything except a real man.

Mr. Pickens lost sight of the charges brought against his Association by Mr. Tobias in his mad tirade against the Atlanta Independent. He never attempted to disprove a single fact set up by Mr. Tobias or refute the argument submitted in support of his charges. The ex-Dean contented himself to abuse The Atlanta Independent and to misstate the facts. Whether the charges made by Mr. Tobias are true or untrue, is a question for the executive officers of the Association to answer, if they think it necessary, and not for the chap in the field to mess up.

We would like to say for the information of the Dean that there is a vast difference between a news item or a communication to a newspaper, and the editorial policy of the paper; and that the paper is in no sense responsible for news items or communications signed or unsigned by others. We would like to further inform the ex-Dean that news items and individual communications do not in any way express the opinion of a real newspaper, and the newspaper in no sense accepts the views of its correspondents as expressions of its views or policies. The ex-Dean reminds us of the little fice that barks to let the big dogs know he is about and of the Negro who uses his mouth instead of his brains trying to let the white folks know that he is a good "nigger."

We respectfully cite the learned ex-Dean to Mr. Tobias, whom we think is able to handle him. Mr. Tobias made the charges and not The Atlanta Independent, and stated that he had the proof and was ready to submit it, and it is up to the ex-Dean to call his hand. Unless Brother Pickens has some proof above his temper and prejudices, we advise him to let the matter drop. If he has not learned, he will learn this cold fact, that abuse is not argument and the mere denial of a charge is not sufficient in law or reason to controvert that charge. To merely make a statement that Tobias or The Independent lied, does not make either a lie. When you call a man a lie, you ought to have the truth to set up against the lie. If you do not, you make yourself ridiculous and become the common liar that you called your opponent. But it ought to be beneath the dignity of a graduate of Yale and a student of Greece to condescend to the level of a blackguard to meet the argument of a gentleman and scholar. Whether Tobias is a success or failure has nothing to do with the truthfulness of the charges that ex-Dean Pickens merely denounces without setting up any proof to support his denial.

We are publishing in another column ex-Dean Pickens' article in full, just as we published Mr. Tobias', and in neither case do we accept responsibility or admit that either article expresses our views Following ex-Dean Pickens' line of argument, Mr. Tobias would be justified in holding The Atlanta Independent responsible for the ex-Dean's letter.

The ex-Dean may be an historian and may be advised on current events, but if he is, he seems to be in error about the things he recites in his letter against The Atlanta Independent. He alleges that Morefield Storey rescued the Editor of The Atlanta Independent and its staff from ridiculous segregation before the Supreme Court of the United States. The learned ex-Dean is in error. The segregation laws of Atlanta were declared unconstitutional and without force and effect by the Supreme Court of Georgia, the case having originated in the Superior Court of Fulton County. This was long before Morefield Story took the Louisville case up to the Supreme Court.

The ex-Dean says that Miss Mary White Ovington has defended the race as The Independent would not dare to do. We let the public decide whether The Independent has been recreant or outspoken and consistent in its defense of the race, and whether or not it has been as bold on the firing line as Miss Ovington or the ex-Dean. And to further decide whether we ever ran away from the field of danger and sought safety in northern climes as the ex-Dean did.

The ex-Dean will learn some day that the mere assertion that a man is a lie is no proof either in law or morals that he is a lie. The ex-Dean says that DuBois has been abused and cursed and all the trouble he has ever had was because he would not be bossed, and that others have given up easier work because they would not be owned and controlled. This naked assertion to the contrary by the ex-Dean in no sense disproves the charge of Tobias that the Association is owned

and controlled by white people and that the Negroes are hirelings. When the ex-Dean made his assertion to the contrary, he should have submitted proof.

As to the ex-Dean or his Negro superiors leaving easier jobs because they would not be owned or controlled, let us see.

The ex-Dean was an under-professor at Talladega, Wiley University, and a high school in Baltimore. He stayed in neither of these places long, and the very nature of each of these positions suggested that he was an underling. And nobody ever heard of his leaving because the faculty wanted to control or boss him; but he left for other reasons that we call upon him to explain. And so far as our information goes, the only job he was ever boss of was his effort on the lecture platform, which he gave up to keep from starving.

As to DuBois and Johnson, neither of them have ever held any

movements must establish social centers for the purpose of centralizing the ideas and usefulness of the groups that work among them, for the purpose of establishing more co-operation among those who constitute their working forces by making them better acquainted with one another, how much more essential it is that the church should exercise such wisdom?

In the later day church, social meetings would not only help those out of the church, it would help those in the church. Thousands of members who belong to our different church organizations do not even know one another; pass by one another in the streets and refuse to speak to one another because of their idea of social standing. They go to church and worship on Sundays, never exchange ideas and views or express the progress they are making in the work of the Lord, or affiliate enough even to know one another's names. How can such a church serve God and set the example of constraining others with such a social problem?

Rev. A. Clayton Powell, D. D., pastor Abyssinian Baptist church, New York City, in discussing the church's social work, remarks:

"The church must enlarge its religious activities if it is to retain the respect and support of intelligent men. Christianity is more than preaching, praying, singing and giving; it is all of these but a great deal more. The purpose of the Christianity of Jesus as revealed in the New Testament is to supply man's social as well as spiritual needs. The church is being called upon to give the world a Christianity of deeds as well as a Christianity of creeds. Very few people ask any more "What the church believes," but "What the church is doing for the amelioration of the condition of mankind." The majority of people care very little about church doctrines. They are looking for a translation of the spirit of Jesus Christ in every day life of his professed followers. The church will never draw and hold the masses by essays on faith, but by showing her faith by her works.

THE URGENT DEMAND FOR A RACE CONFERENCE.

The times are out of joint. Racial portents have ominous. The rising tide of color threatens to engulf us. The problem is becoming more complex and perplexing. Unless the Negro's courage rises with danger, the cause will be lost through timidity and cowardice. The welfare of the ten million Negroes in the United States is less well safe-guarded through self-directive leadership than that of any other group of similar size and like advantage in the world. There is the widest margin between what is and what ought to be. Loudsome boasting of our present attainments blinds us to the magnitude of things yet to be attained. The gap can be bridged only by wise guidance and direction. The incoming of the new year emphasizes our delinquency. Within the next half generation there is going to be a tremendous change in the scheme of race adjustment. Whether this is to be for the better or for worse depends upon the initiative, the courage and the wisdom which the Negro displays. The present tendency is in the wrong direction. Forces and influences now at work if unchecked will fix him for good in a helpless and hopeless position. Instant action is demanded. Hesitancy is dangerous. Delay may prove fatal.

The time is fully ripe for a race conference to deliberate upon the serious phases of the problem, and as far as practicable, to formulate a platform of principles and a program or programs of procedure. The Negro group has special and peculiar interests and relations infinitely more serious and vital than any other subordinate element into which our population is divided. The peculiar problems of the foreigner are temporary and limited to one generation. The Jew is isolated only in religious and semi-religious relations of his own making and preference. The Catholic differs from the Protestant only in the mode of worship.

The Negro alone is separated from the rest of the nation by the whole diameter of social difference which entails the regulation of all of the essential intimacies of life. This regime is imposed upon him. He didn't make and he cannot unmake it. Special and specific racial interests require as thoughtful and as wise deliberation as the congress gives to the affairs of the nation. And yet today we have no adequate or competent body to give our issues comprehensive and statesmanlike consideration. At present the various interests and activities at work in the field are absorbed in their own objectives and are wholly without efficient coordination or union of aim and purpose. The waste and friction are inexcusable.

The demand for a nation-wide conference is imperative. This conference should not be fostered by any one organization, but every type of agency or interest now at work should unite upon a call to consider "the state of the race." Political movements such as the N. A. A. C. P., the Equal Rights League, the Lincoln League, the Race Congress; religious bodies like the National Baptist Convention, the African Methodist Episcopal, the A. M. E. Z., and the C. M. E. churches, as well as those of smaller numbers; moral and social agencies such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A.; business and economic agencies like the Business League, the Urban League; educational associations, fraternal organizations, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Press Association, and all well established movements of wide ramification should be represented. The time has come for all to pull together. If we continue to pull apart, we will pull to pieces. The whole is greater than any of its parts. The members of the body can never co-operate properly unless they become consciously subordinated to the welfare of the body as a whole.

It may be just as well to anticipate the objection that several such abortive attempts have been made before. While no one of these efforts has been permanent each endeavor has left a residum of lasting good. The race today has more maturity and sound judgment than ever before. Many will recall the effort of Mr. Joel E. Spingarn at a race conference at his summer home. If an alien to the group saw the necessity of formulating a common program, surely we must heed the self call to conference.

The Negro can no longer look to the white man for intimate advice and direction. No one outside of a group can regulate the intimate procedure for the inside. The white philanthropists have done a good part. The people who must be helped forever are not worthy of being helped at all. Self-expression on part of the Negro will encourage our white friends to extend the necessary assistance. But they cannot be expected to carry him on their shoulders any further. The Negro henceforth must walk with his own legs. The white man can only furnish him a crutch.

Lynching and lawlessness, of which the Negro is the chief victim, the shift of population, congestion in cities and the acute situation resulting therefrom, the moral aloofness and religious indifference of the abducted classes, the downward moral tendency of the times in which our young people are being carried away, the necessity for co-operation in business and trade, the growing apathy of the white race and the need for concerted endeavor to stem the tide all unite in demanding the proposed conference at an early date. The situation calls loudly for the requisite race statesmanship. Will it be forthcoming?

Lo, I have made the suggestion and invite correspondence and suggestion.

All who are in favor, signify by saying "I."

KELLY MILLER,
Howard University.

AUTHOR GIVES INSIDE FACTS ON HIS NOVEL

Readers of this department have probably read the very excellent article by Clement Wood, the author of a most interesting novel with a very ugly name which was published in an earlier issue. Because we believe it is possible to get at the personality behind both the novel and the article by publishing part of a personal letter addressed to the editor of this department, we are taking the liberty, without consulting Mr. Wood, to give our readers a chance to get a closer view of the man Wood as well as of the writer.

We think no further comment will be necessary other than to refer readers to our review of the novel published a few weeks ago:

"Let me thank you indeed for your kind note, with its enclosure of th review of my 'Nigger.' I like the review very much. I would have written a different one, of course; but it is obviously a sincere statement of a viewpoint differing in some ways from my own, and none of us has a monopoly upon true vision.

"There is certainly no intrusion upon my privacy in your letter. To the contrary, my book is a part of me; and at least that part of me belongs to those it reaches. I am enclosing you an article of mine in last Sunday's Herald. I want you also to read my "Alabama" article in the Nation week after next; it is a partial treatment of miscegenation in Alabama.

"In none of these do I urge any solution to the problem, except this general one: Give now at once full political, economic and social justice; then let the human garden bring forth its own fruit. White and black are damned in the denial of these. I have further specific opinions of my own; in my own time I will bring these forth. The big job now—and I hope you can see this—is to let the facts be known. That is, social education in what's what today * * * Bring the trouble to the surface, and the very exposure must work toward a cure.

"That is why I think 'Nigger' was the right book for me to have written—now. I don't agree that it's unaware of the Negroes' happy moments, or of humor and lightness and love; only, for dramatic purposes, for compression to give greater force, these are given merely as backgrounds, for my white hell-hands of oppression. I want it depressing, utterly; to have dynamic social power, it could have been a smile-damn-you-smile Pollyanna book, an 'All's right with the Negro' book.

"The Negro reaction to the book is singularly unanimous in one thing: a regret that I have not shown the successful, cultured Negro. First, he's scarce in the South; second, I didn't know him. Will I write a book about him? You bet—as sure as I do know him enough.

"And write me again when you will. I appreciate it.

"Sincerely,
(Signed) "CLEMENT WOOD."

Race Problem — 1923.
United States

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTHERN PRESS

Christian Recorder 12-20-23

We are printing in this issue an editorial from the Christian Advocate of Nashville, Tenn., official organ of the M. E. Church, in which it refers to one written in the Christian Recorder. We consider ourselves flattered that the Advocate should pay attention to what we write. We believe the editorial which we wrote merely stated the case mildly. We do not know, and would like for the Christian Advocate to inform us of any number of newspapers in the South that are giving more attention to trying to better conditions there than they are to trying to exaggerate bad conditions here. By the exaggerated advertisement which crime gets lynching so commonly found in Southern newspapers, conditions are made worse. If the space given to crime were put on constructive effort much could be done for good Every day in the South, Negro men and Negro women are maltreated, and have no redress of court or otherwise. While the newspapers say a great deal about the crimes Negroes commit they do a very uittle to prevent crime against Negroes. No newspaper of the South so far as we know has taken upon itself the task of trying to get largersecurity for Negroes. Sporadically many have done somethin; but while the editoroal page argues one thing the news columns loudly and in largest type proclaim the opposite policy.

Philadelphia Pa.

We do not know any newspaper in the South which has made a crusade against the degradation of Negro women in the South. Every Southern newspaper knows that in nearly every Southern State there is no law protecting a woman against the white man who degrades her, or giving any protection to the mulatto child which she may bear. In spite of all their pretensions against "social equality" no paper so far as we know has courage enough to start a crusade against the most apparent kind of social equality. With the laws and the papers in their hands the whites of the South would have little trouble in stopping this evil, if they had the courage; but no, they make a fuss about a Negro who wants to sleep in a Pullman. But we do not know, perhaps the Christian Advocate can inform us, of any newspaper which has taken seriously the question of the age of consent as applied to the colored people, and tried to protect young colored girls. If a Negro suggests that a white man and colored woman may legally marry and bear children, the papers brand him as a trouble maker; but if they, without marriage bear children, the papers say little or nothing.

We do not know, perhaps the Advocate can inform us, of any papers that have taken up in a serious way, the subject of better school provisions for the Negroes. The outstanding social curse of the white South, is that with all of its boasted Christianity, it still robs Negroes of a large portion of their funds and gives them to whites. The disparity in the distribution of school funds is in direct opposition to the principles of Christianity, but no newspapers, so far as we know, have taken up this subject, except in a feeble way.

We do not know any newspapers of the South which have taken up the question of an adequate wage for the Negro working man, notwithstanding the fact that the South almost went wild on industrial education that which would teach the Negro to work, but the result of work seen in wages seemed to concern them very little.

-We do not know a single newspaper not excluding the admirable Christian Advocate, that takes up the question of voting for Negroes. In this democracy, no people can depend upon any other to protect them unless they themselves vote. We believe that practically every newspaper will subscribe to that, but we do not know of one that will apply it to the Negroes. They will grant it is a good thing for the poor white or the farmer in the mountains to vote, for the white foreigner as soon as he is naturalized, to vote, but they will not grant that the Negro have the ballot. Some of them get hysterical about respect for law when it concerns the 18th Amendment, but the 14th and 15th Amendments do not concern them, and sixty years of disrespect for the South's flaunting of these integral parts of the Constitution, have not the rebuke of the newspapers, but at worst only their apology.

What me mean to state is, that the newspapers, the great publicity organs of the South, are not interested in the improving of Negroes' conditions so much as they are in exaggerating the bad conditions to which Negroes come; and if we take up the different discussions we will find by actual measurement of space that a great deal more space is given to the exaggeration of bad conditions in the North, and the reporting of crimes, etc., in the South, than are given to anything helpful or constructive in the South.

Of course we do not make the widespread charge that the church is responsible for this. The Christian Church in its purity is working against it; but just as the church was in the throes of the slavery power before the Civil War, it is now so largely innoculated with prejudice that the pure teaching of Christ on the subject of race relations has difficulty in being recognized. However, but for the church, only God knows what the conditions would be. Nevertheless that does not close our mind to the fact that the poorest expression of Christianity in our social life so far as the Negro is concerned, is found in the South. Most Negroes, like the editor of the Recorder, out of pride for their native Southland, do not like to admit it, but nearly every Negro who has lived a year in the North does admit it.

We are however, of the opinion that not much good will be done by fighting across the fence. What is needed is more of mutual understanding. Our white Christian friends must listen to and carefully weigh and consider honest and free expressions by Negroes. They must not consider the Negro who speaks the truth as he sees it a menace. They must exercise the kind of fairness toward the Negro which they ask the white employer to exercise toward the white working man. The must encourage honest expression. Naturally there may be many things wrong in the Negro point of view and many things wrong in the white point

of view, as there are many things true in each point of view; but the only way by which they can be reconciled is an honest discussion of the facts and an honest intention to abide by the facts.

There are, we believe hundreds of thousands of white Christians in the South who believe that Negroes should vote, who are ashamed of the South because of the way the Negro has been robbed and exploited, whose hearts burn with indignation because of the treatment of the Negro women, who realize the wrong of robbing Negro children of the right of education, etc. We say thousands, indeed we believe millions, who see these things from a righteous point of view. The difficulty is that the great mass of white newspapers cater to an inflamed and prejudiced and un-Christian opinion, and a perverted thought on these matters, and silence these good thinking people. Upon the church and the religious press we must depend to lead the way in this fight for justice and fair play for the Negro, as we do in all matters of social advance in our country.

INCONSISTENCY AGAIN

The daily papers of Little Rock, Ark., publish the story of Miss Johanna Stewart, a young Negro woman, being fined for befriending three small motherless white children, which gives an insight into Southern inconsistency on the race question.

Miss Stewart went to Little Rock from Wyoming to visit her mother, taking with her three white children whose father, a railroad conductor employed her as nurse. The mother of the children died three years ago.

When the authorities of Little Rock learned that a Negro woman was housing white children they ordered her arrest, and she was fined $50, charged with contributory dependency. Later the fine was suspended, provided Miss Stewart, or "Johanna," as the daily papers refer to her, refrains from interfering with the children she was hired to look after.

According to the daily press, "'Johanna' told the Judge she expected to return to Wyoming and continue her work for the father of the children, and that she was desirous of taking them with her; that the children have been given into the custody of Mrs. W. P. McDermott, probation officer."

One paper concludes by saying: "The Stewart woman formerly lived in Little Rock and was familiar with the laws applicable to whites and blacks."

The same white people who object to Miss Johanna Stewart taking care of the three motherless children under her mother's roof are the same who indulge in a lot of sickening maudlin sentiment about "nursing at the breast of a black mammy." They are the same who employ Negro nurse girls, who sometimes see more of the children than the parents themselves, often eating and sleeping with them. A poll of nurses for children in Little Rock would undoubtedly reveal the fact that nine-tenths of them are Negroes.

If Miss Stewart was nursing the three orphans and living with them at the home of their father, no complaint would be made. But when she allows them to sleep and eat at the home of a Negro—then a great crime is committed and she is arrested and taken to court.

Leading white people of Arkansas are heading a movement for the holding of a conference, having as its object the checking of the migration wave; but all the conferences and importunities to the Negro to remain in the South will be of no avail just so long as such incongruous laws are enforced making it a crime for a person to give shelter and comfort to motherless, homeless children.

Such laws are a disgrace to humanitarism and Christianity, and those who make and enforce them are worse. As things now stand, a Negro is likely to find himself in jail for giving friendly aid on the street to a white woman, and in coming to the rescue of a white man in distress a Negro woman bares the risk of being put behind the bars for undue familiarity.

Former Judge of the New York State Court of Claims William D. Cunningham in an address delivered to the Cardinal Gibbons Council, Knights of Columbus, in the Erasmus High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., declared that if the Negro is a problem it is because the white race made him so. If he has gone wrong it is because his white brother did not give him the opportunity to learn the ways of right living. Judge Cunningham declared that 11,000,000 Negroes are denied the boon of Catholicism, and denounced the lethargy and self-complacency of the Catholic laity. Said he: "The Knights of Columbus must have a spirit which is large enough to carry them to the rescue of these black kin. I do not advocate social equality, but I do appeal to the Catholics to aid these eleven million souls to understand and accept the principles and ideals taught by the Catholic Church. The democracy and equality to which we can lead our black brothers are the only democracy and equality which exists."

APROPOS OF HERR MENCKEN'S VIEW.

Editor The Advertiser:

Apropos of your editorial of the 5th—"Mencken on the South."—Why especially resent Herr M's censures of the South when the burden of his denunciation is heaped upon the North, East and West, with whatsoever points of the compass lie between? He blames the South in vague generalities, largely discountable as "Prejudices." But his jeers and sneers at other sections are double-shotted specifications.

"The Southerner, at his worst, is never quite the sultry cad that the Yankee is." Thus Herr M. at the close of a long diatribe against Southern shortcomings. The present South, he assures us, is devoid of culture. But who wants what he elsewhere styles "the six-day sock and saleratus kultur of the cow and hog states." The 'cow and hog states" aforesaid lie North and West, not South; which somehow suggests that the only President who came from west of the Mississippi was Zachary Taylor of Louisiana.

"New England," proceeds the ingenius Mencken, "began its history as a slaughter-house of ideas, and it is today not easily distinguishable from a cold-storage plant," etc., etc.

"The pathetic buffoonery of Southern education" seems to sadden Herr Mencken, but education elsewhere in the Union stirs his ire, as follows:

"For example, consider Clayton Hamilton, M. A., vice-president of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Here are the tests he proposes for dramatic critics:

"1. Have you ever stood bareheaded in the nave of Amiens?

"2. Haye you ever climbed to the Acropolis by moonlight?

"3. Have you ever walked with whispers into the hushed presence of the Frari Madonna of Bellini?"

"What," queries the disgusted Mencken, "could more brilliantly evoke an image of the eternal Miss Birch, blue veil flying and Baedeker in hand? The banality of it is really too exquisite to be borne."

Hear our candid friend again on this subject. He saith:

"Nearly all our professional historians are poor men holding college posts, and they are ten times more cruelly best by the ruling politic-plutocratic-social oligarchy than ever the Prussian professors were by the Hohenzollerns. Let them diverge in the slightest from what is the current official doctrine, and they are turned out of their chairs with a ceremony suitable for the expulsion of a drunken valet."

Wherefore, according to our nauseated critic:

"Even Lincoln is yet to be vividly got between the covers of a book. The Nicolay-Hay work is quite impossible. All the other standard lives of old Abe fail still worse. One hears in the Sunday schools that Abe was an austere and pious fellow. Imagine a man getting on in American politics, enchanting the boobery, sawing the horns off other politicians by the magic of virtue! Abe, in fact, must have been a fellow highly skilled at the great democratic art of gum-shoeing. His official portraits, both in prose and in daguerrotype, show him wearing the mien of a man about to be hanged; one never sees him smiling. Nevertheless, one hears that, until he emerged from Illinois, they always retired the non-combatants when he got a few gourds of corn abroad, and it is a matter of unescapable record that his career in the State Legislature was indistinguishable from that of a Tammany Nietsche."

The South has no painters, says Mencken. But what says he of a certain most famous Northern painter?

"Sargent should have been a designer of candy-box tops. His portrait of the four Johns Hopkins professors is probably the worst botch ever palmed off on a helpless committee of hay and feed dealers."

Neither has the South a single good monument, according to this outspoken arbiter elegantiarum. But he can hardly blame the South for General Grant's mausoleum—which looks, outside, like a truncated newel-post, an amorphous hydrant, or the stub of some misshapen tree gnawed down by beavers; and, inside, like a furtive imitation of Napoleon's tomb, though Grant's admirers insist that his chief glory was in differing from all such ruthless war-lords as the hero of Austerlitz and Jena. And Grant certainly won very few battles. But even friend Mencken will hardly deny that even Grant's tomb is by no means as ugly as the German battle monument at Leipzig. Or would he, despite his confident assertion that 'The American always secretly envies the Englishman, even when he professes to flout him. The Englishman never envies the American"—would he back this statement by denying that, after all, in a comparison between, say, Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, America has decidedly the better of the argument.

But what of Mencken's Northern readers? Do they approve his criticism of the new South? If so, "where do they get off?" For the new South is largely the work of their hands. Before 1861, the cry of the North was that the South must be rescued from the destroying clutch of the accursed slave-holding aristocrat, and consecrated to the benign rule of "plain people," such as Parson Brownlow, et al.; 'plain people," whom, said Lincoln, the Lord must have loved, else he would never have made so many—an argument which applies still better to influenza microbes, mosquitoes, thistles, and sundry other forms of life which vastly outnumber humanity.

Now this was done; and if it was not done right, our Northern friends have only themselves to blame. If "reconstruction" proved a failure, it was solely their fault, for it was all their doing. Unde illae lacrimae? Why should they or Mencken deplore results which they themselves strove to produce?

J. A. OSGOODE.

Montgomery, Ala.
July 10, 1923.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

WHITE SUPREMACY MENACED, HARVARD EXPERT'S WARNING

RACE RIVALRY GROWING

Overpopulation Follows Western Science in Dark Lands

PEOPLES MUST FIND ROOM

Dr. McDougall Tells Institute of Politics That Civilization May Be Submerged.

MODERN science, with its successful warfare against disease and famine in heathen lands, and Western idealism, with its triumphs over infanticide, tribal warfare and other pagan population-reducing practices, have created a new problem for humanity; one of the gravest and most acute problems before the world today, and a standing menace to civilization, according to Professor William McDougall of Harvard University.

That problem, he explained at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass., is the problem of saving the white race from submergence in the darker races, whose swift increases in population have followed the application of Western science and ethics to their life.

Race wars against the Caucasians because of the overpopulation of such countries as Japan and India are not improbable, he said, and pointed out also the danger of the decay of Western civilization, including that of the United States, because of race suicide on the part of the highest classes and unchecked increase on the part of the least intelligent.

Professor McDougall's views aroused especial interest among the members of the institute on account of the emphasis placed by other speakers upon expanding populations as a cause of war. William S. Culbertson, Vice Chairman of the Tariff Commission, spoke of the adoption of imperialist programs in order that nations might reach out for raw materials to supply the needs of their growing populations. The need of Germany to find an outlet for her surplus population was given by Count Harry Kessler as one of the contributing causes of the World War. Japan's peculiar position as a small island kingdom with a large population that not only needs room to contain her people but also needs raw materials which she cannot produce herself was discussed at the institute round tables.

Dr. McDougall's opinions were regarded as highly important also because, in his books, which are widely quoted, he reaches pessimistic conclusions for the future of the United States and the rest of the Occidental world unless some remedy is applied to the malady of overpopulation.

Race Wars Foreseen.

The pressure of expanding population as a factor generating racial antipathy Professor McDougall called one of the most serious of international questions. In part he said:

"In modern times the Germans illustrate this factor par excellence. They have maintained the right to migrate, yet retain their racial and national identity in the country to which they have migrated. Their right to migrate is based on the same sentiments as another fast-increasing nation affirms—that is, the Japanese. This sentiment is that a vigorous, increasing people has the right to expand their territory.

"In India the great density of population keeps life on a very low level for the masses. The desire to migrate has here too arisen. In one place where it has occurred on a large scale, in British East Africa, unfortunate complications have arisen. There are residing side by side not only the natives and the British, but also the East Indians. There seems to be no possible solution for the many problems arising out of this situation.

"The pressure of increased population is no new phenomenon, but today it has become more acute and inclines to become still more acute in the future, because:

"(1) The transportation of persons over wide distances has become comparatively easy;

"(2) The applications of Western science, such as hygiene and sanitation, the control of diseases, the lessening of famines, and the enforcement of Western moral ideas, such as the prevention of child murder, abortion and tribal welfare, &c., have been widespread.

"These very innovations of the Western world largely diminished or abolished the crude and cruel ways in which nature and natural man have solved the population question for ages. Infanticide and abortion, pestilence, famine and war were the methods by which populations have been kept down in the past. By the abatement of these agencies, the population of India has increased from one hundred million about a century ago to more than three hundred million today. Likewise Europe had an almost stationary population from the time of Rome until the nineteenth century, when it increased rapidly—approximately threefold. Another such increase of population is highly improbable.

"Another cause for the dislike of great numbers of immigrants coming to a country is the fact of the relative different rates of representatives of different races. The recent immigrants to our country, say, since 1890, have been largely of Alpine stock. They have reproduced much more rapidly than the elder American stocks. The difference in reproduction rates between these stocks is a fundamental that arises in consequence of immigration, over and above its immediate effects."

Professor McDougall said that France had solved the problem of overpopulation within its own boundaries by birth control, but that this did not solve the problem for the rest of the world. On the contrary, it presented another danger—that a higher culture, keeping down its population through birth control, might be driven out by a people of lower national culture, whose increase in population had been permitted to continue unrestricted. Citing Gresham's law that a baser metal in circulation will always drive out the higher metal, Professor McDougall said that the same law holds in the relationships of national cultures, a population of lower culture tending to drive out the higher.

Modern science and industrialism in the last fifty years had interfered with the workings of the Malthusian law based on means of sustenance, he said. The develoment of synthetic foodstuffs and absorption of energy from the atmosphere might possibly present additional interference with its operation in the future. But this interference would be only temporary. Eventually the very increases in population caused by the use of synthetic foodstuffs would result in the triumph of the Malthusian law.

Race Competition Has Begun.

In his book, "The Group Mind," Professor McDougall points out that the population of Great Britain increased only from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 during the seventeenth century, but that it trebled itself in the nineteenth century, increasing from 13,000,000 to nearly 40,000,000. Citing the examples of the decline of Greece and Spain, he says the civilization, power and position of a people depend upon its intellectual aristocracy, and that national decline necessarily follows the failure to continue to produce such an aristocracy.

He says that civilized populations have multiplied everywhere in a way that has never occurred before. He points out that the world is becoming filled up and that the colored races are entering into economic competition with the white race. The development of humanitarian sentiment, the breakdown of class barriers, the perfecting of the social ladder, and the reforms in laws and institutions are stopping the repression by natural laws of the multiplication of the less fit. Also, he says, the influence of religion and custom has weakened that repression.

"The combined result of these three changes," he goes on, "is a strong tendency to reverse the operation by which nature has secured the evolution of the higher types of mind—namely, by breeding in the main from the higher types in each generation. We see a tendency for the population to be renewed in each generation preponderantly from the mentally inferior elements those whose outlook hardly extends beyond the immediate future and who have not learned how to demand for themselves and their children favored positions in the great game of life."

In his volume, "Is America Safe for Democracy?" Professor McDougall begins his foreword: "As I watch the American nation speeding gayly, with invincible optimism, down the road to destruction, I seem to be contemplating the greatest tragedy in the history of mankind. Other nations have declined and passed away; and their places have been filled, the torch of civilization has been caught up and carried forward by new nations emerging from the shadowlands of barbarism.

"But if the American nation should go down, whence may we expect a new birth of progress? Where shall we look for a virile stock fit to take up the tasks of world leadership? It may be that the yellow millions of the Far East contain the potency of an indefinite progress and stability. That is a vague and uncertain possibility. Whatever that potency may be, it behooves us, the bearers of Western civilization, to take most anxious thought that we may prevent, if possible, the decline and decay which have been the fate of all the civilized nations of Europe and of the Near and Middle East."

Professor McDougall thinks the position of the United States in the matter of birth control is "remarkably and uniquely disastrous. The educated classes, seem to cultivate and practice the principles of birth control more assiduously than any other class of persons of the civilized world, while, strange to say, they maintain laws which forbid the extension of the knowledge of such principles to the mass of the people."

He believes that the United States, with the possible exception of Japan, has the best chance of averting the decline of its national civilization of any country in the world, through the increasing knowledge of human nature and human society, and our belief in the value of science and its application to human life.

In an appendix entitled, "The New Plan," Professor McDougall offers the following remedy: "Our aim in general must be to favor increase of the birth rate among the intrinsically better part of the population, and its decrease among the inferior part. We have overwhelmingly strong grounds for believing that in this country (and in almost all the countries of western civilization) the birth-rate of the inferior half of the population is very considerably greater than that of the superior half: and this greater birth rate is only very partially compensated by a higher death rate. The problem of eugenics is to equalize the birth-rate of the two halves (while all efforts to reduce to a minimum the death-rate of both halves are continued), or, if possible, to reverse the prevailing tendency and to secure, in the superior half of the population, a higher birth rate than that of the inferior half.

"If the present state of affairs shall continue the civilization of America is doomed to rapid decay. If equilization of the birth rate of the two halves can be brought about the country may face the future with some hope of continued prosperity. If the present tendency can be reversed and the birth rate of the superior half be maintained as a higher rate than the inferior half, then even though the difference be but slight, the American people may face the future with a well-grounded hope that they are building up the greatest nation and the most glorious civilization that the world has ever seen, a nation capable of assuming the leadership of the world and securing the reign of justice, freedom and kindness throughout every land."

The bearing of the immigration problem on our future civilization is obvious, he adds, and he favors strict measures against the immigration of "all but those persons who are in every way well fitted to become good American citizens in the full sense of the words."

Professor McDougall proposes to keep down the birth rate in the inferior half of the population by birth control, and to increase the birth rate of the superior half by a system that would automatically increase the income of a family of "the selected classes" with

the addition of each child. He says it would be possible to create a national fund to carry out his scheme and to finance it either by taxation or the beneficence of rich men, after the fashion of the Carnegie pension funds for selected university professors.

As to Race Jealousy.

Expansion of population was one of eight "intellectual factors" generating racial antipathy discussed by Professor McDougall at his round table conferences. The others were sex jealousy, the assertion or expression of a claim of superiority, associated with race pride; the claim of political ascendancy, differences of religious belief, economic rivalry or exploitation of situations leading to slavery, nationalism, and the desire to defend a national culture against disintegration.

The attitude of the Japanese toward white people showed, he said, how the demand for racial purity and the claim to racial superiority were closely linked. "The Japanese, who have a strong feeling of racial worth, achievement and capability, look askance upon the white wife coming to their island. Also in the United States the feeling of superiority of the whites makes him regard a person with even the smallest amount of colored blood as a colored person. In South America, by contrast, the person with any white blood is regarded as white.

"Race pride becomes potent when two contacting races, although possessing different cultures, possess equal or almost equal pride of race. When two contacting races differ greatly in their assertion of race pride there is little conflict. This is true in Borneo in the contact of the natives with British officers. The opposite situation exists in India in the contacts of the high-class Brahmans with the British. Also the relations of the Japanese and Western people illustrate the antipathy arising when races of equal pride touch one another."

Professor McDougall discussed the question of intermarriage between the races. He quoted the views of H. G. Wells, who believes in the essential equality of all races and in an eventual universal miscegenation, and of A. P. Schultz, who says that civilization demands racial purity and that all interbreeding is degenerative. His own ideas, Professor McDougall said, were that some excellent individuals might be produced by interbreeding and that the case for the inferiority of half-breeds to both very unlike races has not been established.

"But we have good experimental evidence," he continued, "that in respect of one of the most important hereditary qualities of mankind, intelligence or adaptability, races differ appreciably. There is evidence that in the progeny of races different in respect of this quality, the degree of the innate intelligence is correlated with the proportion of blood. On the other hand, crossings between similar races are probably productive of variability and on the whole are biologically beneficial. If this view is correct, it affords some ground for the maintenance of the color line in so far as it tends to prevent the crossing of widely unlike races. Yet the negro races should be assisted in every possible way in their efforts for further development and higher culture."

Maintaining Race Standards.

The desire to defend national culture from disintegration by the lowering of standards of life through the immigration of peoples of lower culture, Professor McDougall went on, was another cause of racial antipathy. "The United States is an example," he said. "The difficulty of assimilation has recently become recognized, and the dangers arising from large groups of people with unlike ideas and ideals have been realized. Undoubtedly one of the causes of the downfall of the Roman Empire was the destruction of native culture by the incursions of new cultures from all parts of the Empire."

Dr. McDougall pointed out that economic rivalry was an important factor in causing racial antipathy. If there had been no restriction on Oriental immigration in the last few decades, and if immigration from Europe had been unrestricted since 1913, he said, we probably should have 50,000,000 Orientals and 5,000,000 more southern and southeastern Europeans in the United States than we have.

"Their effect on wages and hence on the standard of living in America would be immense," he added. "Such a possibility is a question of ethics and international politics. Further migration or the continued introduction of machine industry into China and India must affect the standard of life in Europe and America unfavorably. The maintenance of an intelligent nationalism is necessary to prevent such a decline."

"ONE-HUNDRED-PERCENTISM" IN THE NORTH

Birmingham Reporter

By William Pickens

In the North, East and West, Mr. Colored Man, they are not coming after you (yet) with tar and feathers, or whip and rope. They are coming, first, in the way in which they can come and get away with it—after your job, after your child's seat in the unsegregated school, after your half-equal accommodations in public places, after your elective or appointive office of any kind. Once they get your status lowered in these ways, then the tar and feathers, the rope and the convenient limb will be not only probable but inevitable. It is only a degraded people that can be so treated, and the first move, therefore, will naturally and instinctively be to degrade you. 10-20-23

O, they will not think this all out. Some of them, most of them, have not got that much power of thought. Some few of them will even think and protest honestly that they do not intend any such thing. But this is the natural and instinctive procession of acts and events on the road to utter oppression. These things lead in one direction. The one oppression, if "got away with," becomes the reason and the inspiration for the next. In a way each step in oppression makes the next step necessary. Even those members of the oppressing group, who may be opposed to the first step, will become advocates of the second, because the first will have changed both the conditions and their psychology in the matter. Some of them who were opposed to school—segregation at all at first—will be in favor of high school and college segregation after the grammar schools are all fully segregated. The whites who are at present opposed to Jim Crow cars will be in favor of it, or tolerant to the idea, after every other public privilege has Jim Crow.

This "one hundred per cent" nuisance and Ku Klux menace is working underground at first, outside of Oklahoma, Texas, and others of its strongholds. It must have a period of "mining and sapping" in the more civilized parts of the country.

After this work is thoroughly done—and it won't be long, if it is not vigorously opposed and checked—the next step will be open defiance to the rights of "those who are alien" to the invisible power.

Here in an Indiana city, this breed of "Americanism" is raising sand because a German painter, who is now an American citizen, perhaps, has won the contract to paint a public building. They say: "Of course, the war is over, but——" and they proceed to show that it is NOT over. If they would starve the Teuton descendant, they would starve the descendants of Africa. As it is, the Germans whom the brown boys shot at in 1918, and happened to miss, can come over now and have much more freedom anywhere in Indiana than those brown boys can have.

Do not fool yourself, Mr. Colored Man; Ku Kluxism has you at the very bottom of its scheme of things. Ask them to take "white supremacy" off their list, and await their reply.

Charge Race Education Is One-Sided

Pittsburgh Courier

Industrialism and Professionalism Making Race Top-Heavy, Survey Shows. 12-8-23

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 6.—Beginning with the first week in December, the American Federation of Negro Students, the Youth Movement of the race, launches its first national campaign for a Bigger and Better Negro Business in America.

The recent study of the board of the movement, together with a report of the student conference at Howard University last spring, have shed important information as to the past, present and perhaps the future development of the race.

According to this report the race as a whole is being educated one-sided, and lacks a fundamental part found in all successful races. Says the Youth Movement: "At one extremity of the race is found professional education and upon the other extreme is found industrialism, which makes emphasis upon trades and agriculture."

This sweeping indictment of the educational policy of the race or the lack of one, comes as a result of a year of special study and follows close upon a survey which was made by the youth movement. Continues the movement: "An alarming majority of the students now in our schools and colleges are preparing to enter the professional world. The average youth in school or upon the street today when asked his plans for the future reveals the common notion of becoming a doctor or a dentist. 12-8-23

The great emphasis placed upon professions and industrial education during the last 30 years has caused the race to be relatively top-heavy with professional men and heavy-bottomed with semi-skilled and largely unskilled workers. This partly accounts for almost a total absence of business men and artisans, the source of strength of all great races. Virtually no emphasis nor stress has been exercised upon the youth of the race to enter the business field."

Today throughout the United States enterprises are springing up with a speed unequaled in any decade since emancipation. Not withstanding, avers the Youth Movement, there is a sad shortage of qualified persons to man the jobs.

In November questionnaires sent out to insurance companies, banks, fraternal societies and productive enterprises similar to the Madam Walker company, brought to light the fact that the greatest difficulty of Negro Business today is to secure competent workers. Each enterprise is compelled to expend its small resources in fitting employes for mere rudiments of the enterprise.

It was found that less than 10 per cent of our colleges make any kind of definite provision for business training. Compared with the professionally prepared it was found that on the average the previous time spent in preparation by the business man or woman from grocer to banker would not reach the eighth grade, while the time spent by the doctor, dentist or lawyer today averages 20 years—or about three times the preparation period of the average person in the business field.

The investigation of the youth movement revealed that several of the race's big businesses are forced to go to the other race.

In order to secure the services of certain trained business men not found in the race the prices paid for these services ranged from $1,800 upward and in many cases were for less than a year's work. This is an indisputable indication that if our youth prepare for the business world, employment is certain and at a fair price, plus the opportunity to grow with the business he works to develop.

In order to fill this gap in the race the youth movement has sent out the call to the youth of the race in our schools and colleges throughout the United States to help make a better and better Negro business in America. In the present day the youth movement makes clear to the public that its purpose is to encourage and stimulate preparation for the business world, but not to discourage professional nor industrial education, as these two are yet greatly needed in the race. Nevertheless, the attitude of the youth of the race toward professionalism as the vocation offering the greatest return for effort invested must be modified.

The curricula of our educational institutions must be changed so as to provide for the economic development of the present and coming generations.

The American Federation of Negro Students has begun the dissemination of literature into our schools, colleges, churches and other social agencies. Teachers, parents and preachers are urged to join the youth movement in this common effort. Beginning with the first week in December sermons, lectures and fireside talks designed to consider business as a calling, will be stressed throughout the country.

In another biting criticism, the charge is made that the Negro race is not free, that it lacks economic, social and political freedom.

The youth movement, starting nearly 15 months ago, held its first conference at Howard University during the spring of 1923. It was attended by delegates from Tennessee, Virginia, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia. Its corresponding secretary is George W. Doodman of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.

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United States.

MIAMI FLA. HERALD
MARCH 17, 1923

SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

As long as there are negroes and whites in the same territory, or as long as there are orientals and occidentals, or as long as there are any races so divergent as these dwelling together there will be racial problems. The color problem is deep-seated in humanity, and always offers opportunity for friction. It is quite reasonable, however, to assume that where there is the necessity for living in the same locality there must be found a basis upon which the two races may dwell together in the greatest measure of harmony. It is not well for either race to be suspicious or fearful of the other. It is not well for either to act unjustly toward the other.

The south will always have a racial problem. There is no escape from this situation. When negroes were slaves the problem was simple enough. Under freedom the problem becomes complicated. There can be no social equality in the ordinary sense of the word. There must be at the same time the fullest opportunity for equality of opportunity within racial lines.

There is a distinct place in the economic life of the south for each of the races. That place makes allowance for full development on the part of each race, within the legitimately placed racial boundaries. There need not be riots and conflict and suspicion and injustice. If these things are to be avoided, however, the problem must be attacked in a spirit of good-will on both sides.

Since the late world war, in which the colored soldiers showed themselves courageous fighters, there has been a great deal of friction, growing directly out of the situation which was developed in war. Some of the returning negro soldiers expected rather more deference than they had a right to expect under all the circumstances. Some of the white people were willing to grant less consideration than the colored soldiers had a right to expect. The result was more strife, rather than less, than there was before the war.

As a direct result of the situation there has come about the organization of what is known as the Inter-racial Commission, which has set up committees in every southern state, and in eight hundred separate counties. The work which these committees have been able to accomplish in creating mutual understanding has become very valuable. They have not undertaken to use any authority, but have sought to find points of friction, and by consideration of every phase of the situation to propose plans of action which have in almost every case proven most acceptable.

The Inter-racial Commission includes some of the leading men and women of both races. They recognize the seriousness of the problem. They know that it cannot be solved by the imposition of injustice, or by the use of force. They know that the races must adjust themselves to each other. They know that for the safety of the white as well as the colored people, the best living conditions must be provided for all. They are aware that there must be industry and intelligence on both sides. As to the method of meeting this situation Robert B. Eleazer, educational director of the commission, says:

> The commission does not seek to put over a program of race relations. It does not say to any community: "This must you do with relation to the Negro." It insists upon one thing only: That in every community where race relations are an issue the best people should take the matter seriously in hand, with the determined purpose to seek a Christian solution of every problem as it arises, and to substitute good will and justice for the spirit of distrust and suspicion that is fraught with so great danger to both races. With a proposition so sound there can be no disagreement. With rare exceptions, therefore, the commission has no dificulty in securing the hearty cooperation of the best people in the community.

If the negro problem is ever solved it will be in some such way as this. It will not be by the cultivation of suspicion and hatred. It will be by adjustment on both sides to a situation that cannot be removed.

WASHINGTON D C PATHFINDER
MARCH 24, 1923

Discuss Problems of Negro Race

The progress of the negro race in the last 60 years was lauded by speakers at the 25th annual convention of the Negro National Educational Congress held at Washington. Senator Spencer of Missouri said this record could be surpassed during the next half century by the unceasing application of patience, education and prayer. "Be patient when some states act unjustly with you," he warned, "for the time will come when the rights of American citizens, white or black, will be safeguarded by the entire nation. Remember Lincoln and practice patience, suffering injustice if necessary." Senator Fess of Ohio declared that there is no deeper or more sincere loyalty to America than that found in the negro race. "We don't find bolshevism among the negroes," he remarked; "we don't find anti-government movement among the negroes, nor do we find anything among them that is un-American. When I stop to realize the short time that the black men have been citizens and think of the progress they have made in that time, I know there is nothing in the world that can equal it." He rapped the Ku Klux Klan by contending that "any organization which denies the negro race what it wants for itself is un-American."

President Harding was unable to attend but sent a letter in which he said that the education of the negro is "precisely the right approach to the great problem." He wrote: "The same might be said of every other race or nation but it is particularly true of the colored people because they have been so little favored with educational opportunities and therefore have a great deficit in this regard to be made up." Letters were also read from the governors of Montana, Iowa, Illinois, Oklahoma, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Kansas.

Senator McCormick of Illinois, referring to the lynching question, declared that "once the Christian people in America are awakened to the evil that has been going on within their country, they will go far to put an end to it. Commenting on the employment of negroes in the U. S. treasury department, Harley Speelman, registrar of the treasury, said in employing so many he was only doing his duty and that he was highly pleased with their work.

The negro race should concentrate in some place where it can gain economic and political control, in the opinion of Rev. Henry Callis of the African M. E. church. He remarked that Virginia logically belongs to the negro and that the race should seek to control that state. He said if the negroes would talk less and work more, in 25 years Virginia would be in their hands. "No race can become great that has not got its feet in the soil," he continued. "Negroes should work the truck farms, prune the orchards, dredge for oysters and manufacture the products in that state. white people are waiting for some negro that has backbone enough to lead his people to political control. A few negroes with a few thousand dollars could start such a movement." He called attention to President Harding's Alabama speech in which the chief executive said: "I see no way for the black man but to fall in behind the white man until such time as he can control the legislators."

Any move to change the designation "negro" should be thwarted according to John Painter of Colorado. "I am proud of the name," he told the session; "we sprang from it, we are it and we can't get away from it, and the thing for us to do is not to change it but to work to make it mean the best in citizenship." As a result of a recent trip around the world in which he studied the conditions of the black and brown races, Rev. Charles Stewart of the African M. E. church told his hearers that no country in the world gives the negro better opportunities than the United States. He said that if the negroes build homes, become producers, seek education and elevation America will stand ready to recognize them as good citizens. Dr. Stewart declared that since Booker T. Washington there has been no man of whom it could be said "he represents the negroes." He warned against the negro dabbling in petty and cheap politics. "Politics of the right sort should be encouraged," he said, "but the grafting, vote-buying variety should be stamped out, and the sooner it is done the better off the race will be."

In discussing negro secret societies, Miss Maggie Walker, president of a negro bank at Richmond, declared such organizations are beneficial and there are not enough. However, Prof. J. E. Johnson of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial School, Prentiss, Miss., believes there are too many and that they put too much expense on the ... Sweet of Colorado sent a tele... the convention inviting negro ... from the South to work in his sta... session went on record as favo... 'identical education for white and bla... youths" and declared its faith in the U. S. congress.

J. Silas Harris, of Missouri, who was elected president of the congress, argued that the future does not hold out much hope for the race unless a better relationship is established between the whites and blacks. He said that the present relationship is precarious. A resolution of the convention concluded: "We unalterably declare our faith in God and the religion of Jesus Christ as the saving element of the race, of the nation and of humanity."

ROCHESTER N Y POST EXPRESS
MAY 16, 1923

NEGRO PROBLEM, SOCIAL, NOT RACIAL, SPEAKER SAYS

The speaker at the meeting of the Rochester branch of the Association for the Advancement of the Colored People Sunday afternoon in Mt. Olivet Baptist church was Ralph B. Ingalsbe, who told his audience that their problem is not a racial one, but a social one, and that race equality and social equality are quite different things.

"The real problem is the question: What is the best thing to do, in the light of human conduct, in the face of existing conditions? We have go to admit that there is a physical and aesthetic prejudice among the whites to refuse negroes in places of business on equal terms of employment with white people, but I believe the time is coming when these prejudices will be wiped out. Your problem is not to combat these handicaps now but to prepare yourselves for the time when they shall exist no longer."

Mrs. R. S. Ball, president of Rochester branch, conducted a preliminary business meeting and then turned it over to Rev. James Kose, pastor of Mount Olivet church and a former president of the association, who introduced the speaker.

MUST TREAT HIM BETTER.

Jacksonville Times-Union.

Says the Montgomery Advertiser: "A negro can find his way to the kitchen of a southern home much easier than he can up Nawth. Up Nawth the negro may enter through the front but he must stop before reaching the kitchen." True enough, but it is a mistake to think all a negro wants is to find his way to the kitchen. With many a handout is not as important as fair treatment.

...NVILLE S. C. NEWS
MAY 13, 1923

...NEGRO IS LOYAL TO WHITE

Colored Recreational Worker Declares There Has Been No Change In 60 Years.

"The American negro of today is just as loyal and friendly to the white Anglo-Saxon people, just as honest, just as true as they were sixty years ago," declared Seymour Carroll, recreational director of the American Red Cross at the U. S. Veterans' Hospital No. 26 last night at the Hospital Day exercises at the veterans hospital in response to an address delivered by Mrs. P. E. Scott, of Newberry, chairman of the hospital committee of the South Carolina State Federation of Women's Clubs, who paid a tribute to the negroes of South Carolina.

Continuing his address Carroll declared that were it not for the Christian friendliness of the far-seeing white people his race could not have made the splendid success that it has made in religion, education, commerce, industry and health. He paid a glowing tribute to the white women of the state for the co-operation that had been given the hospital, and what they had done for the colored patients at the hospital.

The colored Red Cross recreational building was well filled when the opening exercises started at 7 o'clock. Several musical selections were rendered by the students from Furman University and the Greenville Womans College. The invocation was delivered in keeping with the spirit of the day by the Rev. J. W. Taylor, D. D., pastor of the Wesley M. E. church of Greenville. In his welcome address Col. James E. Dedman, commanding officer of the hospital, thanked the colored visitors for the co-operation that had been given the hospital and gave them an official welcome to the hospital. Other talks were made by Margaret H. Bright, Supt. St. Luke Colored Hospital, and Hattie L. Duckett, of the city. The speaker of the evening was Dr. Matilda A. Evans, a negro woman of Columbia, who is president of the South Carolina State Colored Medical association, who pleaded with her audience for better health, better friendship, and a greater program of service to all mankind. Several selections of negro melodies were furnished from the student body of the Union high school.

From 5:30 to 6:30 the colored visitors were tendered an informal reception at the Red Cross club where refreshments were served. Large crowds of negroes attended the exercises yesterday afternoon and heard the address of Maj. William F. Robertson, commander Greenville post of the American Legion. Guides carried visitors through the hospital and they received a cordial welcome at the hospital along with other guests of the hospital.

PHILADELPHIA PA. N. AMER
MAY 18, 1923

FRIENDS ARE TOLD OF INTERESTS OF NEGRO

Yearly Meeting to End Sessions Here This Afternoon

PRAISES PINCHOT

By Arabella Carter

The interests of the colored race were presented at both morning and evening sessions of Friends' Yearly Meeting at Race Street yesterday.

At the open meeting for worship Anne Biddle Stirling, an earnest member of the committee on the interests of the colored people, presented at some length the problem of their influx from the south at the rate of 10,000 a month. She spoke of the unreasoning prejudice against the negro and the insistent effort to keep him "in his place," as some assert. She mentioned the effort of the negro to keep his blood pure; and said: "If the negro blood is not kept pure, it is not due to the negro, for 99 per cent of them would say 'amen' to President Harding's pronouncement regarding amalgamation of races." She declared the white race plays the part of the big mongrel dog in his treatment of the black race.

"They want recognition and justice and get the cold shoulder and contempt. This is an acid test of our religion to show how we treat the matter," she said, and urged attention be given.

Dr. Joseph Swain, former president of Swarthmore College, followed this by calling attention to the great problem of the races as he saw it in a recent visit to India, and told the story of a Brahman girl and her struggles to find God and peace. "India," he said, "will never be saved by Hindooism, but by Christianity preached by its own people."

Dr. O. Edward Janney spoke from the text, "Speak to my people, that they go forward," and said that lessons may be drawn from far countries, but our problems are here and now. "The Society of Friends has a mission in the world—a message of simple faith to be given, and we must be true to the vision. Peace is not a testimony, but a fundamental."

Anna Travilla Speakman spoke of Sojourner Truth and her boundless faith, which rebuked Frederick Douglas when depressed by saying, "God is not dead." She was one of four women members of this meeting who attended the international congress recently at The Hague, and she told the story of a French woman there who had supplanted the bitterness in her heart toward the Germans by love—had lost her old self and found the new, and ended by saying, "The healing of the nations must come thru love."

Daniel Batchellor, of Baltimore, told the old story of the foolish virgins in a new way. "These lamps signify the religion of services and ceremonies; some are elaborate and some plain and simple, but the question is, have they oil in them? If not, light cannot be given. We Friends bear plain, crude lamps; have we the oil which is the spirit of worship? If the flame is dying, let us seek the source of spiritual oil daily. The bridegroom is always on the way; are we meeting him with light, or are we of those who slumber, and, having no oil, lose the opportunity?"

Elizabeth F. Newlin, Caroline J. Worth, William MacWatters and Isaac Michener also spoke.

The business sessions were resumed in the afternoon separately, one feature being a visit to men's meeting by Charlotte C. Talcott, of Canada, accompanied by Elizabeth F. Newlin.

Women's meeting considered the report of the committee on philanthropic labor in its separate departments—temperance and anti-narcotics, social morality, defectives and delinquents. The first section has been most active in aiding enforcement by public addresses, posters and printed pamphlets for distribution and taking advertising space in papers for propaganda material. Attention had been given during the year to the evil of gambling, in the effort to eliminate the custom so frequently practiced of taking chances on articles in order to raise money for worthy causes—a practice deplored and condemned by many speakers.

Mabel D'Olier asked for a pronouncement on the matter of giving prizes to children as reward for exceptional work done; and the distinction was made between the reward for real intellectual effort and prizes for prowess in games was clearly drawn, the former being considered good, the latter might be permissible tho undesirable. Among those discussing this question, Hannah Clothier, Lucy Biddle Lewis, Anna J. F. Hallowell and Hannah Braddock were heard.

In regard to religious education in day schools, which is being carried on in sections, thru the efforts of Friends, the clerk said: "If we are to continue to rear Christian men and women, the children must have religious instruction. Our First-day schools cannot do it all in the time allotted. There is not much hope for the future without such procedure."

The educational committee report brought out the fact of the two schools now under joint committees from Arch and Race Street Friends, and the consideration of having the schools in another locality so joined. Edith Wilson Jackson urged women to show more interest in home schools. "Unless," she said, "our own schools are better than the public schools they have no reason for continuance." The consideration of the general conference report was deferred until this morning.

Dr. Jesse H. Holmes felt the duties of citizenship were fulfilled only by knowing what we do—without knowledge it is only form. The problems of life demand that we understand the viewpoint of both sides. Dr. O. E. Janney deplored the fact that Friends do not take more part in political service.

In discussing the temperance query the report of the philanthropic committee was also read and briefly reviewed by the chairman, William C. Coles. In this connection Dr. Nathan Thorne, of Moorestown, asked that a letter of commendation be prepared and sent by this body to President Harding, Governor Pinchot and Commissioner Haynes for their service in support of the Volstead act. This was referred to a joint committee of men and women to prepare.

William C. Biddle spoke hopefully of the many evidences of the coming together of branches of Friends, and cited the Woolman School, at Swarthmore; Friends' Union, at Pennsylvania State College; Friends' Summer School, at Haverford, held for the first time jointly this summer, and the first eastern conference, to be held at Westtown this year, under the charge of Young Friends of all branches. "Let us forget all differences," he said, "and go forward."

The last evening session was under care of the committee on interests of the colored race, and embraced an address on "Problems in the South and the South's Awakening," by W. T. B. Williams, who from his twenty years' experience in education declared a new day is dawning. A keener appreciation of the negro now is seen in the south. He paid tribute to the early work of Friends, which, he felt, had helped to bring about this condition. Jessie Fauset gave readings from her writings following the address.

UNIQUE PROPOSAL.

The Constitution
Atlanta Georgia
JUN 22 1923

The proposal has been made that a conference of all the leading American religious and racial groups be held in Kansas City.

The suggestion was originally made by The Outlook and it has already excited a great deal of interest throughout the country. The Kansas City Star and The Times of the same city have very enthusiastically grasped the proposition as both an opportunity and a test.

That something may come of such a unique and perhaps idealistic suggestion seems probable.

There is no mistaking the rising tide for a greater democracy in this country and for a deeper love for and a more respectful attitude toward the nation's fundamental law.

There is no mistaking the evidences of a passing of that intolerance which in a measure has reached the stage of bigotry in some quarters, and among some groups, in this country.

The value of such a conference as suggested, however, could only stand upon the opportunity such a commingling of different groups could have in exploding the myths and nightmares that afflict too many groups of people.

And in the fact that certain disturbing groups rely upon publicity to further their "isms," the thought is uppermost that the conference might prove a boomerang for its worthy-minded proponents.

Anything to refresh the true American spirit should be encouraged. But letting the bars down, through a dignified channel, for the personal exploitation of a bunch of radicals, or for some of the notoriety-seeking ultra-Puritans of the Plymouth Rock country to jibe the cavaliers because of an alleged "negro issue" might be putting weapons in the hands of character assassins.

The thought behind the proposal is good. It is more altruistic perhaps than practical. But if such a gathering is held, on the broad scope suggested, interests that live upon distrust and not upon trust, and thrive upon prejudice and not upon fact, will find an avenue for propaganda that they have coveted but not heretofore had. And there is the danger.

"Professed good intentions" do not mean anything with the self-constituted "leaders" of many of the radical racial and so-called religious sects in this country and the weapon such people most fear and despise is that of ignoring them in the dignified public prints. That which they seek most is recognition and publicity.

If such a thing is possible as getting together just those potential and worthwhile groups that should be linked in a stronger bond of cooperation, looking to strengthening the love of all our people for the tenets of America's constitution, and the ideals of popular government, then we are for it.

...D AUTHOR WRITES HISTORY OF KLAN.

New York, June 22.—J. A. Rogers, author of "From Superman to Man," "Where Nature Leads," and other literary works, has completed "The Ku Klux Spirit," a brief outline of the notorious Klan both past and present. Hubert Harrison noted lecturer, says the book is well worth reading by whites and blacks.

Race Problem — 1923
United States

Republic and are entitled to every right and privilege that any other citizen enjoys, be he black or white, gray or grizzled.

Dr. Du Bois, in his remarkable production in the Century Magazine, claims that very few of this class of citizens of color are embraced in the Garvey movement. If this is a fact, then we see no reason for this undue agitation over the remarkable leader from the West Indies. To charge that he is a nonentity and has few followers of native birth and then to level all of the machinery of the national government upon him and his organization is to believe the statement and to say that the organization controlled by him is making rapid headway in this country of ours.

Personally speaking, from what we have heard from the Hon. Marcus Garvey's own lips in an address delivered in this neighborhood, he is not stirring up race feeling among the white folks against the Negroes, he is stirring up bitter feeling between one wing of the black folks and the other. One set believes in allegiance and eternal residence in this country, their homeland; the other believes in setting up a Republic in Africa, where they will exercise all of the power and authority over their own people that the white folks exercise over all races in this country.

We believe in meeting Garvey's propaganda with the propaganda of reason and argument. When it comes to the use of force in a Republic that proclaims its doctrine of free speech and that government should exist with the consent of the Governed, we radically disagree. We repeat,—any one, who would stir up hatred and ill feeling between the black and the white races is the enemy of both. Down here, colored folks are making friends with the white folks and white folks with the colored folks. Life is too short for us to pursue any other course.

One thing more: we saw on last Sunday afternoon, an humble colored woman nearly ninety years of age interred in Woodland Cemetery in this City. A white funeral director handled her remains and white pall-bearers carried her remains to their last resting place. No propaganda of any one can break this bond of union in the Southland. But, as to the North, that is another question. We are speaking for the section in which we reside.

The following extract from Acts. Chapter V. explains itself

34. Then stood there up one in the Council a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of law, had a reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostle forth a little space.

35. And he said unto them, Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching men.

36. For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be some body; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought.

37. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.

38. And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or work be of men, it will come to naught:

39. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.

And to him they agreed.

Dr. Du Bois' plan of meeting propaganda with propaganda, Garveyism with Garveyism is all right and justifiable, but for the United States Government to interfere until it is plainly apparent that the Garvey movement is a treasonable one and in plain violation of the statutes would be to make a martyr of him and to give his cause a recognition and support to which his enemies declare it is not entitled.

GIRL IS ATTACKED.

Commercial-Appeal

GADSDEN, Ala., Jan. 22.—Miss Sallie Westbrook, a Gadsden girl, is reported in a critical condition at a local hospital today as a result of injuries alleged to have been inflicted when she was attacked by two negro girls last night. Miss Westbrook told authorities she was knocked down and then stamped by her assailants. Alice Lynn, 14, and Ethel Rush, 16, are held in prison awaiting outcome of the young woman's injuries.

It Seems to Me

By Heywood Broun

"I wish," writes Long John Silver, "that all veteran first-nighters might attend a play being staged in Sing Sing Prison and learn therefrom the art of being a spectator at a play. If some way might be contrived to send the regular theatre-goer to Ossining for a six months' stay, I am sure that the golden age of the theatre would begin shortly after. Until Sunday night, when I sat in the chapel there and watched 1,100 men demonstrate the art of the audience, I never realized the part that people out front play.

"Here were hundreds of men with their centres of apperception rasped to the quick by their sense of cloistration. Each was enjoined, as a member of the Mutual Welfare League, to keep the peace. Better than this, every spectator had a super-sense of the ironical values in life. The play was Channing Pollock's 'The Fool,' with the regular cast—a show with a lot of sermonizing and some first rate theatrical thrills.

JANUARY 16, 1923

"The curtain rose and the action started. Every man sat like a stone, getting the lay of the set, and for five minutes of the first act one might have been in an empty house at a rehearsal. Then things started popping among these men. I'm sure Pollock won't mind my saying that they got more out of the show than he put into it, at certain points.

"They never laughed at the wrong place and, curiously enough, there was no first flutter of discerning hand-smacks and then a swelling volume. Every man in the house got the right thing at the first second following its release. The applause began with the steady beat of summer rain upon a tent wall, and diminished as abruptly, with no ushers in the back of the theatre trying to make a record number of curtain calls for the star.

"I couldn't get the idea out of my head that I was at a war-time camp. Most of the men were young; they came in wearing flannel shirts and sweaters open at the neck, and they greeted one another about as soldiers do when through with a routine day's drill. There were lots of good faces there. I thought of Thoreau's counter question when Emerson asked him why he was in jail. 'Why are you not here?' some impish renegade kept nudging into my brain.

"I asked the prison keeper how many prisoners were permitted to attend the show. 'All,' he said, 'except the twenty-six who are condemned to die.'

"'But,' said I, 'you do not mean to imply that you and I are immortal?'

"The keeper said the thing was too gruesome. It seemed as though society was a bit ashamed of the condemned and, having struck them, wanted them out of sight for the rest of the time. The keeper told me of us we'd be surprised to know some of the terrible things some of those boys in the audience had been sent up for. I imagined the boys were equally surprised after they realized the gravity of their offenses.

"I wish these fellows could have more good shows of them. It seems to me, are in Sing Sing because they haven't been able to get their sense of dramatic values adjusted. Will some one howl if I say the condemned might see a show with no harm done? Nearly all of us in this generation have known nights when we thought the morrow was surely bringing death. I should have greatly liked to have seen 'Liliom,' for instance, the night before a certain attack. And any one who watches the Barrymore Hamlet closely could walk before a firing squad or sit in a hellish chair with far more equanimity for having seen it."

Of course, many of the inmates are in Sing Sing for grave offenses, and yet we believe that there must be some who have been jailed for crimes far more trivial than coughing in the theatre.

Somebody at one of Coué's recent lectures asked if autosuggestion would not be helpful in controlling the group of serious thinkers, and the little Frenchman replied that people who knew his system could easily quell the impulse to cough. It was at this point in the lecture that John Barrymore, sitting in the second row, gazed up in admiration at the little man from Nancy and bowed low to indicate that at last he had come in contact with one of the true benefactors of mankind.

We happen to be acquainted with the case of a New York woman miraculously cured by Coué. For many years she had been lame and now she walks about without effort. We do not know just what condition brought about the lameness and as a matter of fact our anecdote concerns something else. Having been cured of her major disability, she asked Coué to help her in another matter.

"I smoke to excess, possibly a hundred cigarets a day. Can't you break me of the habit by autosuggestion?" she asked.

"Very easily," answered Coué, "but why bother? It is a matter of no importance."

And try as she would she found it impossible to interest him in her desire to escape from nicotine. Later, in London, one of Coué's disciples undertook the task and was eminently successful. The woman of the hundred cigarets a day smokes no more. She cannot. One puff is enough to make her violently ill. Accordingly, we have decided to keep the habit. The cure sounds more terrifying.

"There's a better story about this man Matthews—not so well known, because it has never been told in the newspapers," writes Prescott Warren, "but one which has given much ironic satisfaction to those who know it. Matthews prepared at Andover (incidentally before the application blanks for admission to the school bore a date line 'Race.....') and played on the baseball team. In his next to last year a man named Barnwell of South Carolina (descendant of Senator Barnwell of the forties, was captain. Barnwell refused to eat at the training table with his team, though captain. Sentiment and the school permitted Matthews to eat there, but permitted Barnwell to eat apart.

"For the following season Matthews was elected captain and it is said that Barnwell voted for him. Barnwell went on to Yale and Matthews to Harvard. In the Harvard-Yale series of Matthew's freshman year and Barnwell's sophomore year, Matthews was the first man up in the first game and the first ball pitched he hit on the nose for a home run, and Barn-

well, playing centre field, ran a couple of miles to retrieve it."

But it seems to us that Barnwell is the hero of this story. If a young man from South Carolina could change his point of view enough in a year to vote for a Negro for captain of the school team he must have won a great rational victory over an emotional tradition. That is just where Lowell is wrong. We do not believe that race prejudice would be heightened if men of different races lived under the same dormitory roof.

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THE NEGRO FACES AMERICA

The Christian Index 11-11-23

Five years ago when the United States entered the world war on the side of the Allies, the black man in America answered the call of his country both by way of the selective draft and as a volunteer. The nation's very life was threatened by forces without and foes within. "Be loyal" was the doctrine preached in every school house and from every pulpit. "We know you have not had a fair deal, but after we win the war America will see to it that all the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution will be yours." This was said by white men, North and South. The Negro went to France and became "fodder" for the guns. He barred the way to Paris, and Negroes died like flies in the Argonne and on other fields of blood. He carried the stars and stripes to victory, knowing that that flag had seen his fathers, mothers, brothers and little sisters shot down like dogs in the rotten boroughs of the North and South. Before the war had fairly started cowardly white men tried to discredit him with the brave Frenchmen, and immedaitely after the armistice plans were set in motion to "keep him in his place."

Soldiers returning home wearing the uniform, and decorations from the impartial French nation were beaten and shot for no other purpose than that they wore decorations and that tended to make a "nigger" feel big.

Four years have gone since the bugles rang out "cease firing" and it seems as if the nation has forgotten the dark day when she stretched out imploring hands to the sable sons of Africa, and reckons not that another day may come, when 12 million black men and women will either be a valued asset or a liability.

The Negro faces America in the year of grace 1923 and asks "What are you going to do about it?"

They say he is unfit for the ballot, forgetting that men who plotted the overthrow of the government and who coined money from the blood of soldiers who died in Flanders fields, vote and brag about it. They say that the Negro is not 100 per cent American, forgetting Ft. Pillow and Petersburg and Ft. Fisher in the Civil war. Yea, even forgetting Crispus Attucks, the Revolutionary hero. They forget San Juan Hill, and the red sands of Carrizal. They forget those "white crosses, row on row, in Fance, yea they forget that his hand has not been stained with the murder of a president or government or that he has ever tried to take a star out of old glory.

A hundred per cent American forsooth, who is he? Is he not the Indian whom the white Christian has robbed and murdered? "The Negro must stay in his place" says one hypocrite that parades under the livery of a priest of the lowly Nazarene. The Negro faces America and asks "What is my place?" During the war no white American in the Argonne or at Dead Man's Hill ever told a black man his place was in the rear, or ever suggested that his place was any where except the front rank.

The Negro feels that if he was good enough to draw a gun or bayonet on the enemies of his country in 1917 he is good enough to draw a cross mark on a ballot in 1923. If he was good enough to ride in a first class coach when going to the shambles of blood, he is good enough now to ride in the same manner.

The black man's "place" in America is the "place" any other American occupies, and to which his education, character or special fitness entitles him.

We hear much of "social equality" these days and white and black speakers tell the world that the Negro does not desire "social equality." That depends upon what is meant by the term. If the white man means by that "social intermingling," or the mongrel-izing the black race, or any approach by either side toward miscegnation the black man utters a hearty Amen. But if "social equality" means that the lowest white prostitute or the most vicious tough of the white race is better than the highest type of Negro womanhod and manhood then the black man hurls it back in the face of the world and brands it as an infamous lie.

The editor wants to see the races kept separate and distinct, we want no "social equality" that dishonors the black woman, or puts the white woman out of her race.

Lynching and burning Negroes is now a national pastime. The government refuses to interfere. In hundreds of towns in the South a black woman is unsafe on the streets at night. She can be insulted by a white tough and if her brother or husband resents it he is shot like a dog. A powerful organization, the Ku Klux Klan has practically outlawed him, and classes him on the same footing with the Jew and Catholic. The black man will accept that combination if forced to, and it will be a mighty nice thing to be linked up with the race of Moses, and Paul and Christ, and with a Church that has always preached and practiced the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man.

The Negro faces America with a record as good for loyalty and industry as any other group, with a recod for achievement since 1863 unparalleled by any group so situated in the history of the world.

The Negro Faces America!

A STUDY IN PIGMENTATION

Negro World

By IDA NACHMANOWITZ

(Dedicated to Prof. Herman M. Bernelot Moens, Famous Dutch Anthropologist)

New York

I gaze on yon horizon,
Reflecting, deep in thought,
On man and all the ages—
What have the ages wrought?
3-10/23
The radio, the telephone,
The steamship and the 'plane,
Electric light and telegraph
And artificial rain;

Machinery, canned music, too;
The sciences and arts—
All epoch-making miracles,
But miracles sans hearts.

The pyramids of Egypt,
The Sphinx of mystery;
And war and peace and valorous deeds,
Way back in history;

And Bible names, significant
Of prehistoric date;
But I wonder who in heaven or hell
Invented racial hate.

The paleface hates the Negro,
The Gentile hates the Jew;
The Catholic hates the Protestant,
Though differences are few.

And the Ku Klux Klan hates everyone
Who's not a hypocrite.
They kill and plunder, rob and rape,
And they're punished not a bit.

The black man and the foreigner,
The Catholic and the Jew,
Are all among the victims
Of the Ku Klux Klan's ado!

And Justice, blind and crippled,
With blinded eyes she weeps.
The dove of peace attempts to fly,
But, broken wingede, it creeps

Into a hole, to die away,
Away from Mammon's strife—
Behold what radiance from afar,
So dazzling, bright with life.

On yon horizon suddenly
Appears mysteriously—
An optical illusion,
Or a vision fair to see?

Is it, indeed, a wondrous dream,
Or bright reality—
An inter-racial city,
From prejudices free?

No Ku Klux Klan to torture,
No persecution grim—
Assimilation everywhere,
And suffering grows dim.

And racial hate shall vanish,
Forever, evermore,
And justice then will ope her eyes,
So blinded heretofore.

The dove of peace shall fly again
With a laurel to the skies,
And worldly strife shall end in peace
And brotherhood shall rise.

A universal brotherhood,
An educated race,
One God for all, and all for one,
'Gainst prejudiced disgrace.

So fear not, oh, ye tortured ones!
The time will come at last
When universal brotherhood
Bedims a hideous past.

And Negroes, Turks and Russians
And Malays and Chinese
And Christians, Jews, Mohammedans,
Will smoke the pipe of peace!

Race Problem—1923
United States.

BRYAN ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Some weeks ago William Jennings Bryan made a speech in Washington at a dinner of the Southern Society. He spoke on the political policy practiced in the South regarding the Negro and the franchise, and he made the declaration that the South was handling this whole question in the wisest and in the only practical way.

In a recent issue of the New York "Times" Mr. Bryan, whose statements had been commented upon and criticised very widely throughout the northern part of the country, published a statement in which he amplified the views he had expressed at the dinner of the Southern Society. The article in the "Times," from every point of view, is unworthy of the reputation which Mr. Bryan has as a statesman and a man of brains.

Mr. Bryan begins by juggling terms and definitions in an attempt to cause that solid statement in the Declaration of Independence about all men being created equal to vanish into thin air. That statement in the Declaration of Independence has produced more sophistry, perhaps, than any equal number of words ever set down. Volumes have been written to place into the clear and unequivocal words of the Declaration of Independence meanings that were never intended. It ought to be a waste of time to point out that the mind or minds capable of conceiving the Declaration of Independence had sense enough to know that all men are not equal either physically, or intellectually, or even morally; and the Declaration of Independence clears up the whole question by stating specifically upon what grounds all men are equal.

Mr. Bryan dismisses the Declaration of Independence with a gesture that places it among matters purely academic and declares that the question in the South is, which race shall control the government and make the laws under which both shall live. In making such a statement arguing from it, Mr. Bryan does nothing more than set up a straw man. The question as to which race shall control the government is not the question, and probably never will be the question, in the South. Even if every Negro in the South were indiscriminately and in a wholesale manner given the right to vote and exercised the right, it would not be a question of which race would control the government. The Negroes are only one-third the population of the South and one-tenth the population of the United States, and with less wealth, less training, and less organization, how would the question of their controlling either the South or the nation ever arise?

Mr. Bryan continues further with a wholly specious argument. He says:

> "Suppose, for the sake of argument, that no limitations were placed upon suffrage and that the blacks, voting in masse for officials of their own color, took charge of the Government and made laws for both blacks and whites; is there any white man who believes that the laws made under these circumstances would be better for both, or administered with more fairness than now?"

But why suppose such a thing? There is not the slightest reason to believe that if Negroes were given the right to vote in the South the blacks would vote en masse for officials of their own color. Negroes in New York are given the unlimited right to vote and they vote not only for white as well as black candidates but vote very largely for Democratic as well as Republican candidates.

Such statements by Mr. Bryan merely beg the question and make it difficult to believe that he is sincere.

In the matter of equality of suffrage in the South, what is it that the Negro demands? Is he demanding that he be given the unlimited right to vote and that he be sustained in the exercise of that right, regardless of other considerations? Not at all. All that the Negro demands is that he be given the right as an American citizen to vote under the identical qualifications required of other citizens. He cares not how high those qualifications are made—whether they include the ability to read and write, or the possession of five hundred dollars, or a knowledge of the Einstein Theory—just so long as those requirements are impartially demanded of white men and black men.

Mr. Bryan's assumption that if the Negroes in the South voted the laws of the South would not be so good as they are and that this civilization would suffer, is one that is more than open to question. The policy which Mr. Bryan stands for, that is, for the so-called purity of the ballot in the South and the reservation of it to white men only, has been tried for the past forty years; and what are the results? Does the South stand above any other section in the country where all men who meet the qualifications are allowed to vote? Not at all. Of all the sections of the country the South stands at the bottom intellectually, morally, and politically. Intellectually it is a desert, morally and socially it bears the distinction of being the only part of the civilized, nay, even the uncivilized world, where a human being may be burned alive at the stake. Politically it is rotten, and that goes for white men as well as black, for not only are black men disfranchised but white men dare not express their honest political opinions or act in accordance with them.

Let Mr. Bryan meet the issue squarely. He says in his statement that he does not believe it is right for ignorant, unqualified black men to make laws for white men. Does he believe it is right for ignorant, unqualified white men to make laws for black men. Let him answer this question: Does he believe that the black man in the South who meets all of the requirements of citizenship should be denied the vote, and the white man who cannot measure up to such requirements be allowed the vote? We will then know just where Mr. Bryan stands. From the sophistries in his statement in the "Times" we cannot tell.

It is never a very nice thing to impugn any man's motives, but, interpreting Mr. Bryan's remarks on the subject of Negro suffrage in the light of his career as a politician, we are led to believe that he is simply issuing another "Bryan policy" which he hopes will attract votes that will give him the nomination for the presidency if not the office.

SIX NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AGREE UPON A UNITED FRONT

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md
3-30-23

Leading Civil Rights Bodies Responding To Invitation of Kelly Miller Find Common Ground Against Foes

SIGN AGREEMENT

Conference Stirred By Appeals Of Kelly-Miller, R. B. Moore, James Weldon Johnson, Bagnall, Shaw, Trotter, Briggs and Deep Sense of Duty to Race Effects Harmonious Agreement and Goes Into Permanent Organization.

(Cruader Service)

New York, March 24—History was enacted here today.

The preliminary United Front Conference called by Kelly Miller and the National Equal Rights League proved successful beyond the wildest hopes of its supporters. A new epoch—an epoch of unity and strength—was ushered in for the sorely oppressed Negro American as the six leading champions of his civil and manhood rights, through their duly appointed or elected representatives, signed a **concordat** this afternoon calling for "the closest co-operation and the most harmonious relationship" among organization which, no matter with what "differences, either of opinions or methods," are nevertheless "all striving for one great common goal."

Sessions lasted two days and the agreement signed was as follows:

We, the undersigned representatives as of the following organizations, The African Blood Brotherhood, The Friends of Negro Freedom, The International Uplift League, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The National Equal Rights League, The National Race Congress, assembled in conference in New York City, March 23-24, 1923

Knowing the strength of the forces opposed to justice and fair play for the Americans of

African descent, realize that those forces must be met by the closest cooperation and the most harmonious relationship possible among all agencies working for the civil and citizenship rights of Negro Americans.

In order to secure the most effective action and the greatest results, we must guard against the slightest loss of energy from frictions and antagonisms. While each organization should reserve to itself it full autonomy and the use of its own best judgement as to the manner of carrying forward its aims and work we should not allow any differences, either of opinions or methods, to blind us to the fact that we are all striving for one great common goal.

We deplore as harmful and injurious to the best common interest any attitude which implies that loyalty to any one of these organization necessitates antagonism toward any of the others, or that membership in one in any way precludes membership and active interest in the others. It is, thereforetaoin.e Wicice ej

IT IS, THEREFORE, the sense of this Conference that we, the representatives of the above named organizations take active steps to bring about a closer relationship, both in action and in feeling; and

That in the undertakings of those various organizations the cordial support of all shall be given; and

That upon the great fundamental principles for which we all stand there shall be the greatest possible corrolation and concentration of all our forces, that we may present to the common enemy a united front and inspire in the whole race united action.

For the Conference:
(Signed)
W. A. Domingo
African Blood Brotherhood
George S. Schuyler
Friends of Negro Freedom
D. N. E. Campbell
International Uplift League
James Weldon Johnson
The N. A. A. C. P.
Kelly Miller
National Race Congress
Wm. Monroe Trotter
National Equal Rights League

The Conference voted for an all-ran gathering to be called before April 1924 at a place to be yet determined. All race organizations will be represented and a committee was given the task of drawing up the basis of representation agenda and working out a complete arrangements.

N Y C TIMES
APRIL 1 1923

THE NEGRO, NORTH AND SOUTH

To the Editor of The New York Times:

So much is being written on the negro question by those who are poorly informed that the writer asks, in the interest of fair play, for space in which to reply to certain gratuitous statements contained in an article by Hon. William Jennings Bryan which appeared in THE TIMES of March 18. The caption "Bryan Says North Would Act South on Negro Question," fre epitomizes his argument. "At Southern banquet," said he, "I enf

N Y C CALL
MARCH 22, 1923

Bryan's "Liberal" View of the Negro

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, "liberal" and "progressive," presents his views regarding the Negro in the South through the Times. With the change of a few words his defense of "white supremacy" might have come from Calhoun or Toombs. "The colored people . . . live under the laws that the white people make for themselves as well as for the colored people." If Negroes made the laws would they "be better for both, or (be) administered with more fairness than now"? Republicans moving South act as white Democrats do toward the Negro in the South.

Bryan has offered a justification for class rule and exploitation that is adapted for any age where labor, white or black, has been sweated for the pleasure of a minority. His pretense that laws are made to serve the Negro as well as the white contradicts all the evidence we have of white class rule in the South. What of the debt servitude of Negroes? Is the almost universal penalty of lynching for Negroes assessed against whites? What of the practice of courts sending Negroes into the chain gang to build roads? What of Negroes serving on juries? What of the Negro's testimony against a white man in court?

What is more, this "white supremacy" which he glorifies is the rule of a white minority. Bryan must know that side by side with the Negro in the South there are tens of thousands of poor whites, who have been reduced to the same economic servitude that bears so heavily upon Negro workers. It is not white supremacy that prevails in the South. It is a class supremacy of a minority of white property owners, their lawyers and politicians of the stripe of William Jennings Bryan.

The old traditions of a white aristocracy still prevail in the South. The poor whites and the poor Negroes are regarded and are treated as mudsills of Southern society. If Republicans, as Bryan claims, who move South accept Bryan's views regarding "white supremacy" that merely means that fundamentally there is no difference between a Bryan Democrat and a Harding Republican.

One instinctively revolts against the sanctimonious "Christian" and "liberal" who offers this pious drivel in defense of a daily system of hell for millions of human beings. We prefer Simon Legree, who never added hypocrisy to his brutality.

ny argument by suggesting that Massachusetts would do exactly as Virginia and South Carolina had done if confronted by the same conditions."

The sincerity of this statement may fairly be questioned. Massachusetts has been confronted by similar conditions. Slavery existed here for a time but the Puritan spirit revolted and drove the curse from its shores. The same liberal spirit made it possible for the writer to be twice elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature in the Back Bay section where there were more than ten white voters to one colored. Can Mr. Bryan point to a like tolerance anywhere in the South?

His declaration that "Republican States of the North never send black men to the United States Senate or House of Representatives," is lacking in poise. The population of Massachusetts is about four million, of which only fifty thousand are of the colored race. This disparity is greater in other Northern States and there is no special significance in the fact that colored men are not preferred for high office. That the discrimination is not confined to color is best attested by Mr. Bryan's own unsuccessful attempts. The Irishman has likewise been tabooed. He has seldom been preferred for high office, except where his numerical supremacy, rather than white, paved the way. Many minds agree that Tammany and other political groups that control large cities are far from ideal, but they have the votes and Mr. Bryan would hardly suggest their disfranchisement.

He asserts that "the race riots in Illinois, the home of Lincoln and Grant, show that race feeling is just as strong in the North as in the South when a condition arises to give it expression." There are probably more colored people in the city of Chicago than in Atlanta, but the riot of a few years ago, largely accentuated by hoodlums, merely clarified the situation and brought the races into more friendly relations. Colored men are among its leading citizens. They hold high elective office, State and municipal, and their right to participate in the Government which their taxes help maintain, is unquestioned. In Harlem, New York, there are more colored people than in Birmingham, Ala., but they vote, are elected and appointed to office and race relations remain most cordial in this Northern city.

People who believe that ours is a republican form of Government will be amazed at this further declaration from the famous Commoner: "In the States where restrictions are placed upon suffrage for the purpose of excluding enough blacks to preserve white supremacy the blacks have the advantage of living under laws the white man makes for himself as well as for the black man." Yes, just the same conditions as in the days of slavery when the white man made laws to govern himself and control his slaves. In 1900, at the city of Indianapolis, before the vision of a Southern Senatorship loomed, he said: "Once admit that some people are capable of self-government and that others are not, and that the capable people have a right to seize upon and govern the incapable, and you make force—brute force—the only foundation of government." Colored men have not sought to rule, but they were drafted, nearly half a million, to fight for democracy. They are taxed and the duties of citizenship are imposed like unto the rest, and no principle, not even self-preservation, can justly be urged in denying them the right to vote on the question of who shall govern and how their taxes shall be fixed.

Another assertion is that "the Republicans of the North are deceiving the blacks for political purposes when they pretend a greater affection for them than is found in the South." Well, what are the facts? The Republican Party under Lincoln liberated the slave, clothed him with all the protection the war amendments to the Constitution could give, and tried to advance him as a citizen.

But the new advocate of white supremacy and race proscription dodges the real issues. He enlarges upon the inferiority of the race, but carefully avoids the cause. With the emancipation of the slave forced upon her, after two and a half centuries of unrequited toil, the South refused to give the children of those slaves a common school training and, had it not been for the generous philanthropy of men and women who established and supported schools for them, their condition would have been appalling. Deny little children an education, shut them out from every helpful social influence and later, when they naturally take the downward path, hold them up to the world as inferior and depraved. * * *

Mr. Bryan will find little response to an appeal which would link Massachusetts with South Carolina on the treatment of the black man, whatever conditions might exist, and if he finds it expedient to preach white supremacy it ought not to be necessary to impugn the motives of the good men and women of the North, many of whom have given their lives and fortunes in an endeavor to help both races. He can render a far greater service to his country and mankind by leading those with whom he is now associated from the old paths of prejudice and hate into the light of a better day. WILLIAM L. REED.
Boston, Mass., March 24, 1923.

THE CHANGING SOUTH.

(From the State, Columbia, S. C.)

"The Negro does not object to separation but he does object, and rightly so, to the degredation and inferority which segregation some times carries with it."

With this declaration of Dr. Moton, superintendent of Tuskegee Institute, we believe that white men, of the better sort, can and do, in principle, agree. No honest man wishes that the Negro shall receive for his dollar less than a white man receives for it and no decent man wishes a Negro subjected to injustice because he is a Negro.

Practically, separation occasionally deprives the exceptional Negro of conveniences and imposes hardships upon him. The maintenance of a hotel in Columbia for Negroes equal in equipment to the better hotels open to white people is not possible, and, now and then a Negro having the money to "put up" at the best of hotels may come to Columbia. Race separation cannot and will not ,on his occount, be suspended.

It should be, however, the wish and endeavor of white people to bring about better treatment of Negroes wherever and whenever it is practicable. The "day coach" on the railroads used by the Negro should be as clean and comfortable as that provided for whites and white public opinion should be exerted to that end.

Not ever reform can be accomplished in a day. The public schools for the Negroes can not be raised in a year to the desirable standard but in the South, in South Carolina, the body of white men who would have them mproved is steadily increasing. Con cern for the health of the Negro pop ulation is growing, too, and the numbers of those prepared to co-operate with Dr. Moton receive additions constantly.

Common sense and patience are required on the part of the Negroes. If it seems to them that their way is hard, they should not forget that the way of many "white folks" is hard and that not all discomforts and miseries are racial. There may be found in South Carolina communities of Negroes much better situated so far as living conditions count than some communities of white in other parts of the state. There are cities in which the schools for Negroes are as well supported as are the schools for whites in some of the country neighborhoods.

In separation, the Negro is entitled to what he earns. To Dr. Moton's formula there will be no objection raised and, as time passes, the disposition will be stronger in the South to treat the Negroes not only with justice but with generosity.

Race Problem— 1923.
United States.

A "SUPER-SENATE"

THE Sanhedrin proposed by Kelly Miller will be held during the week of November 5, 1923. "Co-operation is to be the key-word of the Conference which is to be a kind of "Super-Council" or "Super-Senate" of Negro organizations, according to the announcement made recently. The public will doubtless be interested in the big task this committee has cut out for itself. It may result in the creation of another Negro "leader" to add fuel to the fires of envious fury disturbing the peaceful progress of the race in America. This depends however, upon the way the work of this "Super-Council" is done and the real object of its creation.

Every leader is the product of a system or organization of some kind. His power depends upon the aim of his system and he is great or small proportionately. Negroes lack leadership most of all—leadership farsighted and statesmanlike enough to organize their misguided and warring organizations into something truly constructive in its conception of the needs of the race and the method to be followed in attaining them. Whether this "Super-Council" can make a success of the task remains to be seen.

In some respects the idea suggests a supreme opportunity to lay aside theory and use common sense in dealing with the facts of Negro existence in America. It might result in the choice of a leader who could become an accredited spokesman of the race. He could devote his thought and time to developing unity in purpose and sympathy among Negroes of this country.

Hitherto some of the various organizations have been content to do their own special work in the Negro world, without reference to what another was doing, except in a discreditable manner. What is really needed is organization that will promote the conscious co-operation of all Negroes who believe in the essential unity of the race, whether they be inside the ranks of intellectuals or whether they represent the humbler and less favored along educational lines. Nothing can be done by this "Super-Senate" or any other organization proceeding to find a solution of the problems of a self-conscious part of the Negro race in this country. No great and lasting good can be accomplished without considering Negroes and humanity as a whole.

ONE BIG AIM FOR AMERICAN NEGROES

THE convergence of all moral and material forces of the Negro towards one great object would doubtless interest the masses and become a source of strength in our struggle for survival in America. It is a condition which a leadership of vision should seek to develop among the 12,000,000 souls growing weary of the inequalities of their environment. Self-government, self-support and equal opportunities are things to which Negroes really aspire in this country. They have been governed unjustly so long and refused a part in their own government so persistently, that they are hungering for a chance to show the world their ability to govern themselves. It is the one big aim to which every American Negro should aspire. It can be done in America by the creation of a Negro State. This is an object to which Negro leaders should address themselves—the acquirement of sufficient land for a population of 2,000,000 or more of the race to create and govern a State, as an object lesson by Negroes in self-government.

News
GREENSBORO, N. C., Rec
JUL 16 1923

TWO FRIENDLY CRITICISMS.

The Daily News recently has received two letters which interest it exceedingly. The writers have one thing in common—each is a friendly critic of the Daily News. In everything else they are about as widely separated as they well could be. One is a conservative southern woman in her sixties, the other a radical northern man in his thirties. Their attitudes on pretty nearly everything are diametrically opposed to each other; but they both land heavily on the Daily News, and as we think the matter over we are forced to the rueful confession that they are both partially right.

One, the southern woman, declares that she hears the Daily News accused of cynicism (we deny that) but for her own part contents herself with the statement, which cannot be denied, that "the tone of the paper is critical." The northern man, on the contrary, remarks "an overemphasis on the negro problem to the point where it amounts almost to an emotional fixation, so that there is a lack of sufficient emphasis on other problems. . . . Now it seems to me that the only way of achieving objectivity—or at least greater objectivity—on the negro problem is to force other problems upon the consciousness of the Southern community." This indictment, let us add in justice to ourselves, was not brought specifically against the Daily News, but against southern thinking in general.

We deem these criticisms worthy of attention and reply because both are constructive, and each has a reasonable basis. As to the first, we are perfectly sure that any investigator who would take the trouble to measure the editorial columns of the Daily News for any given month would find at least twice as much space given to praise as is given to blame. But it isn't all praise; and the reason it isn't is because we thoroughly agree with our second critic that one of the main difficulties facing the south today is its habit of reserving all its invective for the negro problem—not the negro, please note, but the negro problem—and sugar-coating all its other nauseus messes. The Daily News is profoundly, not to say passionately, convinced that the danger threatening the south today is not black supremacy, but the wrong sort of white supremacy.

We do not believe that there is the remotest danger that the blacks will ever again dominate the south politically. There may be temporary local disturbances occasionally, but in so far as the whole south is concerned the spectre of negro domination is laid forever.

But a different sort of problem has arisen to take its place. There is a false and mischievous notion abroad that race relations in the south are like a see-saw, so that if the negro begins to rise, the white man, now at the top, must inevitably begin to come down. The truth is the relation is similar to that of the members of an Alpine club, roped together to make a difficult ascent. As the member in front climbs, he is compelled to haul the other up with him; if he were foolish enough to undertake to thrust the other down, he would necessarily be jerked from his own footing. Both must go up, or both must come down; and the quickest and easiest method of ascent is for each to do his own climbing, always with due care not to throw any sudden strain upon the other.

It has been our habit in the south to act and talk as if there were no doubt that nothing but the negro holds us back. If that were true, it would not be worth discussing, for here the negro is, and here he will remain; but the Daily News does not believe for a moment that it is true. It can see innumerable things that would hold us back even if we were cut loose from the negro, and that, as it is, are holding back both white and negro. To the best of our ability we have outlined these things, and to that extent we acknowledge that the tone of the paper has been critical.

Yet we believe that in that course the Daily News has been representative of the most advanced and vigorous thought of the state. It isn't merely the Daily News whose tone is critical; North Carolina's tone is critical. The state is waking to the fact that many an accepted formula, many an ancient dogma, has either no foundation in fact, or no relation to present conditions. It is questioning principles and policies that heretofore it has always accepted as part of the established order of things. In fact, it is coming to the conclusion that the very existence of an established order of things is in itself pretty good evidence of dry rot. Look at the road program. Look at the program of social legislation. Above all, look at the educational program. The road program would never have been adopted if the state had not seen that its existing roads were rotten. The social program would not have been entered upon had not critics proved that the existing conditions were abominable. The educational program had no chance until the state had hammered into its consciousness the evils and dangers of ignorance. The evil had to be proved before it could be removed.

As to the charges of cynicism, they fall of their own weight. The cynic attacks nothing; and the Daily News has not yet been accused of supineness.

Dr. Du Bois Says He Was Misquoted

In answer to the report circulated from Philadelphia, Pa., that he had compromised on Jim Crow measures while addressing an audience there, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis Magazine, and prominent figure of the N. A. A. C. P., asserts that he was misquoted and writes the following letter to the Chicago Defender. These are the exact words, he says, that he spoke to the Philadelphia audience:

"All my life I have fought separation and segregation by race and color. And of all the sorts of segregation facing us, segregation in the public schools is the most dangerous and fatal thing because it inculcates race prejudice in the young. It is for this reason that the N. A. A. C. P. has always fought separate public schools wherever they appear.

"On the other hand we Negroes are all living more and more in a separate racial world; almost hourly, from the moment we rise until we sleep. We live in separate homes and neighborhoods; we patronize separate stores; we send our children often to separate schools; we attend separate churches; we work, in larger and larger numbers, for our own people and in separate industries; we bank in our own banks; subscribe to Colored papers; keep cars in our own garages; are at-

tended by Colored physicians, and buried by Colored undertakers in Colored grave yards.

Leads to Hate

"We boast of this internal racial development and we have a right to boast of it; we have been forced into it by Race prejudice and without these institutions we could not exist today; but whither is all this leading? Logically, it is leading straight to complete racial segregation, to bitter group hatred and world-wide race war on a scale such as we have not yet witnessed.

"We must, therefore, face firmly this paradox of Race separation and Race organization and fight with care and thought. I am, for instance, myself a product of a Jim Crow school; my daughter is a student in one. Without Jim Crow schools we could not today educate our children in the United States. Does this mean that Jim Crow schools are right and should be spread? No, they are wrong, dangerous, menacing and they should be fought; but the way to fight them is not to fight the teachers in them. Do not fight Hill. Hill is not responsible for Cheyney. Cheyney was established 50 years before Hill was born. Hill is doing at Cheney just what I would do there—making it the best school possible.

"The real enemy is not Hill—it is not the excellent and efficient teachers in thousands of separate Negro schools throughout the land—it is the white men and women who foster Race prejudice and compel the establishment of separate schools. Fight them and fight them with the ballot. A generation ago New York and Philadelphia both had Jim Crow schools. New York Negroes fought them. They put White, Scottron and McCants Stewart on the school board and today there is not a Jim Crow school in the city and there are 200 Negro teachers in the public schools; Philadelphia did not keep up the fight. They accepted petty political jobs and janitorships and positions in Jim Crow schools for their daughters. Today, Philadelphia has 13 Negro schools and is threatened with a Colored high school. What does Philadelphia do? Instead of fighting the school board they attack the principal and teachers of a Colored school established in 1834, and now outside the bounds of Philadelphia, because two years ago this school was given a state appropriation and made a state normal school. Do they mean thus to acknowledge that no school with Colored teachers is fit to be a state normal school?

Wrong Tactics

"This is wrong tactics. Cheyney is a good school. It has done and is doing splendid work. The Negro Race, with its curtailed educational facilities cannot spare it. Either Cheyney must have state aid or gradually die. But, say the opponents of Hill and Cheyney, this school was made a normal school in order to furnish teachers for Jim Crow public schools; very well then, fight the Jim Crow public schools—make it impossible to establish more. Pennsylvania has at least 100,000 Negro voters. They can, if they will, make the Jim Crow public school system impossible in that state. But the way to do it is not to fight the school teachers who are giving their best to Colored children in schools established before these teachers were born."

FALLACIOUS LEADERSHIP.

Sutton E. Griggs, whom southern white people would call "a good Nigger," has a lengthy article in the Memphis Commercial Appeal (white) titled "Call of the Cities to the Negro Race." In his article Griggs seeks to point out that within 500 years or less there will be no Negro race if immigration continues. They will have all died out, he says, and, like the Cromagnon, Neanderthal and Piltdown races, they will be known in history only as a race that was.

Griggs, however, has the characteristic view of Southern Negroes whose opinions are formed by looking at things through glasses furnished them by their paler brethren. His article is given much prominence in that white paper because that white paper, like others, is not beginning to realize how much they "love" their "Niggers" until they find them preparing to leave for better climes.

Negroes who are contemplating leaving the South are not likely to be frightened to death at what Griggs says. They know his writings could never have been published in a white paper if they had not been in entire conformity with white southerners' views. They know that there are thousands of foreigners who come to America yearly, most of whom settle in the larger cities; they know that these foreigners grow and multiply and often become wealthy because they are not constantly harassed and molested as they go about their way to build a comfortable fortune and home.

The Negroes of the South know Sutton E. Griggs for what he is. They know he has for a long time considered himself the "spokesman" for southern Negroes. They know he still is obsessed with the idea that a slap on the back, a grin in the face and a five-cent cigar constitute genuineness of friendship. They know that this man, as a "spokesman" for Negroes is forever on the wrong scent and barking up the wrong tree.

"Stay in the South" he reasons, but he neglects to say what for. He would have you stay despite living conditions; stay, regardless of conditions affecting education; stay, despite the fact that his own city goes on a rampage often, sometimes twice yearly, and shows its southern hospitality to Negroes by cutting off their heads and dragging the bleeding body through the busiest streets, in broadest day time.

Let the Negroes come northward. But let them use discretion in doing so. They should not all seek Kansas City, Chicago, New York or Detroit, let them go to the smaller as well as the larger cities and prove themselves there, as they have done in the South, good, loyal and upright citizns, anxious for an education and for conditions which do not try their very soul.

SOCIAL EQUALITY AS PRIVILEGE

Man is of a social nature and, therefore, exists in societies. For the welfare and protection of societies, government is necessary. Civilized man realizes that there are three fundamentals absolutely necessary for the proper functioning of a democratic form of government namely, industrial equality, political equality, and equality before the law. And America because of her recognition of these principles has been and is rightly regarded as a great democracy, founded upon the proposition that "all men are created equal." When we say American, we make reference to the citizenship of America, fortunately America is composed of various elements or hyphenated groups, such as German-Americaen, Irish-American, Afro-American, etc. It is of this latter group we have to do.

Industrial equality, political equality and equality before the law are the inherent and manhood rights of every American citizen. Social equality, of which we hear so much, among civilized people is not a right Social equality is a privilige, which may or may not be enjoyed. It appears that a few writers and public speakers are very much at sea as to where a right end and a privilege begins. When we say industrial equality, we mean an equal opportunity in every avenue of industrial endeavor. For instance, side by side under the stars and stripes our boys the black and the white went over the top together and it is the Negro's right to insist that side by side they climb life's hill together with equal opportunity to earn a living for themselves and loved ones. A true democracy is a representative form of government. We are a part and parcel of American citizenship and as Americans we must live under and obey the laws of the land and we are, therefore, clearly within our rights when we insist on an equal voice in the law-making bodies of state and nation. Laws in the last analysis are mere rule sof action and are made to govern all the people and should function with equal exactness about the home of the black man as well as that of the white man. This brings us to social equality We have said that social equality is a privilege and not a right. However, the phrase social equality is a much misused and much abused term. If by social equality it is meant that one should have any seat paid for on a train or in a dining car, then, of course, we are for social equality. If it is meant that the colored man's money should go as far as the other fellow's in a theatre or moving picture house, we should, of course, insist on social equality. If by social equality, we have in mind equality of hospital, educational, institutional facilities and advantages, every Negro should insist on this right, on the other hand, if by social equality, it is meant that one must have social intercourse with a white,brown or yellow family and that such a family must have freedom of social intercourse with the other fellow's family, it is clear that we are advocating a privilege and not a right. We have said and restate that the whole question hinges very largely upon the definition of social equality. eating houses, theatres, moving picture shows, public parks, etc., are semi-public in their nature, whose license and privilege to do business is based upon the presumption that they will serve and accommodate the general public and the term general public is all inclusive. It follows, therefore that every American citizen should insist on his right to be properly served and accommodated in such places.

Summing up let us say, in all things affecting the industrial, political, and legal rights of an American citizen in all things dedicated to the pleasure, accommodation, welfare and convenience of the general public, our rights are concurrent, co-equal and co-existent with that of any other element of citizenship, but in all things purely social our rights end where the other fellow's begins and any encroachment by either race will be a privilege, but never a right.

THE CITY'S RACE PROBLEM

Editorial Post Dispatch, Aug. 8, 1923

The troubles incident to the effort to vaccinate the incoming Negroes and others from the South who had been exposed to smallpox emphasizes the need of the proposed interracial commission to handle problems incident to the Negro migration and the rapidly increasing Negro population in St. Louis.

These problems, in colony housing sanitation and the inevitable contacts and relations between the races will become more acute as the migration continues and the winter season approaches.

In the case of medical inspection and preventative work an interracial commission might easily have devised a plan of procedure which would have avoided friction and resentment. There ought of course, to be legal power enough in the Health Department to protect the community, but the exercise of legal power and force is not always the best way to accomplish results; frequently it is the worst way, leading to discord and violence, which require more force. Medical inspection, however, is only one of many important phases of the problem.

Since the races must live together in St. Louis in increasing numbers, a way of living which avoids misunderstanding, friction and conflict, and conditions that make for disease and pauperism, must be devised. These problems call for intelligent handling outside of legal phases and powers; they are social and economic.

Despite the good work of an interracial commission in Philadelphia there was a deadly and dangerous racial riot there. St. Louis should now begin the work of solving problems that may become menacing to health, peace and prosperity.

Race Problem—1923
United States.

White Atlanta Does Not Know Black Atlanta

Atlanta Independent

4-5-23

The Negroes Know the White Folk, But the White Folk Do Not Know the Negro.

Some things the white man does not know about the Negro that he ought to learn:

1. His material progress.
2. His worth as a citizen.
3. His buying power.
4. The Negro in business.
5. His willingness to co-operate and to be of service to the community.
6. His real estate holdings.

As proof of the above assertion, we give a concrete example of the lack of information of our white neighbors.

A few days ago a white salesman strolled into the office of the Standard Life Insurance Company, a million dollar corporation organized, owned and controlled by Atlanta Negroes. This salesman approached the desk of one of the officers and remarked, after surveying the situation:

"Mr. ———, I must make a confession. I am a Georgia cracker, forty-three years of age, and have lived in Atlanta all of my life, but have had no intelligent conception of what black folk are capable of doing. It never occurred to me that Negroes were capable of owning and operating such an organization as you have here. I am surprised, for the reason that thousands of my race, just like myself, are in satisfied ignorance of the development and possibilities of our Negro Neighbors. The average one of us looks upon your race as a liability, when in fact, you are an asset—a growing asset, making a helpful contribution to Atlanta's greatness and prosperity. Your people are not getting a square deal from my people. We need to help you, encourage you and take the same interest in you that we take in any other group of people who settle among us. Our program ought to include the advancement and development of every group of people who enter into our cosmopolitan population. What we need is a better understanding."

This is a concrete evidence that the white folk know but little of the Negro at his door. He thinks of him alone in terms of social equality and political domination. When the Negro has neither in mind; wants neither and would not have either. What he wants is economic, industrial and commercial opportunities. He wants work to do. He wants a chance in the fields, in the shops and at all kinds of work that other men do. He wants every industrial door, skilled or unskilled, opened to him, and all other questions will adjust themselves.

B. J. DAVIS.

CASIONALLY THE TRUTH IS TOLD ABOUT THE NEGRO

Very seldom do we find our Southern white press complimenting the worthy and worthwhile acts of the Negro people, and when it is note it strikes a note within that group as nothing else does. When we say the white press, we mean as a general proposition, because there are those we might single out that are constantly publishing the virtues of the race.

Mr. Richard F. Johnston, a write on The Birmingham Age-Herald, a few days ago wrote of the work of the Negroes at the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, when they were planning to celebrate the ninth annual health week. Mr. Johnston outlined the program, giving in detail much of the activities to be had during this health exhibition. For this every colored citizen feels proud and is unusually happy over the fact that a white writer and daily newspaper would concern themselves in the worthwhile efforts of the race and speak in complimentary and persuasive manner as Mr. Johnston has spoken in this editorial. The counsel here given is directed, apparently, to an element of prejudiced and short-sighted white people, but the idea of educating the Negro might be emphasized in equally as strong terms to the Negro himself because there are many in this enlightened age who are not so interested in the training and education of their offspring.

The one big danger in the South is ignorance. Many people who are literally trained, versed in letters and science, are still ignorant, uncultured, without the tenderness of heart that makes for human happiness and such an individual is the most ignorant of all classes. He who is not trained to the extent that humanity's cause can find a way in and upon that heart is a dangerous animal and might explode at any place and on any occasion. It is the heart of the man that must be right if the head is to keep in the proper channel.

We give in part the article written by Mr. Johnson on the exercises at Acipco by the Negro people during the Health Week:

Birmingham Reporter

4-14-23

"It is just as important that the South train its Negroes for the part they are to perform as to train their whites for their part. It is just as important for the South that its Negroes take on self-respect and self-control as it is that the whites rise to higher planes of efficiency through superior equipment. The industry of the South to arrive at the ultimate of development must be harmonious in all its parts. That cannot be when any part is neglected. The chain is no stronger than its weakest link.

There are shops in the Birmingham district where the higher capacity average of the Negro workers automatically attracts attention. Investigation of the plant surroundings and the home conditions of the Negroes working there tell the tale.

The plant that cares for its Negro workers reaps two benefits. The one is the tendency of worthy Negroes to come there to work and the other is the tendency to stay there after locating and to further improve the workmanship in order to measure up to the esprit de corps that pride of performance is sure to create.

Mankind should never be afraid of intelligence. It is a mistaken notion that society is better off for having an element that is without ambition. Where there is no ambition there is no incentive to better workmanship. Wood is better chopped by a man who uses brain and muscle than by one who uses muscle only. Ditches are better dug by men who think than by those who simply shovel dirt.

More or less surprise and even a very agreeable astonishment is expressed by iron and steel operators and other industrial captains over the current efficiency of labor. That is because labor is in a mental attitude more wholesome than that of the war period. Business at large is congratulating itself that conservatism's voice is still heard over the roar of 100 per cent production. Men are sober. During the war they were drunk, blind, not thinking. They were poor at the job because they were not using the head.

A trained horse, a trained hunting dog, a trained elephant, a trained lion, a trained Negro, a trained white man—they are all the better for being trained to use their heads. Any human creature that does nto use its head is a clod or a menace. Don't be afraid of training humans. It pays with birds and beasts; why not with humans?"

The above expression by Mr. Johnston may be read with profit by many of us. It is a point of reasoning so seldom entered into by those in power and who only can get such results as are here advocated. We are altogether in sympathy with the expression and are giving further utterance that the thousands of our own people might read and know that all is not dark in Dixie and there are thousands of good people in every section of the South whose hearts are ready and whose interest is in humanity and they are counselling and advising about Negro humanity along with other races. Let us hope that such expressions will be furthered by other characters who are able to convince dominant forces that there is profit, there is gain and service in educating humanity, and that it is dangerous, it is discouraging, it is unseen war and destruction to trod along in the blind path of ignorance.

SIX ORGANIZATIONS MEET WITH KELLY MILLER AND ISSUE CALL FOR GREATEST RACE CONFERENCE IN HISTORY.

(Crusader Service).

New York, April 7.—In complete unanimity in the opinion, based upon actual experience in the field, that enmity toward Americans of African descent is on the increase rather than otherwise, the organi- March for an held 24.

detail call specifying time and place, agenda and representation will be issued later by the Committee of Arrangements which is for the present composed of Dean Miller, Wm. Monroe Trotter, James L. Neil, Jas. Weldon Johnson, Robert W. Bagnall, Dr. D. N. E. Campbell, Rev. Jernigan, Richard B. Moore, Otto c. Husiwould, with Dr. Shaw and Mr. Briggs as ex-officio members in their capacity of President and Secretary, respectively, of the Conference which, before its adjournment, voted to go into permanent being and elected another permanent officer, Mr. James Weldon Johnson, as treasurer.

It is proposed to have representation at the all-Race Conference from the following phases of Negro life; and will be apportioned by the Committee of Arrangements on the basis of an equal number of delegates from each section:

Religious Organizations,
Fraternal Organizations,
Civil Rights Organizations,
Social Organizations,
Educational Organizations,
Organized Press,
Labor Organizations,
Business Organizations, and Professional Organizations.

The task of working out an agonda, basis of representation and preparing a detailed Call will naturally take some time, and before the job is completed many experts in the various subjects to be dealt with have to be co-operated to the present Committee of Arrangements. In the meantime, however, the organizations composing the Conference and issuing the Call, express the hope that the Negro Press will give this call the widest circulation and that all Negro organizations and bodies will begin at once to move in the direction of the all-Race Conference. It is the hope of the Conference that parliamentary rules and the regular red tape will be suspended in this case and that immediate action will be taken on a question so vital and important to the well being of the Negro masses as the calling of this All-Race Conference with the view of realizing a solid front against the ever increasing onslaughts of the enemy. The Call follows:

The Call.

"The world today has come to a critical period of its existence. Our race likewise has reached a crucial situation. The promises of emelioration and of full citizenship so easily made during critical period of the Great World War have failed of fulfillment. In this time of readjustment there is growing a very menacing spirit of animosity against the race and a determination to thrust the Negro down into the most servile and degrading status and to maintain him there forever.

"Now while world readjustment is in progress and when every other oppressed group is exerting itself to the utmost to gain its rights and liberties, the Negro Race must bestir itself, must concentrate its best thought and energy to withstand and terrible onslaughts made against it and accure its due and rightful status; equal manhood rights and opportunities in every department of life. The Race must be stimulated to utilize all available opportunities for constructive endeavor and must be brought into harmonius working relationships with the white race.

"The need is urgent, hay, imperitive, then, for the assembling of a national all-Race Conference to consider the present position of the Race, and to devise ways and the hostile forces arrayed against it, to formulate a plan of defence and protection, to discover the forcesm agencies and organizations which may be utilized in that defence, to effect a United Front of the Race, and todevise ways and means for full and complete emancipation.

The attention of the Conference must be focussed upon the following:

Race Prejudice,
Legal Discriminations,
Economic Exploitation,
Racial Self-Respect,
Religious Awakening,
Moral and Social Betterment,
Co-operation Within the Race and Between the Races,
Political Action,
Industrial Betterment,
Such Evils as:
Lynching,
Ku Kluxism,
Segregation,
Disfranchisement,
Unequal Enforcement of Law,
Peonage.

A detailed Call specifying time and place will be issued later by the Committee of Arrangements. Every Negro organization should begin now to move in this direction and the attention and energy of the race centered upon the successful conduct of this Conference to the end that our Race should at last achieve that improvement of its status for which we all hope and strive.

Signed:

African Blood Brotherhood—Richard B. Moore, W. A. Domingo, Otto E. Husiwould.

Friends of Negro Freedom—George S. Schuyler.

International Uplift League—D. N. E. Campbell.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—James Weldon Johnson, Robert W. Bagnall, Richetta G. Randolph.

National Equal Rights League—James L. Neill, Matthew A. N. Shaw, Wm. Monroe Trotter.

National Race Congress — Kelly Miller.

Letters to Editor

IGNORANCE OF SOME NORTHERNERS ABOUT THE SOUTH.

Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 24, 1923.

Editor The Advertiser:

During the past two years I have received nearly ten thousand letters from men in the North and West about Montgomery county and the South generally. From the ignorance displayed in a large number of these inquiries, I think the General Educational Board, together with the United States Department of Education, should employ a number of southern boys and girls as educational missionaries to brighten up the dark places in the ignorant North.

Only recently we have had letters wanting to know how much turpentine was in our drinking water; others want to know if the snakes and reptiles crawl through the streets in the day, as well as at night; then some ask if the negro is too dangerous to make life safe in the towns or on the farms, and one Ohio brother has recently inquired as to whether we had any schools located in Montgomery county.

Seriously, the average child in the South has more information about geography in five minutes than the average adult in the North seems to have acquired in a lifetime.

In seeking to bring Northern and Western farmers to Montgomery county we are not only offering the greatest climatic and agricultural advantages, but we seem to be offering them tremendous educational opportunities. Along this line I note that the State of Illinois is just now in a most chaotic condition about her educational program, and it is taking the combined efforts of her best men and women to keep the State from turning back to educational conditions little better than in her pioneer days.

I wonder if enough of our people really appreciate the splendid citizenship of native people and the educational opportunities enjoyed in Montgomery county.

Yours truly,

JESSE B. HEARIN,
Farm Section Chamber of Commerce

SOFT SOAPING THE SOUTH

ALTHOUGH A FEW WEEKS have elapsed since our president gave expression to sentiments relative to the South which are not in harmony with historical facts, the same are still being discussed and commented upon by the press throughout the country. It is an unfortunate fact that our president seldom if ever says anything or writes anything relative to the South that he does not put his foot in it.

In expressing his inability to accept the invitation to attend the reunion of the Confederate veterans the president made a brief quotation from the letter of invitation and then gave expression to his own views in the following words:

"I AM QUOTING these sentences because they have moved me to say that in my judgment the reconstruction of the South, by the people of the South in the face of tremendous discouragements following the war, set the finest example that could be urged upon a war-wasted world today. The men of Lee's and Johnson's armies went home to their tasks of reconstruction with hearts of courage and purpose of determination to overcome all obstacles."

THE ABOVE is not only unnecessary and unwise, but is out of harmony with the truth. In subserviently and sycophantically lauding his Southern friends the president not only gives them credit which they do not deserve or merit, but goes out of his way to distort American history for that purpose. In the first place, in using the term "the Southern people" he falls into the common error of including within that term only Southern white Democrats; all others are excluded. They are the salt of the earth and the cream of society.

IN THE NEXT PLACE, it is absolutely untrue that the reconstruction of the South was the work of "the Southern people." The only state governments that "the Southern people" had any hand in forming were those organized under what was known as the "Andrew Johnson plan of reconstruction." Several state governments were thus organized, the only condition being prescribed by the president being that they should ratify the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. They ratified the Thirteenth, but contemptuously rejected the Fourteenth, and proceeded to enact a black code which was worse than that which existed in ante-bellum days.

THEY WENT THROUGH the form of electing senators and representatives in congress, but they were not admitted to the seats, and the state governments thus organized by "the Southern people" were rejected by the American people, as expressed through congress. Then followed what is known as the congressional plan of reconstruction, which was not only antagonized bitterly by President Johnson but also by "the Southern people." So general was this opposition that they adopted the policy called "masterly inactivity," which meant that "the Southern people" would take no part whatever in the formation of state governments under the reconstruction acts of congress, thus leaving that work to the Colored people and such of the whites as had the courage, manhood and independence to co-operate with them.

EVERY REBEL STATE that was readmitted to the Union was admitted under this plan. It was the states thus organized that ratified the Fourteenth and subsequently the Fifteenth amendments and made them a part of the federal Constitution, which never could have been done otherwise. This policy was rigidly enforced under President Grant's administration. It was not until the Republican party lost the North in 1874 that a change along these lines took place. Subsequent to this the remnant of Lee's and Johnson's armies were reorganized and armed for the purpose of intimidation, fraud and murder.

THESE METHODS have been somewhat modified by substituting nullification for force and violence—which is equivalent to substituting highway robbery for grand larceny. This is the work of "the Southern people." If Mr. Harding wanted to be perfectly accurate along these lines he should have consulted his personal friend Senator Underwood of Alabama, whose seat would be occupied by a man of different political views if the people of his state were allowed to give free and fair expression of their wishes at the ballot box, and the same carried into effect. Or he might have consulted another shining light in the senate in the person of Pat Harrison of Mississippi, who officially typifies methods that are indefensible in American politics.

THESE MEN could have and would have told him that "the Southern people" were and are not only bitterly opposed to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, but they insist even now that the supreme court of the United States should declare them null and void because they were incorporated into the federal Constitution contrary to and over the protests of "the Southern people."

Race Problem—1923.
United States.
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AUG 25 1923

Negro Gives Views

TO the Editor of The Telegraph: I want to put a bit of stress on a few words in an article of a few days past. A writer mentioned social equality. This is not what is in the minds of any thinking colored person. It is not social equality, we want, but it is justice in the courts, and law that gives us a right.

And, again, the colored people are not treated as if they are human beings. How are they treated in the North? That's the question being asked. Well, they are treated some better than they are here.

There will have to be more Christianity before the people of your race can see.

Here, our churches, schools and dwellings are burned and if we show any steps toward protecting our property we are lynched, our females as well as the males.

The younger set of your boys between the ages of 16 and 25 years old, are very dangerous to my people, when they are in bunches, while our boys are not allowed to stand around at any place on the street. Your boys will see one of my race coming on the sidewalk; they will start advancing towards them five or six deep, taking all space on the walk, then when the man reaches them, he has to walk in the street. Some Christianity, is it not? Then, there are some smaller who throw rocks at us or stand directly in one's path. We can't say anything if we do we are arrested and booked on disorderly conduct. But looking you can see their parent or some one to stop them but who says nothing, but laughs. Your people's dogs will bite us; we are not allowed to hit them.

The writer spoke of seeing an officer of the law striking a colored man. That, I have seen happen more than once, and the captive not doing anything whatever.

The colored man hates to leave the South, but the call of the North is tempting, and besides, there are better educational facilities, law that deals square and not the blood-thirsty white man.

And, too, there are some other things. Where I work, there is a white man who is the overseer. When he gets angry, he tells the men when he sends one home to "get and go North or South." This would discourage you if your people were migrating and a man told you that; you would feel like leaving too.

There was a colored man who was an overseer, but got the wages of the other laborers. Then he heard of the wages being paid to laborers in the North; he said he was going and he did.

Now they have a white man on the same job and not doing what the colored man was doing, because whereas the colored man helped work, the white man only stands around, although the white man draws four times as much as the colored. Is there any right in that?

The colored man needs to stay in the South, but there will have to be other steps taken to entice him to stay.

It is said when they reach the North they take cold and die. The same thing here, with the poor living quarters and too, he is killed if he speaks for his rights. Some white people say we have no rights. Well, why should you say we have and then say we haven't when we speak for them or concerning them Is that Christianity?

If a man of your race mistreats a man of mine, the man of my race can't say a word, for if he does he is slain by a mob before twelve hours passes. It's true and the answer is left to your people.

Will you white people try to do something to prevent this continued exodus?

Better treatment and some Christian thinking—surely this will stop it.

This fact is known as true by everyone, that if something keeps a man sick or tired and some one tells him a cure for it, he will surely try it. Then, why not tell us, the Negroes, our trouble so we can cure it? We have done all we knew.

If politics keeps us down, why not tell us? You all say a man has a right. Why is it his political right keeps him down, especially the Negro? Is it power the Negro has? I am sure that's not it because you keep him down from power. But comparatively speaking, the Negro is like unto the elephant in the circus, and you are the trainer.

The North is no place for the Negro. But he has taken up the spirit of migration and has found the North better in treatment than the South. Although the Negro is understood better in the South than in the North, for government he desires the North.

The foreigner had to learn the North when he was migrating into it. He left his country for a better government and higher wages. The North is where he found them. Although the Negro may die from different causes in the North, he seems to be satisfied.

Please look into this simply as a business matter.

A COLORED CITIZEN

Fail In Efforts To Agitate Race Trouble In Ohio

Pittsburgh Courier
9-1-23 Pa

CINCINNATI, O., Aug. 30.—According to reports emanating from the police headquarters there is an element of whites in this city who have endeavored to make it a business to foment racial friction. They resort to divers methods. Sending in riot calls. Very often reports are received by the police that there is a big clash between the races in a certain section of the city, but when the police arrive on the scene there is absolutely no evidence of any trouble. Some have gone so far as to venture the opinion that the police will some day fail to respond to a riot call when there is actually a big clash in progress and the whites will have had a chance to have wreaked their vengeance of some defenseless group of Negroes and make secure their get-away before the arrival of any police.

During the past few weeks false reports have been received at the various police stations almost every day and night. The police are making a vigorous effort to apprehend the person or persons responsible for such alarms.

MAKING GOOD IN THE NORTH

The Freeman 8-25-23

Robert T. Small, writing in the Indianapolis News, sounds a pessimistic note about the future of the Southern Negro in the Northland. It is rather curious how these writers spread so much ink without giving the real reason why the Negro is leaving the Southland in such large numbers. While the average Negro is liable to read such articles as so much bunk, on the other hand, the laugh may progress into a wail of despair if the Negro does not determine how to fix his status in thee Northland, by making himself indispensable to northern industry and we might as well realize now that he cannot do this by indolence, half doing his work, making poor and indifferent time, the working Negro must not only get the above facts grounded into his very soul, but the leaders of the Race, that is, ministers, welfare workers, and others must preach efficiency from the housetops to the end that the Negroes do not make a fizzle of this, his one great chance. The Negro must face the fact that he is on trial, that he has many friends among the white Race, especially among the masters of large industries, who so far have not been influenced by the siren song of Negro haters. The Negro must keep faith with these men by being sober, industrious, and thoroly dependable.

Indianapolis

Many Negroes who come North will enjoy for the first time the right of suffrage. It would be most unfortunate if these new voters lend themselves to the paid and unscrupulous politicians of both races. As much as we condemn the attitude of the white south during reconstruction days, we must admit that the Negro verly largely contributed to his own undoing, during this period. That he was ignorant and unprepared for his new freedom, every sane man must admit. Given the same consideration, that would have been given other element of our citizenship under like conditions, the Negro would have made good in spite of this great handicap, but he was not given the same consideration then and he won't be given the same consideration now. Knowing this it is therefore imperative that honest and thoughtful leaders rise to the occasion and give the newcomer advice and encouragement to the end that they make good. We therefore, appeal to race leadership everywhere to cut out personal bickerings, cut out seeking individual credit to the end that they may shine as individuals, but get under the load, pull continuously and together. If this is done and done now we need not fear the future of the New Negro and the old Negro above the Mason-Dixon Line.

Have Our Folks Got a Color Line?

The Cotton Farmer

Search Mss

9-23-23

The "Muck a Mucks" of the **"National Association Advancement of Colored people," and the "Universal Negro Improvement Association,"** and the offshoot of this latter organization, the **"African Blood Brotherhood"** have for quite a long time engaged in a merry growl over all trying to grow the same bone, and by ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, lay glad hands on the earned dollars from the pay rolls furnished our people by the American White man. They have succeeded in putting **Marcus Garvey the President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association** in fetters and chains andhe is now in the **Tombs**—the great National prison. **Garvey although in jail is writing some pretty hot stuff against the N. A. A. C.P.** Among the things claimed by Garvey is the fact that, "Du Bois represents a group that hates the Negro blood in their veins, and has been working subtlely to build up a caste aristocracy that would socially divide the race into two groups: One the superior because of color caste, and the other the inferior"

He claims that in **New York, Boston, Washington and Detroit** and other cities that our business people actually drew the line and would only employ mulattoes. That they had a**"Blue Vein"** ..Society and **"Colonial Club"** and that the annual balls, other social functions only yellow people were invited or admitted.

We know nothing about whether **Du Bois** and his followers are color struck or not, but we know one or two things that point, as straws point, the desire of the greater part of our people to get away from their Negro blood. The multitude of "Hair Straighteners "and" face bleachers" enjoy a patrongage not enjoyed by any other business effort of the race.

We are very much interested in reading the matter sent to the Cotton Farmer by Garvey from the New York jail. "When rogues fall out, honest men get their dues".

We know on thing and that is the same element pursuing **Garvey** to his persecution and desired death is the same element that purrsued **Booker Washington** to the brink of his grave, and even now throw black ink on his monument. **Booker creted pay rools, and was a constructive race builder, and the element opposing him so far as this paper knows have never done a thing but stand afar off and curse about economical conditions... Garvey at least was trying to have our race take a place as ship owners, even if he failed. Possibly he would not have failed had these fellows went on and worked in their line, and let Garvey work in his line. Garvey made the mistake in trying to placcate every high brow connected with him, by giving him a high salaried job. Garvey's ship line is not the first and only ship line that has gone into bankruptcy, and if Garvey actaully robbed the stock holders, he is not the only one to rob. There are others out of jail that have done the race more harm than Garvey.**

DECADENCE OF SOUTHERN CIVILIZATION.

By Mrs. Mary B. Owen.

Washington Eagle

11-17-23

First, it must be frankly admitted that there has never been much that could be termed real civilization in the South. Any place that is dominated by ignorance, prejudice and misunderstanding can not attain any high degree of civilization. To this day the South allows the above diabolical trinity to take leading rank in all of its affairs; hence there is no way of escape from the darkness of superstition into the light of knowledge, because there is no actual desire for something better.

In the discussion of any topic pertaining to the South, one can not avoid the race question. There are two races that live in proximity to each other—the white (because it wishes to do so) —and the black (because it can not do otherwise.) There is no good reason why the races should not dwell peaceably together, but, because of a guilty conscience, the superior white race is ever frightened by the bogy of domination by the inferior black race. This fear (which has always been man's worst foe) keeis the white race so busy devising ways and means to hinder the progress of the colored people, that they do not have time to improve themselves physically, mentally nor morally.

We know that "righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." A nation that spends the major portion of its time preventing another from scaling the heights causes itself to retrograde, for we must rise together, or fall together. We should never strike a man who is down. It is mean. Then, too, he might get up again.

The South has become a professional humanity oppressor. It has lost all sight of moral law. No longer can it say, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn," for it is so given to sadism, that beholding another's woe gives cause for excessive rejoicing. One comforting thing about the whole matter is the fact that a man or nation reaps what he or its sows. And, again, who digs a pit for his brother, falls into it himself.

Hypocrates can not mould a character of worth. The South makes open preachments against social equality, yet it practices more of it than any other section of the country. No one drives, coaxes, or shoves the whites on Negro society, still they push themselves into it without fear or favor, not even caring whether they are welcome or not. Some have been known to fight and die for the privilege of mixing with the Negroes. All this because every Southerner has his Negroes whom he loves, and without whom he could not exist. Were all of the colored people to leave the South, nearly all of the whites would follow to escape a life of dejection and misery.

The convict lease system and peonage have ever been a blot on the very name of civilization. The cruelties practiced by those who are entrusted to drive the unfortunates placed in their care, cause them to sink to the level of the brute creation, along with the creatures they control, for the way of the oppressor—like the way of the transgressor—is hard, and he can not escape the effect of his own acts.

NASHVILLE BANNER EDITORIAL

Nashville Banner

11/16/23

'ANOTHER TRADUCER" THE THE CAPTION OF UTTERANCE

AFTERNOON PAPER DISLIKES ARTICLE APPEARING IN THE BALTIMORE (MD.) SUN

Under the caption of "Another Traducer," the Nashville Banner of Tuesday evening, July 3rd contained more than a column editorial based upon an article which The Banner claims was copyrighted, which appeared in The Baltimore Sun. The article referred to is said to have attracted no little attention throughout the United States, due to the fact, it is said, that it made a general attack upon the South and its treatment toward a class of its citizens.

The Baltimore Sun is regarded as a Southern Newspaper. The entire article which appeared in the Sun was not reproduced in The Banner; only excerpts from it. The Banner's editorial is copied in full without comment as follows:

ANOTHER TRADUCER

A writer in the Baltimore Evening Sun, H. L. Mencken, has traveled far ahead of all competition in the expression of contempt for the South. His malicious and thoroughly unveracious cirticism appeared in the form of a copyright contribution.

It is unpleasant to read, and especially to make answer to men of his character, and it is often distressing to be forced to do so without clogging the reply with expletives and unseemly words of deserved characterization.

"It is surprising that such a newspaper as the Sun admitted Mr. Mencken to its columns. The editor of the paper must have known that his perpetration was calumnious and dishonest. The Sun is therefore as much to blame, really, as is the writer of the article referred to.

"The South had a hard time of it for many years following the civil war. It confronted direst poverty, a prejudiced majority of the republic, and Negro race. There is in history no such instance of a people's fortitude the problem of a newly enfranchised and resurrection than the South gave. Its entire people set to work to win back a place in the republic, to overcome poverty, to dispel prejudice and to make the best of racial conditions. They toiled conscientiously and patriotically toward worthy ends. In ante-bellum days this was the rich section of the nation, due largely to slave holding. Since the war it has become a rich section once more, despite the emancipation of slaves, due to its citizens' efforts and to their climate and the richness of their soils and forests.

"Before the civil war the South contributed much to the statesmanship of the republic. Since the war it has given equally as many intellectual and forceful men to the public service.

"There are no such conditions as the writer depicts. True, there have been lynchings, which our best people, largely in the majority, deplore. But if in the South, no less so in other sections. Negro race riots have been chronicled in New York City, in Ohio, in Illinois, in Indiana and elsewhere, showing more fiendishness than those in the South, where Negroes, thickly populated, have committed crimes that have aroused to frenzy the superior race. There has never been in the South any incident approaching in barbarity the affair at Herrin, Ill.

"We quote from the Mencken article:

In the labor troubles which now afflict the South, paralizing production on the farms and even hampering industry in the towns, there appears to be, at least on the surface, a grim, sardonic retribution. For a generation past the red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon he-men of the region have been devoting themselves heroically to torturing and murdering their black fellow citizens, pursuing them with dogs, gelding them without anesthetics, stringing them up on trees and telegraph poles, and roasting them alive over slow fires. Now at last saved some share of the loot of the war, lay it u otpuoni Ietkuoa tiino war, lay it out upon tickets to the North, where the worst they have to fear is an occasional beating by the police. Every train crossing the Ohio and Potomac river bridges is black with them. They swarm like ants in the slums of the Northern cities, and thousands upon thousands are employed by the mines and steel mills of the Black Country.

"Worse, the Confederate enterpreneurs, urban and rural, are quite unable to find other slaves to take their places. High wages alone, it appears appear to attract labor, nor even free rations of yams and watermelons. What the modern serf demands, first of all, is security in his person and domicile, and this is precisely what the South cannot offer. Against every possibility of luring foreign labor into the region there stands the massive fact of the Ku Kulx Klan. The laborious wops have heard of it, the bohunks have heard of it, and so have all the other brachycephalous victims of the Nordic blood renaissance. These newcomers to the republic, as every student of 100 per cent literature is well aware, are but little removed in intellect from the hairy primates; nevertheless, they are still sagacious enough to keep out of the South. So the cotton fields become weed-grown.

The Nashville Globe

11-6-23

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

the wild beasts of the hills come down to devour the corn, and mortgages begin to plaster the old plantation.

"The Ku Klux Klan has made headway in the section. So it has in New York, in nearly every other state in the union. In Oregon the order came near to electing a full state ticket.

The South is not in the industrial condition depicted. When the writer of the article says that because of Negroes leaving this section "our cotton fields have become weed-grown and the wild beasts of the hills have come down to devour the corn and mortgages begin to plaster the old plantation," he simply writes himself down as ignorant, mendacious and asinine.

"Naturally he takes a fling at the character of public men the South has put forward. He refers to Blease of South Carolina and Vardaman of Mississippi as representative of a bad type too prevalent. Without agreeing or disagreeing with him as to either of the two, it may be stated as a fact that while Blease served for a spell as Governor of his state, his own people have since kept him in retirement despite frequent attempts to come back. Mr. Vardaman was Governor of Mississhippi and afterwards Senator for a single term. He has since been twice defeated for re-election to the Senate.

"But what of other sections? Take Pennsylvania for instance. Mr. Mencken perhaps looks to it as the ideal state. Does he regard such statesmen as the Camerons, Penrose and Quay as more worth while to the republic than those he designates as demagogues? They represented corruption in its most malevolent form and with the power that was there were capable of real wrong. What of certain Senators today from such states as New Jersey, Iowa, Nebraska North Dakota, Illinois and elsewhere? Why is he silent regarding a state which has in Congress men like La Follette and Victor Berger?

"It may be true, doubtless is, that the South occasionally sends to Washington men better kept in retirement. They are the products of ephemeral conditions. They come to the front, survive for a while and disappear. It is so of every other section. The South today, though the standard of its public men may not be as high as it has been this section's wont to choose, yet ranks well up with other sections.

"The South had at the close of the civil war a tremendous Negro problem. It faced the same courageously and solved it to the satisfaction of the whites of the South and to a large majority of the Negroes themselves it can face the exodus of the Negroes fanciful and exaggerated, as a matter of fact, and will do so.

"The Negro has been well taken care of in this section. His best friend here or elsewhere, no matter in what direction and whither his wandering feet may bear him, is the Southern white. He has been treated with Christian consideration. He has been made a part of our institutions and protected as such. He has his churches, his schools, his places of labor and his opportunities for advancement. In Nashville, for instance there is a great Negro university, in which every white citizen takes a pride, There are many other educational institutions of note, all well patronized and rendering worthy service. Negro churches are plentiful. Every God-fearing man or woman of the race has the protection of our laws and the sympathy of our people. They have their Y. M. C. A., their the like. They own and enjoy their Y. W. C .A., their lodges, societies and operate their shops, ply their vocations, their own theaters, their own libraries, and operate their banks, plead in our courts and doctor their diseased.

"We could go further into this discussion provoked by the Baltimore Sun contributor, but perhaps not without provocation to loss of temper. It would not have been noticed at all but for the fact that there are so many ignorant men and women in other sections, who reading, may have been impressed.

"Sufficient to say in conclusion, Mr. Mencker, the author, is playing a contemptible as well as malicious part and the Baltimore Sun is as much to blame as he for having given space to his malignant output."

AMERICAN IDEALISM AND THE NEGRO.

According to the press over five thousand people recently joined in a pilgrimage to the home of Ex-president Wilson to fittingly honor the great war president. Ever since his breakdown and retirement certain newspapers have been trying to make a hero out of Ex-president Wilson. There was a time when the American Negro depended on the white press for his information. Not only did he depend upon it but swore by it. If the white press called a man great, why he was great. But not so today. The Negro reads his own papers, seeks other sources of information and then forms his own conclusion about the greatness or littleness of a man. And we know of no man on the stage of action today about whom the Negro has formed a more clean cut, unshakeable, opinion than that of Ex-president Wilson. And five thousand people, nor ten thousand pilgrims to his home Armistice Day will in any wise change or affect that opinion.

The Negro is willing to concede that the war president was and is a great scholar. He will also concede that he was a master weaver of beautiful and high sounding phrases, but that he possessed the qualities of true greatness the Negro will not admit. A really great man is bigger than his surroundings. Stands head and shoulders above the crowd. Not only talks right, but acts right. Christ was great and He evidenced that greatness in his attitude toward the weak and lowly, the poor, he unforunate, the outcast and the fallen. Lincoln was great and he evidenced that greatness by striking a fatal blow at the institution known as slavery. Roosevelt was great and he evidenced that greatness by refusing to close the doors of hope in the face of any man because of his color. Imagine, if you can, Woodrow Wilson in the case of the fallen woman of Bible history exclaiming, "Let him that is without guilt cast the first stone." The truth of the matter is that the attitude of Ex-president Wilson is the attitude of the average American white man in so far as the American Negro is concerned and a funny thing about it is that it matters not what injustice, however, open and brazen it may be that the American white man heaps upon the unoffending American Negro, such action does not in the least affect his social, political or even religious status with others of his race. Indeed he may rob, beat and burn the Negro and not lose his standing in his local community and is no less great in the estimation of his white world. Take for example certain sections of the Southland where a white man may openly live with a colored mistress and yet not be disqualified from holding the highest office in the gift of his state or otherwise elevated to a position of honor and trust. It is a curious fact that while white fathers will shrink with horror at the very thought of their daughters marrying a white man who is known to have murdered a white man and yet they will receive with open arms a prospective son-in-law who boasts of having been a party to the lynching of an innocent Negro. It appears that murder is not murder when the skin of the man happens to be colored.

What we are trying to point out is that a white man's acts toward the Negro as an individual or a group does not seem to weigh in the minds of other members of his group when summing up his worth. Therefore the shameful treatment of our colored boys on the field of battle during the late war, the strange silence of Ex-president Wilson when colored soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States Army were lynched after their return from maknig the world safe for democracy, the wholesale jim-crowing of Negroes in government buildings, the rape of Haiti and the making of a football out of poor little Liberia during the Wilson administration, does not make him any the less a hero in the eyes of a large number of white Americans.

JUN 2 81923

THE NEGRO'S PETTY OPPRESSORS.

Whenever the real friends of the negroes try to get at the bottom of the causes which are inducing so many of them to go north in search of rainbow gold, the charge is brought forward that they do not get a square deal in business matters and more particularly when they are brought into contract with the law.

The chances are that they will not better their condition, even in these particulars, when they go North, but the proper thing for us to consider is whether the charges are true, and long observation will convince any man that in many cases they are only too true. Many of them are child-minded, and reach out after gewgaws for which they have no use and which they cannot afford. Others are making a praise-worthy effort to furnish and brighten their homes so that living conditions will be more attractive.

They are encouraged to buy various articles on long-time payments sold at an outrageous profit, and on the slightest delinquency their goods are taken from them. In some instances all the principles of law and procedure are flagrantly over-riden, while in other cases they are the victims of a class of grasping oppressors who perhaps track the letter of the law and yet set all equitable considerations at defiance.

The negroes, in their ignorance and simplicity, cannot understand the intricases of all these proceedings. They only know that every now and then some legal attachment is issued against them, their goods are taken away and their homes despoiled. The have to start in again on the "exortion" plan to try to accumulate something once more, but under great discouragement.

It would not be difficult to cite numbers of white men who have fattened on this kind of system.

If we turned to the criminal side of

the code, it would be equally easy to show that negroes are frequently the victims of injustice, but, for the moment this aspect may be set to one side as constituting a chapter in itself.

The question begins to arise in its most acute form as to how long this kind of thing is to go on. We are absolutely certain that in spite of everything this is the best place for the negro, and that sooner or later, if he goes away, he will come back because his friends among the white people far exceed those who victimize him. But it would be far better if the shysters, the tipstaves and the extortionists in all their fifty-seven varieties waked up to the realty that this form of petty oppression is having a tremendous reaction and it is about time it came to an end.

The negro in Georgia must be given aid and every encouragement to accumulate property and thus acquire a stake in the community, instead of despoiling him at every turn by some petty process under color of law, and thus driving him to an alien environment which he hopes will be better because he feels it could not be worse.

—Macon News

GETTING ON WITH EACH OTHER

One thing is certain in this country: It is this, The best white Americans and Black Americans must come together and try if possible to understand each other.

It is not so much that the races are different ,the fact is that they are too much alike. People who are different get along easily. The Indian and the Whites get along well because they are opposite types. One group is ambitious and the other has no ambition and so on.

But take a black and a white American with the same brain power, their ambitions are the same. They both want to be President or bankers. If one starts something, the other imitates. They both love to into battle and are predacious. When a white man goes to bed he has to study hard to invent some way to keep a black man from taking his business, job or daughter. The black man has the same thing to do.

The white race talks of being haughty Anglo Saxons. The black race talks of being proud haughty domineering Ethiopians. The white race starts a war ,the black race want to general it. Two dominant races in the same country are like two women in the same hmse, they must either get along together or one leaves. The whites and blacks came to this country together. Some of us were dragged here, others migrated, but we are here and have got to stay. That means that we must both; whites and blacks get to know and to understand

Dubois, the Critic, Criticized

(St. Luke's Herald)

Doctor W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis, has been known heretofore as the Major Prophet of the Twentieth Century. He has said that the Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line.

In Philadelphia, a few weeks ago, at Cheyney, Doctor Dubois has been criticized as one guilty of the sin of digression and backsliding. In the August Crisis he states "more concisely and definitely" what he said at length at Cheyney.

In our humble judgment Doctor Dubois does not need anyone to come to his defense. He is fully capable of taking care of himself in every way in which he might need a defense.

There has been a disposition to discredit Doctor Dubois for some time in a certain division of the Negro Press. These younger men have decided to come in for a share of the conduct of the affairs of the Race in America. In our opinion this is a wholesome sign and a promise of better things in the future.

If Doctor Dubois had the least idea in mind to countenance the iniquitous system of the Jim-Crow he deserves all the lambasting that he has received at the hands of the irate editors of the Race. We need no sort of palliation with the wicked traffickers in the realms of prejudice and race hatred. If they are going to Jim-Crow us, let them do it, but never should we accept it as final nor as a blessing.

If we have prospered under the system of a false democracy, it has not been because of the system, but in spite of the hellishness of the things. This we should keep clearly in mind as leaders and molders of public sentiment for our struggling group in America.

We think that the patriotic editor of the Crisis had no such thing in mind as his critics have made believe that he meant. It is impossible, when one knows the man, to accuse him of a betrayal of his people and his high trust. It is simply a sign that Doctor Dubois must become more cosmopolitan in his ideas and dealings with his people. He is not so far out of range of the thinkers of his Race as he was at one time. Everybody is thinking some now. Caution, Doctor. Remember that the mighty have fallen. Come close to your common people.

SPIRIT OF SOUTH PORTRAYED BY BALTI. EDITOR

Perhaps one of the most striking articles ever written about the Negro and the South is the article which appeared in the "New York Age" last week by H. D. Menken.

Mr. Menchen is one of the best known writers in America. He is on the Editorial Staff of "The New York Nation" and the "Baltimore Sun." Mr Menchen may be regarded as the Bernard Shaw of America.

The Tribune reprints the article in full as follows:

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH

By H. L. Menchen

Nearly the whole of Europe could be lost in that stupendous region of fat farms, shoddy cities and paralyzed cerebrums; one could throw in France, Germany and Italy and still have room for the British Isles.

And yet, for all its size and all its wealth and all the "progress" it babbles of, it is almost as stirile, artistically, intellectually, culturally, as the Sahara Desert. There are single acres in Europe that house more first-rate men than all the states south of the Potomac; there are probably more worthwhile men in some single square mile north of it in America.

If the whole of the late Confederacy were to be engulfed by a tidal wave tomorrow the effect upon the progress of civilized men in the world would be but little greater than that of a flood on the Yangtse-Kiang. It would be impossible in all history to match so completely a dry-up of civilization as we see in the South. It is, indeed, amazing to contemplate so vast a vacuity and emptiness.

What is needed down there, before the vexatious public problems of the region may be intelligently approached, is a survey of the population by competent ethnologists and anthropologists. The immigrants of the North have been studied at great length.

But the older stocks of the South, and particularly the dominant poor white trash, have never been investigated scientifically, and most of the current generalizations about them are probably wrong. For example, the generalization that they are purely Anglo-Saxon in blood. This I doubt very seriously.

The chief strain down there is Celtic rather than Saxon, particularly in the hill country. French blood, too, shows itself here and there, and so does Spanish, and so does German. The Germans entered from the northward by way of the limestone belt just east of the Alleghenies.

Again it is very likely that in some parts of the South many of the plebeian whites have considerable Negro blood. Inter-breeding under concubinage produced some very light half-breeds at an early day, and no doubt appreciable numbers of them went over into the white race by the simple process of changing their abode.

Not long ago I read a curious article by an intelligent Negro in which he stated that it is easy for a very light Negro to pass as white in the South on account of the fact that large numbers of Southerners accepted as white—have distinctly Negroid features.

Some of the worst blood of Western Europe flows in the veins of the Southern poor white, now poor no longer. The original strains, according to every honest historian were extremely corrupt.

Philip Alexander Bruce (a Virginian of the old gentry) says, in his "The Institution History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," that the first native-born generation was largely illegitimate. "One of the most common offenses against morality committed in the lower ranks of life in Virginia during the seventeenth century he says, "was bastardy."

"The mothers of these bastards," he continues, "were chiefly indentured servants, and had belonged to the lowest class in their native country." Fannie Kemble Butler, writing of the Georgia poor whites of a century later described them as "the most degraded race of human beings claiming an Anglo-Saxon origin that can be found on the face of the earth—filthy lazy, ignorant, brutal, proud, penniless savages."

The marks of their origin are still unpleasantly plentiful.

It is not by accident the Negroes of the South are making faster progress economically and culturally, than the masses of white. It is not by accident that the only visible aesthetic activity in the South is wholly in their hands. No Southern composer has ever written music so good as that of half a dozen mulatto composers who might be named.

Even in politics the Negro reveals a curious superiority.

Despite the fact that the race question has been the main political concern of the Southern whites for two generations, to the practical exclusion of everything else—they have contributed nothing to its discussion that has impressed the rest of the world so deeply and so favorably as three or four books by Southern Negroes."

THE CONSTITUTION NORTH AND SOUTH.

If the whites of the south are to live the way they want to live they must disregard the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution. If they did not nullify them they would have an entirely different life and one they would not tolerate. Federal officials and federal troops made them stand for it during part of reconstruction, and consequences were barely endurable.

It is a momentous question and the north virtually tells the south to proceed in its own way, regardless of the constitution, to live as it wants to live, although it might not make a great deal of difference to the north if Georgia had a Negro governor and a Negro state judiciary and a Negro legislature.

The north does not impose its will upon the south and has not since the passions of Republican radicals wore themselves out in the seventies. The whole attitude of the country confesses that a mistake was made in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

A mistake also was made in putting a rule of private conduct in the constitution. Some states which adopted the eighteenth amendment now regret it. They show their change of mood by their votes and by acts of their legislatures. Under the eighteenth amendment they do not live as they want to live, just as the whites of the southern states could not live as they want to live under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

The man in the north who wants a glass of beer finds that he is an enemy of the constitution and an anarchist. The man in the south who does not want a black man to vote, and sees that he does not, is untainted of disrespect for the constitution and has no contempt for American law.

This may be all right, but it leaves us a bit in the dark.

Race Problem—1923
United States

Many Negro Papers are Now Finding Way Into the Mails

The American Forum 2-17-23
San Antonio, Texas

From Texas (100 Per Cent American)

Negro papers are springing up all over the United States today, "preaching" and teaching social equality. Some of these papers go so far as to make claim that the negro race is even superior to the white race. One publication of this character is "The Crisis," published by a negro by the name of Du Bois, on Fifth avenue, New York.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that this negro, Du Bois, was in a great measure, responsible for the race riots in Oklahoma, and no doubt, had the good "pore white trash" of Tulsa got their hands on the person of this negro, there would have been a strange black face in heaven or some other place, in a very few minutes time.

Another such paper reaches our desk. It is "The Messenger," published at 2305 Seventh Avenue, New York, and like, "The Crisis," this dirty negro sheet goes a length to belittle the white people of the South, and more especially the good white folks living in Arkansas.

Just read what the black jackass has to say regarding the white people of the South:

"Out of the mass of observation and experience I have attempted to reach some conclusions, to wit:

"On the surface the black people of Dixie seem happy enough, but underneath a peaceful REVOLUTION is slowly but surely making headway. Times are surely growing worse. There is a reason. Progress means change. When the change among the negroes is for the better the Southern whites can't stand it. Theoretically they want the negro to go to school, become educated, acquire property. But with that comes something else. A man of education and property is a man of standing. **HE SHOULD BE CONSULTED ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. HE SHOULD BE RESPECTED.** He shouldn't have to suffer petty indignities.

"But where is the Southerner who won't tell you: Education is all right, **but a nigger is a nigger just the same.** The theory and practice are different. They produce a paradox. One side must give way—must concede. The negro knows nothing else but concede—but he is getting damn tired of conceding ALL the time."

There will always be some poor Southern whites. They are the proudest people in the world. You can't insist that they treat you as a human being. The do so if they want to—but it is optional with them. The better element may sympathize with you, but you are still helpless. "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link." Basically, the most prosperous Southern Negro is at the mercy of the most ignoble Southern white. There is no law when it comes to a showdown between white and black.

All negroes know this. Some live 40 years and never have a single instance of trouble. But the brutal fact stares them in the face—if it ever comes to a showdown. "Would you put a nigger before a white man?" (That "nigger" may be Major Moton or he may be any obscure Southern peon.) Where is the Southerner who wouldn't qual? They may all regret it afterwards—but for the moment: "White Supremacy" with capital letters. And those whites who would bravely stand out against it—"they are 'nigger' lovers—shoot 'em like dogs!"

This is the actual situation. It is not true in every case, but it may be true in any case. And every negro knows that any case might be his own.

Underneath the revel and merry-making is a nervous tremor. Always be careful. The mob is a possibility for any negro. Each fine house and each automobile may be in ashes next week this time. Or they may be here indefinitely.

We wish to reply, particularly to the last paragraph in this negro's tirade against the Southern whites, in which he comes out holding for negro supremacy by force of brutal passion. He stresses "Each fine house and each automobile may be in ashes next week this time, or they may be here indefinitely."

What does this negro paper mean when it publishes such matter as above? Simply that the negro educators of the North and East, working in conjunction with the Roman Catholic Church, is on the verge of getting the Southern negro in more trouble than the race will be able to overcome in a thousand years. Negro Catholic churches are being established all over our fair Southland today, and are being presided over by white priests, who teach them, by precept and example, that the negro is the white man's equal—morally, socially and otherwise.

We have [illegible]on that the negro in the South [illegible]ing taught social equality, and are being urged to prepare themselves for a struggle to gain this end, and that at no far distant time.

And yet, in the face of all this evidence we hear Protestants defending the Pope and his agents, and opposing an organization (the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) which is sworn to protect our womanhood against the enroachments of this black demon, and who will see to it that the white race is kept supreme.

The clouds are growing blacker and blacker every day; more "learned" Northern Negroes are being sent into our Southland each day, with the purpose of putting this social equality stuff into the heads of the Southern Negroes, with the result that more of our white women are feeling the weight of the negro's dirty hands each succeeding day.

The testing time is coming, Mr. White Man, and when it does come will you be banded with the all-American Protestant citizens, who are standing in the path of entry of the Pope and his black following?

This negro paper goes on to say:

"There is a great pretense in Arkansas, as in all the South, that white women are greatly in need of protection against negro men, but it is the world over that sex-imposition is by the strong against the weak. It never has yet been that the colored woman was half as safe in the proximit yof white men as is the white woman in the midst of colored men in the South.

"Such is the character of the Arkansas of the present, one of the strongholds of the Ku Klux Klan and the home of the Ancient Concatenated Order of Hoo Hoo. If in the first year of the 19th century the primeval gulf had rolled again up the valley of the Mississippi and covered the rich black plains to the original water line, nothing would be missing in the world today except Bowie knives, unmeasured misery and an unaccountable number of horrible homicides."

In the face of this, the halfbaked white Protestant says we are really too hard on political Rome and the negro. Just read the papers and note the many crimes now being committed on our white women by the black brutes.

and a [illegible] small Jewish contingent is this [illegible]stionable combination, that has und[illegible]taken to grab the reins of this gove[illegible]nment, bulldoze, and frighten the 100 [illegible]er cent native born Americans into submission — and simply transform this white man's country into a Roman colony.

Never, in this history of the world, has such a bold, brazen, preposterous, and ridiculous attack been made upon a sovereign people—and it seems to peeve, and enrage this ill-matched combination of alien extraction, because the native Americans refuse to raise the white flag, and beg for quarter on bended knees.

The most of the bombardment has been carried on through a subsidized, and venal press, and is still on the job—spewing out a stench of damnable lies and hell-brewed slanders, upon the best, and most worthy of our nation.

Strange to say, these unholy, false, and villainous attacks have produced precisely the **opposite effect**—anticipated by these miserable, graceless liars, employed by the enemies of this country.

This fact is more than proven, when we realize that from every state in the Union, the real patriotic American white men are joining the new order just as fast as they can be admitted—and today, **more than two million men** are in line—and this will continue, until this entire Union will be completely permeated and surrounded by a solid phalanx of determined men, ready, and more than ready, to put an eternal silence upon the slanderous tongues that are now so blithely wagging—and that **will settle it.**

Just what hopes the opposition to the Klan can possibly have, to win this war (for it has about developed into a war) would puzzle a Solomon, to even guess.

The class, and character of the men, joining the Klan, simply precludes the possibility of them ever giving up the fight—and the chances are it **will be a fight** — for American patience, though very elastic—can be stretched too far for safety.

What puzzles, mystifies, and even amuses the writer, is to attempt to understand, how on earth the element seeking the destruction of the Klan in America—or seriously retarding its progress—can even entertain a hope to be successful.

They have lots of money, but they are deplorably weak, contrasted with the natives, that will certainly oppose them.

Money, cannot buy a 100 per cent American—and the miserable class of little Benedict Arnolds that **can** be bought are not worth a nickel a head.

They'll take your money—write the Klan up in the papers—but that's all. No decent man believes them—so what is the use?

I'll tell you precisely how it will end.

The men at the head of this anti-

American movement are going to keep up the fight (with dirty dollars) just as long as possible.

The time will come however, for an old-time house-cleaning, and it will be cleaned—from garret to cellar — and the miserable, traitors who are already known to be the bell-wethers in this nation-wide conspiracy, are going to leave the open, hit the brush, and stay there.

This will come to pass, just as sure as God reigns in Heaven—and from that time on, America—and the patriotic people who made it what it is—will go forward in her progressive march toward higher and better things.

The bell-wethers in this nation-wide conspiracy to attain control of this government are now confronted with the astonishing fact that the Israelitish forces they counted upon to aid them, are anything but a unit—in taking part in this unnecessary and damnable conspiracy to fight 100 per cent Protestant Americans.

America has been the only country on earth where a respectable Jew could live and prosper in absolute safety, and not be envied, hounded and harrassed by disreputable natives.

Remember—once for all—that his most inveterate enemy will never assert that the Jew is a fool.

Also remember, that the greatest mathematical expert in the Jewish nation will have a difficult job trying to figure out the benefit to be derived to his countrymen—in case they desert the friendship of the easy-going, free-hearted Protestant white Americans—and line up with the Big Italian Boss—with headquarters at Rome. Can you imagine such a combination?

Keep all these facts constantly in your mind.

Just sit steady—don't rock the boat—and a safe landing is assured.

Americans have never been conquered—so don't worry about traitors and Italy.

Declares South's Method Is Only Solution For The Vexing Race Question

Washington Tribune
Washington, D. C.
2-24-23

Assumes New Role in Latest Attempt to Win Favor of the South

HEARERS GREATLY SURPRISED

Is Willing to Become 'Evangelist' and Preach This Southern Doctrine

With a voice almost as clear and with spirits as bouyant as in the summer of 1896, when " 16 to 1" was the cry from coast to coast, William Jennings Bryan, erstwhile Democratic candidate for president, an opponent of the Darwinian theory, with one single sweep, told the world that the South is absolutely justified in discriminating and lynching Negroes. While the recently Southernized Northerner did not use exactly the above words, his meaning was unmistakable. Bryan's statement was such a shock that even the Southern Society before whom the Commoner was speaking had to gasp.

The new exponent of racial segregation was a guest of the Southern Society at their annual banquet at the Hotel Willard last Tuesday night. He came late on the program as an impromtu speaker Although all the speakers were practically Southerners, Bryan was the only one who in any way discussing the race question.

Bryan stated that he "finds that the Southland is confronted by a condition and not a political theory, and that there is no remedy for it except the undisputed dominance of the superior civilization. Northerners who hold other views simply don't know. If Massachusetts faced the issues the South faces, she would do exactly what the Virginians do to meet them." Bryan further argued that "The Jeffersonian doctrine about all men being created free and equal could not be littrally interpreted or enforced where there is a manifest inferiority as between one racial civilization and another. Amid such conditions the superior civilization would and must be the ascendant factor."

Bryan declared that he had watched the South's laws at work for a decade and that they had convinced him that no other system was possible He declared the South's method is immeasurably preferable to the theoristic doctrines of Massachusetts or the experiment of Illinois.

Though delivered before a Southern audience, Bryan admonished his hearers that his remarks were primarily intended for Northern consumpion, and gave the impression that he may become an evangelist in propagating it North, East and West.

William Jennings Bryan became a national figure in the Democratic presidential convention of 1896 and since then has held the spot light because of his various activities. He holds the record in running for president, having been an active or potential candidate since 1896. At times he has championed the cause of the Filipinos, and the prohibitionists, recently he began an assault on the Darwinian theory.

His native state was Nebraska until a few years ago when under the guise of "seeking his health," he migrated to sunny Florida Since making his abode in Florida, Bryan has evidently been undergoing the gradual change that all Northerners must go through if they would be in favor in the South. Evidently Brvan has been thoroughly assimilated and is now ready to go before the world wearing the glasses of race hatred and white supremacy

In playing h[illegible] new role the Commoner evidently has his eyes centered on the Democratic presidential nomination in 1924 and figured that the opportunity of speaking before the Southern Society would be a good one to win the Southerners to his banner by championing their pet cause and hobby. In other words he hopes to ride the Democratic nomination on the broken necks and scarred backs of Negroes. Like omst Northerners who migrate South, Bryan believes that by simply "hollering" Negro and White Supremacy, the Ku Klux Klan and the white South generally will just flock into his camp and naturally bring him along with them, the nomination. It is essential for Bryan to try now to win the support of a skeptical South because Oscar W. Underwood of Birmingham, Ala., now U S. Senator, is being groomed by some Southerners as the Demo-as Underwood is Southern born and bred, and thoroughly rabid to boot, bred, and thoroughly rabit to boot, naturally Bryan must prove to the South that he is even a better or worse, Southerner than Underwood himself.

Bryan finds himself drowning in a political sea; and like most drowning men he is grabbing for the proverbial straw, and that straw is the Negro issue. Unless he can win his party's nomination next year, his chances for ever being a figure again is forever gone, as his advanced age will forever eliminate him. His purpose in moving South was considered by many, at that time, as being a political move. This contention was practically proven in 1920 when Bryan made an attempt to run for the U. S. Senate

N. A. A. C. P. ASK INDIANA GOVERNOR TO PROTECT COLORED CITIZENS.

Louisville News

Governor Gives Assurance He is Watching Blanford Race Situation.

Louisville, Ky.
2-3-23

New York, Jan. 30.—Upon receipt of news and a telegram stating that colored people were being driven from their homes in Blanford, Ind., and that a massacre of colored citizens had been threatened because of an alleged crime attributed without proof to a colored man, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on January 23, telegraphed Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana as follows:

"This Association has received from committee of colore dcitizens at Blanford, Ind., telegram stating that there is critical racial situation there and that colored people are being driven from their homes on account of alleged crime by unknown man and that massacre of colored people tomorrow is threatened. National Association for Advancement of Colored People appeals to you to give these colored citizens the protection which is due them from the State of Indiana.

(Signed)
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON.
Secretary.

Governor McCray replied to this telegram on the same day, wiring as follows:

"Am watching situatian closely. Officers report everything quiet.

(Signed)
WARREN T. McCRAY.

WHITE MAN INSULTS COLORED GIRL; STABBED

Baltimore Herald
& Commonwealth
3-1-23

Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 27.—Felix Alexander, white, alleged to have been under the inuence of intfloxicants, is in the Grady Hospital suffering from a stab wound said to have been inflicted by the male escort of a prominent society woman last Monday night.

According to the police Alexander walked up Piedmont avenue and meeting the couple, said to the woman, "Leave that nigger and come with me." A fight ensued resulting in Alexander being stabbed. The assailant escaped. The name of the young woman has not been learned by the police.

Negroes Ch[illegible] Under Res[illegible]

CHICAGO [illegible] CHRS CENTER
FEBRUARY 1, 1923

The restrictions of life in the more backward sections of the south account for much of the Negro exodus to the north. It is said that the son of Booker T. Washington can never live in the state of Alabama again because he espoused the cause of a colored man who suffered an injustice. The racial consciousness of the Negroes is being made manifest in their missionary work. as may be seen from the fact that all of the Negro missionary work in the island of Haiti is being carried on by workers sent out by the Negro Baptist church of America. It is interesting to note that 65 per cent of Negro Christians in America are Baptists.

Prominent European Churchmen

Race Problem—1923

United States

As Race Conference

the Messenger

In the January issue of *The Crisis*, Dr. DuBois, perplexed and vexed over the defeat of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, says anent the subject of a third party:

Our duty is clear. And in order to systematize and concentrate our votes, we must, early in 1924, assemble in a National Political Congress—a congress duly representative of every locality, to decide on methods, ways and means.

2-'23

Rather belated but still a splendid suggestion, providing such a congress is truly representative not only of every locality but also of every shade of Negro political opinion, Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Non-Partisan or what not. New York

Practically at the same time, Prof. Kelly Miller issued a call in the Negro press for a Race Congress which will deal not alone with the Negroes' political problems, but, as he puts it, with the "State of the Race." Prof. Miller proceeds to name certain Negro organizations that should be included in such a call. It is significant that he scrupulously excludes the radical or left wing school of Negro thought. We don't charge that it is deliberate. It might have been an oversight; but something must be seriously the matter with one's optics today when he fails to see the rising tide of radicalism among Negroes—as expressed by a definite and well-defined group. We make these observations because we are too cognizant of the unrepresentative character of Negro conferences and congresses. Of course it is not peculiar to the Negro. The Versailles Peace Conference was one-sided. That is why it failed. It excluded Russia and Germany. Specifically speaking, the Pan-African Congress and the Garvey Congresses were failures because the impression prevailed that they were self-glorification stunts of their authors. We, however, register our approval of the congress or conference idea. We must confer if we would understand each other, and we must understand each other if we would move forward. May we remind our readers that, in the midst of the industrial and financial panic, when the commercial highways were strewn with wrecks of Negro businesses and Negro workers were tramping the streets as a part of the army of the unemployed, THE MESSENGER, seeing the dreadful and serious plight of the race, advised the calling of an economic conference to formulate policies that would enable the group to weather the storm without great injury. But few of our leaders think basically, and hence the call fell upon deaf ears. Thus we shuffled on distressingly unwitting of our way, still suffering on account of the lack of collective economic action.

PRINCEFIELD MASS EVE'G
FEBRUARY 20 1923

Negro Question

Wi[ll the ne]gro question ever be settled? It persist[s, cr]opping up every now and then. It appears [in] educational institutions. It is made the [foo]tball of politics. The Ku Klux Klan employs it as one of the chief planks in its platform. Here we are, living in one country, a black race and a white one, refusing to amalgamate. And the black race is increasing. In the eyes of alarmists it is a constantly growing menace. What shall be done about it?

Well there are those who believe that the Negro question is settling itself about as rapidly as so big a question can hope to be settled.

A hundred years ago the ancestors of many of these American Negroes were living as savages in the jungles of Africa. In a single century, during part of which they were given no opportunities, they are expected to have attained to a plane of civilization reached by their white brothers after thousands of years of struggle. If they have not fully accomplished that feat is it to be wondered at? The wonder is that they have achieved so much.

Sixty years ago a former editor of The Union spent a year as civil overseer of territory occupied by Federal troops in Beaufort County, South Carolina. He found there hundreds of ignorant and helpless Negroes whose masters, in the stress of war, had been obliged to desert them. He found them incapable of self-support, like children that had to be cared for. They did not know how to plant crops, how to build houses, how to make clothes. They were eager to learn. They wanted the white man's religion, which they strangely mixed with savage rites. They wanted to be married like white people. They wanted to be taught the fundamentals of life in the land of which they suddenly found themselves to be free citizens.

There were at that time in the South, as well as in the North, Negroes who had reached a higher degree of civilization than that, but the great mass of them were totally undeveloped. What has become of those people, so unexpectedly thrown upon their own recourses, so unprepared for the boon of freedom? "The Pathfinder" is authority for the following significant statistics:

"According to a recent report, in the last sixty years Negroes in this country have acquired 22,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes and 45,000 churches. They operate 78 banks and 100 insurance companies, besides 70,000 other business enterprises, with a capital of $150,000,000. Owing to the large number of schools and colleges for colored children, illiteracy has been reduced to less than 27 per cent."

Well, there you are! There's your Negro problem! Of course, they have had some help from us, but they should be able to count on that also for the future. This is what six decades have brought them, and they started with most of these figures represented by zero, except that illiteracy was nearly 100 per cent.

Before we despair, why not give the American Negro another sixty years and see what comes of it?

Coolidge At Tuskegee

2-28-23

(The Boston Guardian).

American News. New York

As Vice-President Coolidge stood up at Tuskegee reciting the achievements of the Colored people in war and peace, as he made the dedicatory speech at the new "Negro veterans' hospital," he should have felt ashamed that he was the Vice-President of a country which has done so much to segregate and degrade the group of American citizens for which the "Jim Crow" hospital was built. The fact that it cost $2,000,000, serves to emphasize the other fact that it is a costly monument to the Nation's shame.

The Colored people having as Mr. Coolidge says, performed the duties of citizenship in peace, and given their lives in war, they should be treated exactly the same as every other element in the mixed population of the United States. No one has suggested a segregated hospital for Jewish veterans or those of other races. The only way now that the people of the United States can prove that the Tuskegee hospital is not a segregated affair, built for the purpose of separating the Colored people from their fellow citizens, and for the express purpose of having all of the other elements despise them, is to construct separated hospitals for Jews Hawaiians, English, Filipinos, French, Germans Malays, Polish, Chinese, Russians, Japanese, Spanish and the one hundred and one other races and nationalities which make up our cosmopolitan population.

It is not strange that Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee, was enthusiastic because it enhances his prestige among the enemies of the Colored people in the United States. His statement that the hospital "is the greatest achievement of our government for the Colored race in America since emancipation," is a joke. It shows that he has not read history; that he has no conception of democracy; that he is a man wholly without vision; that he is satisfied with segregation. He did not speak as a man who felt he had within himself the power of American citizenship. No, Principal Moton, the hospital is NOT an "achievement" but another curse which caste has placed upon thet Colored citizens of this caste-cursed country.

NEW ORLEANS LA ITEM
FEBRUARY 14, 1923

THE writer recalls w[ell] arly the threadbare fictions of "The Ne[gro] Menace" and "White Supremacy," and all the re[st] of the twaddle in which the reverend blood-and-thunderer defended his first performances against sensible criticism. But when all was said, the fact was clear:

He had successfully capitalized a prejudice. He had made money by playing to hatred and the baser passions of the unreasoning side of man.

There was no more negro menace then than there is today. There is no more today than there was then. No manifestation in the negro life of the nation, or any part of it, either then or now, requires red fire and masks, for the protection of the white race or any other legitimate object.

WAY TO BUILD A RACE.

Milwaukee Leader

It is contended by many earnest students of racial conditions in this country that the Negro, like the female character in Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "jest growed." The need for a real constructive program in building up racial solidarity is therefore insisted upon as a vital necessity. Pressure from without has contributed largely to this result where the forces of prejudice and discrimination have driven the members of the race to combine in order to serve their special interests in business and other relations of life. The lack of this outside pressure in other communities has retarded certain business developments because of the facilities already existing which served the same purposes.

The building up of a race is not to be accomplished in a day or a year, especially when the race concerned is strongly imbued with individualistic tendencies. The Negro race in America is fundamentally an American product, root, stem and branch. Its original ancestors undoubtedly came from Africa, but little of the habits and traditions that they brought with them has survived. In the three centuries since they landed on American soil their descendants have been absorbing the spirit and the letter of American civilization as built up and created by the different European races that settled this country. The various qualities contributed by these various strains have been acquired by those of African extraction, modified or accentuated by the surviving traits handed down from the period be[fore] immigration. But primarily the [Negro] is an American, because no other [coun]try can take the place that Ame[rica] has played in his racial development.

It follows then that all plans for social and industrial development must be along the lines of American progress. This has been apparent in the strides already made in religious welfare and fraternal organizations, insurance and financial institutions, educational progress and individual and cooperative business enterprises. The need for further development along all these lines is pressing, but there is also need for keeping this development moving in legitimate channels and safeguarded from exploitation by unscrupulous promoters. Too many individuals make a practice of preying on the community on the plea of helping to start race business. The

honest promoter of any business enterprise should first acquire the requisite experience to conduct the business he plans. He should start with his own capital and demonstrate the possibilities of success. Then if additional funds are needed for expansion, he can appeal for more capital with a showing that will prove his good faith and inspire confidence in his enterprise. The possibility of establishing small retail business has not been tested to the extent that it deserves. Department stores and other concerns doing business on a large scale involve a large overhead expense to run them successfully. The smaller retailer can keep down this item and give special service to each customer.

Cooperative enterprises to be successful demand trained management and united support by the interests for which they are established. They have proved useful when formed by farmers for the purpose of getting their supplies at wholesale prices and disposing of their crops in bulk without the intervention of a middle man. Lodges and societies should prove a potent factor as business builders, if the support of their members could be enlisted along legitimate lines. The same degree of unanimity shown by them in the purchase of regalias and uniforms might be diverted into regular business channels without involving any extra expense or responsibility

A feature that detracts from the upbuilding of the race in some respects is the holding of too many conventions in various parts of the country. Serious minded critics are inclined to pronounce many of these gatherings a waste of money and energy. The amounts paid to the railroads, hotel and hall proprietors, together with the time and effort expended by the officers and delegates, would serve to put many a struggling race enterprise on its feet. The number of conventions might be reduced to advantage.

After all is said and done, we have to come to the conclusion that there is no new way to build up a race in business or otherwise. The practice of thrift and industry, as advocated by that famous American, Benjamin Franklin, remains the only safe and certain road to economic independence. Taking these principles as the cornerstone, the race may confidently expect to make for itself a permanent place in the American business world.

THE BLACK MAN'S PHILOSOPHY

THE black man's attitude of mind, which is really his philosophy of life, affects every phase and aspect of his career. There have been since the dawn of history two dominant and distinct attitudes of mind, namely, the fatalistic and the progressive. The debates between the Calvinistic believers in predestination and the believers in free will and the debates between the believers in determination from natural causes and the believers in the freedom of the mind in willing are expressions of these two attitudes. Negro World

Some men believe that things will happen because Fate, Providence or God so decreed it, and that nothing that they will do will materially change the course of events. The Hindoos have been the classic champions of this view. Other men believe that man can himself determine the course of events. The Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Japanese were and are classic champions of this view. 3-3-23-New York

When we closely observe the attitude of mind of men and women of color we find that they, too, are divided into the fatalistic and progressive camps. Some are affected by a fatalistic pessimism, which causes them to believe that they can never surmount the wall of race prejudice and caste proscription which hems them in. Others believe that just as black men in Ethiopia and brown men in Egypt centuries ago aid the foundations of the world's civilization, just as Rome waxed mighty in ancient times and England, France, America and Japan in modern times because of the spirit that animated them, so, too, black men in the present can overcome a hostile environment and make themselves felt as factors in civilization. And the fate and destiny of black folks will depend upon whether they adopt the fatalistic or progressive attitude of mind and philosophy of life.

If the black man will substitute the "possumist" for the "pessimistic" philosophy of life, the "I can" for the "I can't" philosophy, there is no limit to his possibilities.

RACES DWELLING TOGETHER

Some claim that two different races can never dwell together in peace and harmony in the same country. We don't know about the future, but they have been doing it in the past. Different races dwelt together in ancient Rome—Romans, Greeks, Gauls, Egyptians, Africans and Jews. Different races dwelt together in Alexandria, Egypt, nineteen hundred years ago—Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, Jews and Negroes. Different races dwelt together in Tarsus in Paul's day—Romans, Greeks and Jews. The two million inhabitants of Palestine at present are divided among Arabs, Greeks and Jews, with the Jews in the minority. Of course, one race was the ruling race, the dominant race. It has ever been so and it ever will be so. The race with brains, character, physical stamina, industrial efficiency, commercial capability and wealth was on top in ancient Rome, Tarsus and Alexandria. It is on top today. And it will be on top a thousand years from now. The strong mentally, morally, physically, industrially and commercially have always ruled the weak. And it largely depends upon what the Negro is intellectually, morally, physically, industrially and commercially, what he says and what he does, as to whether he will be near the top or near the bottom of the heap. The care of physicians and nurses has much to do with the recovery of a patient. But the most important thing is the vitality of the patient. Physicians and nurses cannot take the place of nature. The most that they can do is to assist nature. So it is with the black man, whether he functions in America or Africa, the determining factor in his own evolution will be his own personality, conduct, character, ability, deeds and achievements.

THE BLACK MAN'S PROGRAM

The Negro's attitude toward Western civilization has been discussed pro and con. Some say that he ought to imitate the Caucasian and others say that he ought to remain a Negro. What ought he to do? A little history will clear the atmosphere. New York is a city beside which Rome, Athens, Babylon, Nineveh, Alexandria, Thebes, Corinth and Ephesus, in the heyday of their glory, were but villages. If Pericles, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar and Napoleon were to return to earth and see how chasms have been bridged, mountains tunneled, the air conquered and the forces of steam, gas, gasoline and electricity harnessed to serve man, they would open their eyes wide with amazement. And yet the ancestors of the men who have done these things were wandering as barbarians and semi-savages in the forests of Britain, Germany and France two thousand years ago. What wrought the change and transformation?

These barbarians for fifteen hundred years learned all that Rome, Israel, Egypt, Arabia and Greece could teach. Then for four hundred years they made contributions to that knowledge. And then for one hundred years they applied that scientific, mathematical, political and commercial knowledge to practical problems. The result is we have our steam-heated, electric-lighted elevator apartments, our cable cars, electric cars, elevated cars, subway, underground tubes, our Flatiron and Woolworth buildings, our locomotives, steamships, aeroplanes, vitascopes, graphophones, telephones, telegraph and wireless telegraphy.

Japan followed the same course. Marquis Ito sent Japanese students to American, English, French and German universities to learn all that Western civilization could teach. The result is that Japan is a force to be reckoned with. China and India paid little attention to what the rest of the world was doing, remained rooted to the past, circling in ancient eddies. The result is as follows: India is now dominated by England and China by Japan.

The African and his descendant in the Western hemisphere should absorb and assimilate Western civilization in all of its phases and aspects. At the same time he should not lose his own individuality and his own soul. His optimism, geniality, religious faith and innate artistic musical and oratorical gifts should not be submerged by his acquired culture. This is the path to glory that great men and races have trod in the past and are now treading today.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

CLEMENT WOOD ABUSES THE HOME FOLKS.

Montgomery Advertiser
1-8-23

What is it that makes a well born man turn inferior? What is it that makes a renegade of one trained to patriotism? What is it in a man that degrades his gifts and makes him vicious? We leave the answers to the biologists and the psychologists.

But these questions raise up to capture one's interest in speculative themes whenever there is occasion to consider the eccentricities of a man like Clement Wood, formerly of Alabama, but now a resident of New York where he breathes the exhilirating air of Greenwich Village, and writes pieces, including novels, for the magazine and book press. Mr. Wood is a son of the Alabama Black Belt, and the member of a respected family who gave him every educational advantage which an aspiring mind could crave. He spent the latter years of his life in Alabama in Birmingham where he achieved some notoriety because of his radical and irrational views on many questions. Finally the heavy miasma of backward Alabama suffocated this gallant young free spirit, and he gave us his dust fresh from flying heels. Next we hear of him in New York where he has achieved some success in the literary field, having published a number of poems, essays and at least one novel, all of which have enhanced his growing reputation as a writer. Mr. Wood is a young man of gifts. He employs these gifts to advance his radical theories of society and government; which certainly is his privilege. We need some radical writers and leaders to keep the rest of us alert and stimulated.

But scruples should accompany gifts. Vicious psychological tendencies mar the brightest gifts. A decent regard for truth, even in radical writers, is desirable. Even a lively respect for facts, much less the greater thing called truth, is to be admired in men. What a pity it is that yearning, famished spirits such as Wood and others like him, can not see this!

In the current issue of a certain weekly critical review, edited by a millionaire prophet of the proletariat, who is none too scrupulous about what he prints, Mr. Wood publishes a curiously vitriolic attack upon his home State, and the people who live in it—that is, he attacks everybody except the colored section of the population. His heart goes out to that element, his gall goes out to the whites. Inferentially, he supports amalgamation of the races, and specifically arraigns his home people for social immorality. His bitter pen does not spare even white women. Altogether, we Alabamians are the lowest-down group of people in America, and the most backward.

In his opening picture of how Alabama was settled, Mr. Wood tells us, among other things, that "English traders of Carolina bored into the valley of the Alabama river in 1687, and radiated and settled throughout the four-square richness of the State. They found almost infinite variety; Florence perched upon the palisaded bluegrass plateau, Dothan drowsing in the sluggish shadows of palmettoes, Livingston crowning the fertile western muck of the Black Belt, Opelika baked in the sandy eastern lowland," etc.

Dothan, which is only about 35 years old, will be surprised to learn that it was in the land of the living when the English swarmed into the State; and it will be interested to learn for the first time that it drowses among palmettoes. Dothan doesn't drowse at all, but if it did, it would drowse in the shadow of the moaning pine trees, not palmettoes.

Here is the kind of Mutt Alabama is, according to Mr. Wood, our most distinguished white runaway slave:

Alabama is the center of the sisterhood of Southern States; Montgomery was therefore the first capital of the Confederacy. Topographically, these are the most fertile States in the Union; if we are still to judge a tree by its fruit, mentally, spiritually, they are the most sterile. What is true of Alabama is largely true of Georgia and Mississippi, of Tennessee, the Carolinas, Florida, northern Louisiana, and Arkansas. It is perhaps more true of Alabama than of any of these. Here is a static sterility; observing the stubborn midievalism that possesses her merely; one may well credit a surviving saurian in Patagonia. For years there was one Darwinian—in Alabama argot, "atheist"—on the faculty of the State University; the fact, in spite of the professor's popularity, was a whispered scandal. Darwin to many Alabamians is Lenin and Landrau in one, assuming that they have heard of either or both. The State is saturated with a provincialism that prefers the Demopolis Gazette to the New York World, and the Capitol at Montgomery to Notre Dame. This may be due to shrewd common sense; as a hoe is worth more to a field hand than a Stradivarius could be. * * *

Alabama has the largest production of pig iron among the States, and the third highest per centage of illiteracy. She is fourth among the States in the production of cotton, and one of the heartiest encoura labor.

* * *

The great misf t that there are mulatt n Alabama; it is that Alabama, the State itself, is the offspring of two races, united so furtively and blunderingly that she is immeasurably the loser by her joint parentage. The mental and spiritual sterility of the land has been catalogued with devastating impertinence by H. L. Mencken and stated by others.

And much more like the foregoing. The evidence of the backwardness of any American State is easily catalogued, and is frequently done by the notoriety seekers, the penny-a-liners and the educated fools. Abusing the American people is the favorite pastime of one school of writers. In recent times there have been a dozen or so of novels by Americans who used this vehicle to carry forth their bitter contempt for the people and civilization that produced them. What is here said of Alabama by Mr. Wood has been said of the whole American people; and it has been said of almost every one of the other States.

The masses of the people are not highly cultivated scholars in America, for reasons which we haven't time to go into here. This condition infuriates the Greenwich Village jackass. It makes no difference that the masses of the people of no country in the world, in this or any other age, are not and were not characterized by noble scholarship and refinement of esthetic taste. But it is evidence of inferiority in the American people to be less than widely experienced dilletantes. It makes no difference that the masses of the people in America make artists of every kind and writers and thinkers of every kind the most prosperous intellectuals that the world ever saw, doing this by the simple process of buying their wares with an eagerness which at least bespeaks the pride and ambition of the people. The average man in America is a dollar-making, tobacco-eating dog from the viewpoint of our superficial, unconscionable imitators of Bernard Shaw, and he was made to be kicked about by educated boors and ruffians.

A sidelight on the point of view of these people is flashed by Lothrop Stoddard, who writing recently in the Saturday Evening Post, says:

"Somewhere in Greenwich Village a group of New York radical intellectuals were discussing America. They were a mixed lot. A few were of the older American stocks; others were obviously of south and east European extraction.

"The subject of discussion, as already stated, was America. And America was having a rough time of it. Almost everything, it seemed, was wrong. The question then arose why matters were in such bad shape. At length one of the group gave an answer wholly satisfying to his companions. Passing his fingers through his long black hair he asserted oracularly: 'The chief trouble with America is the Americans.'"

That remark, comments Mr. Stoddard, "typifies a growing body of thought and feeling that is very much in evidence in radical circles today. Broadly speaking, this is a new development, and one well worth watching. Of course America has for years been under a hot fire of criticism. Our radicals have long been convinced that we are in a bad way. Only a little while ago, three and thirty doughty critics convened in Knockers' Club assembled and published their proceedings in a fat volume entitled Civilization in the United States, their verdict being akin to that of the yokel who, viewing his first giraffe, stated, 'there ain't no such animile.' Indeed, the chairman of the Knockers' Club so despairs of the republic that he has removed himself bodily from our midst, going to live in voluntary exile in Paris, in order to be able spiritually to breathe.'"

Our Mr. Wood fled only from Alabama to Greenwich Village to get a whiff of fresh (spiritual) air. The bigger ones like him are fleeing from New York to Paris. Where the white runaway slaves go when fleeing from the miasma of Paris—there must be miasma there, too; certainly there is in London, if England's writers can be believed—we don't pretend to know. Maybe they set sail for Mars.

So, if Alabamians who read what their Mr. Wood has said about them with such scornful vehemence, suffer themselves to be distressed they will have their grief for their pains: such distress is so much futile emotion. Other writers are saying the same thing of other States, and many of them are saying it of all the States at once.

These skimmers of the surface miss the big show in progress in America. The unparalleled energy of this young nation means nothing to them. This energy is sweeping us all forward. Those cities with the most wealth are of course buying the greater portiton of mental comforts and stimuli. We here in the South had nearly all our wealth destroyed a half century ago, and it has been hard to get going again. But we have recovered. We are making amazing progress. The greatest progress in the nation should occur here in the South in the next generation, because money is coming our way rapidly

now, and we are buying what the mind craves.

As for Alabama, of course Mr. Wood misrepresents it. No State has had a more progressive spirit in regard to education in recent years; no State has striven harder to bring its educational system alongside the best. And Alabama has succeeded. Alabama is not a State of "sterility." Every family in the State that has the money is buying all the education its yuong will take, some of them going as far as Oxford to finish, and hundreds of them going every year to the first educational institutions in America.

Our people are striving hard to fashion a new splendor for posterity. Nor are they more provincial than any other people. The Demopolis Gazette—beg pardon, Editor Cornish, we mean the Demopolis Times—is an excellent weekly, but it does not claim to be the favorite newspaper of the State. There are many enterprising daily papers in Alabama, and thousands of our people are subscribers to the leading dailies of the nation which they buy for supplementary reading. Every periodical in America of general interest is sold in quantities in Alabama. So with new books.

And our people do not spend their time hating and baiting niggers. Relations between the races in Alabama are comparatively pleasant. Both races are progressing; the best of both races are peacemakers and are trying to work out all difficulties. Our people, white and black, worry a good deal less about the "race problem" than our outside magazine writers.

The success which Alabamians have attained in literature, journalism, engineering, banking and other vocations, in and out of Alabama speaks well for the character and quality of our people. Mr. Wood knows this, if he knows anything. But with all its achievements as a State and with all its golden promise for the future, Alabama can not understand a puzzling problem like Clement Wood; it can not understand how any Alabama-bred man can slander his own people before an alien and none too friendly audience for the sake of the dollars and applause which his baneful and futile efforts may earn among the morons and throw-backs of Greenwich Village.

ABOLISHING POLICE BRUTALITY.

The statement accredited to the new superintendent of police Tom Goodson, that brutality in police circles must go and that under his administration courtesy must prevail and that all people must be treated civilly by the police officers, would indicate that Houston has secured a head of the police department at last that has put his official disapproval (and that publicly) upon brutality and employment of force by peace officers upon those under arrest or who go to the police station on business.

If the new chief will back up his declaration with action and see that neither "higher ups" nor civil service "red tape" interferes with the rigid and strict enforcement of his edict abolishing brutality in police circles, he will do much to elevate and place on a modern, humane and civilized basis the local police department. Houston Informer

Few people, especially the leading white citizens (many of the colored know, for they have been victims of many cruelties and brutalities at the hands of police officers that were uncalled for and unwarranted) have the least idea or conception of the darkage and barbarous methods employed by the Houston police department, particularly in their dealings with colored prisoners and others of the race who frequent the station from time to time on other matters. Houston, Texas.

If Chief Goodson included all the citizens of Houston in this ban on brutality, then The Informer wishes to commend him and wish him success and Godspeed in the undertaking, but we fear that his pathway will be strewn with many thorns and thistles when the colored brother becomes involved. 1-20-23.

Too many peace officers have a mistaken conception of the duties of their office and instead of protecting prisoners and imparting necessary information to citizens, they proceed to use the "billie" or six-shooter upon the prisoner or citizen.

It is customary to assault, intimidate and otherwise browbeat our leading colored citizens when visiting the local police station on business, and, unless colored men doff their hats before entering the station, they are the recipients of a six-shooter beating, a wallop from several husky officers and even the desk sergeant has struck one colored man with a bunch of keys, who simply went to the station to get out his cows that had been impounded.

Leading colored men going there to make bond for those under arrest have been cursed, bulldozed and put to all kinds of inconvenience and even threats made against them by peace officers, whose taxes these abused and maltreated colored citizens make possible the pay of these so-called peace officers.

The Informer has on more than one occasion called attention to the need of a reorganized and modernized police department, but such suggestions, coming as they did from this paper, were always considered "radical" in certain circles.

The Informer, in this connection, would like to see sufficient colored patrolmen added to the force to give the beats in at least Third, Fourth and Fifth Wards to race officers on all shifts, while at least two colored plain clothes officers should also be placed on duty.

Several other Texas cities, with far less colored population than Houston, have seen the wisdom and expediency of placing colored officers on the force, and these men have proven a credit to the police systems of these cities, and reduced friction between the races to a minimum.

Chief Goodson should receive the support and endorsement of every citizen interested in the peace and progress of this municipality in his efforts to reorganize, modernize, humanize and civilize the local police department.

COLUMBIA HEAD DISCUSSES THE NEGRO QUESTION

Ind; 2-3-23.
The Freeman

COLUMBUS, O., Jan. 27 — There is no likelihood that the Eighteenth amendment ever can be enforced, "no matter at what expenditure of money or of effort," Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Clumbia University, said in an address here at the annual midwinter meeting of the Ohio State Bar Association.

He linked the prohibition amendment with the Fifteenth addition to the Constitution of the United States, which was proclaimed in 1870, and granted the Negro suffrage, as "two important and law-made influences which now are making, and seem likely long to make for lawlessness in American life." The subject of his address was "Law and Lawlessness."

He asserted that "methods of Czarist Russia, and of the Spanish inquisition" are being used to enforce one provision of law and said there are a "dozen verboten signs in the United States to every one that Russia can show."

Part of Organic Law.

"In form and in fact," he said, "and judged by all the usual tests and standards, these two amendments are part of the organic law, and with all the rights and authority which attach thereto. Nevertheless, they are not obeyed by large numbers of highly intelligent and morally sensitive people and there is no likelihood that they can be enforced, no matter at what expenditure of money or of effort, or at what cost or infringement or of neglect of other equally valid provisions of the same Constitution."

After pointing out "the Negro votes in those States where he voted when the Fifteenth amendment was passed," the speaker asserted every attempt to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments has been denounced as a force bill. "Oddly enough," he continued, "it has been denounced by those very Senators and Representatives who will go to any length to enforce the provisions of the Eighteenth amendment.

"The practical question is not whether the colored man should vote in the Southern States, but whether the American people frankly will face the problem presented by the nullification throughout a large part of the land of a most important provision of the Constitution of the United States.

Revolt Nation Wide.

"The situation with regard to the Eighteenth amendment is even worse, because the revolt against it is not confined to men and women of intelligence and moral sensitiveness in one section alone, but is nation-wide. It will not do to attempt to silence these persons by abuse or by catch phrases and formulas.

"These men and women dissent entirely from the grounds upon which the case for the Eighteenth amendment was rested; and they regard its provisions and those of the statutes based upon it as forcible, an immoral and tyrannical invasion of their private life and personal conduct.

"No one who is familiar with the practical workings of our political system would expect either the Fifteenth or the Eighteenth amendments to be repealed within measurable time. So far as one can see, therefore, we are shut up to the alternative of their attempted enforcement by soldiers and police and special agents and detectives and spies, or to their abrogation over a great part of the land by local initiative and common consent. Either alternative is humiliatng and degrading."

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

Barrow Honored by Staff Of State Agricultural College

Alexander R. Lawton Tells University Alumni Association of Negro Problems.

Athens, Ga., June 19.—(Special.)—Chancellor David C. Barrow was signally honored by the staff of the State College of Agriculture at the alumni luncheon held in Hardman hall, which was also dedicated this afternoon. Dr. A. M. Soule, president of the agricultural college, on behalf of the more than one hundred and fifty members of the staff, presented the chancellor with one of the handsomest loving cups with a scroll ever seen here.

On the cup is engraved "To Chancellor David C. Barrow, for 25 years a teacher, scholar, leader." On the scroll is engraved the names of those of the college staff contributing to the cup fund. The presentation came almost as a total surprise, but few in the crowd of one thousand in attendance knowing that an honor was to be conferred on the chancellor.

In accepting the cup the chancellor praised the work that is being done by the agricultural college, praised its growth, praised its head, Dr. Soule, and with touching gratitude thanked the donors of the cup.

Largest Luncheon.

This luncheon of the alumni was the largest ever enjoyed and many women, either graduates or wives and friends of graduates, were in attendance. The newly elected president, Alexander Lawton, of Savannah, presided. He is a member of the class of '77.

Other new officers are Davis Freeman, also of Savannah, who was named first vice president; H. H. Gordon, Jr., Athens, second vice president; Frank D. Foley, Columbus, third vice president; Dr. Sylvanus Morris, Athens, secretary; W. O. Payne, Athens, treasurer, and Dr. Benjamin Yow, Lavonia, and Wallace Miller, Columbus, tied for one of the places on the board of managers. The tie will be settled later by a meeting of the alumni this afternoon.

Dr. Soule gave an illustrated lecture, using living models, of education and progress of the state, and Chancellor Barrow spoke on the "University."

Major J. J. Connor, chairman of the board of trustees of the agricultural college, presented to the board of trustees of the university the building, a handsome brick-veneer structure just completed. He spoke of the wonderful growth of the agricultural college during its sixteen years of modern existence and praised the president and faculty of the institution.

On behalf of the trustees the building was accepted by Judge Peter W. Meldrim, of Savannah, class of 1868.

Miss Lois P. Dowdle, of the agricultural faculty, spoke on the "Woman of Power," and Professor S. H. Starr had as his subject "The Man of Vision." The reunioning classes all had speakers to respond to toasts and the luncheon closed the exercises of Alumni day with the dancé following Tuesday night.

Walker to Co-operate.

"I will co-operate 100 per cent personally and officially in the development of the university," Clifford Walker, governor-elect, declared at the meeting.

"I need only say," he continued, "that among all the worthy institutions of the state the old mother university has the first place in my heart as evidenced by an unbroken record of personal attendance at commencement for thirty-two years."

The governor-elect was in Athens Tuesday attending the Alumni day exercises.

In an address that was outspoken and plain in the treatment of a condition just now of peculiar acuteness in Georgia, Alexander R. Lawton, of Savannah, at the annual meeting of the Alumni Association of the University of Georgia here today, spoke on the subject of "The Negro in the South and Elsewhere."

Colonel Lawton told of intensive study of the problem and of information which he has gathered from many sources, in the north and south, at home and abroad.

The speaker emphasied that the superiority of the white race carries with it a proportionate obligation. In touching on the report of the investigation of the Chicago race commissioin, which followed the race riots in that city, Colonel Lawton selected, as practical only, three of the 59 recommendations made by the commission.

The speaker brought out the contrast between "race instinct" and "race prejudice," and voiced a warning against the danger of theory and lack of fundamental data in dealing with the race problem.

Leaders Should Take Thought.

"In this day of perplexing world problems, I speak of one nearer us—the relations between the dominating white race and the dominated negro," Colonel Lawton said. "I bring it to you because it demands the attention of those who should be and are the leaders of enlightened public opinion. I speak plainly and critically; you owe to your state, to the white man and the black man your best thought and leadership that this problem may carry with it the minimum of friction, injustice and evil."

He disclaimed any intention of violating the proprieties by even remotely touching upon politics, and declared that his race instinct forever makes impossible the suggestion of amalgamatioin. He spoke of "race prejudice" and drew the contrast between the qualities implied in the two terms. He waived the question of the responsibility for the existence of the problem, and said:

"But it is the responsibility of the white race only, and the white race has the higher duty. We are in the ascendency, and no solution or amelioration can progress except on our initiative. While we need the sympathetic co-operation of the negro, we can make some progress without him; he can make none without us. Moreover, the white race has always claimed racial superiority. Who makes this claim must never forget that superiority carries proportionate obligation."

Largely a Southern Problem.

He cited the census figures indicating the percentage and the distribution of negro population; less than 10 per cent of the population of the United States being negro, and nearly 48 per cent of the population in Georgia negro, and declared that "we can expect neither the disapparance nor the diminution of the numbers to a negligible figure." He said that four-fifths of the negroes are in the south; that race instinct and probably race prejudice seems strongest in the English speaking peoples, the southern white people being mostly of British stock. "These facts alone sufficiently explain," he said, "the more conspicuous manifestation of race instinct in the south," though "race istinct may not be justly classed as either sectional or historical," but that "it will manifest itself on reasonable provocation wherever numbers are sufficient to bring frequent contact or economic pressure."

He spoke of the laws which have endeavored to deal, positively or negatively, with the race question, and then reviewed at length the report of the Chicago race commission following the Chicago riot. He regretted that the report did not indicate the treatment of negroes by whites of British stock. He reviewed the fifty-nine recommendations of the commission, selecting seven, selecting three seemed practical: Providing as good schools and teachers for the negroes as for whites; placing inspectors with authority on street car lines patronized by many negroes, and the appointment of a permanent committee on race relations to continue to study and recommend.

Recognize Race Instinct.

"No individual, no commission, no organization, can progress in the improvement of race relations that discards facts for theory," he asserted, "and does not recognize these fundamental data:

"Race instinct, frequently exaggerated by race prejudice, does exist in the white man, is particularly strong in British stock, and will manifest itself on slight provocation wherever the percentage of negroes is not so negligible as to make contact infrequent.

"It is stimulated by economic pressure, such as competition for jobs, or depreciation of values in residential districts.

"It makes absolutely impossible (at least with British stock) intermarriage, social intercourse, mingling in recreations, assemblies, places of amusement, hotels, restaurants and, where negroes are numerous, in railway cars, stations and schools. It is even impossible in churches. It is as powerful against fear of scriptural punishment in the life to come as against the fear of statutory punishment in the life of today!

"It may not make impossible if we all did our duty, but it makes difficult equality of privilege and opportunity for the negro in his struggle for life, liberty and happiness, in which are included the right to better himself and his family.

Unfairness to Negro.

"It is not race pride or race instinct, but race prjudice augmented by want of character, that brings the negro injustice as between man and man. If I yielded to a natural reluctance to admit distasteful truths, I could not conceal from you the tendency far too frequent with far too many individuals to deal unfairly in business transactions with the negro because he is helpless. It is manifested in some shopkeepers (particularly those who give credit) and with some farmers in their dealings with negro tenants. It is to an appreciable degree more dififcult for a negro than a white man to obtain justice in some of our courts, whether on the civil or the criminal side. I do not believe that our judges are subject to this criticism.

"It is not race instinct but race prejudice augmented by more reprehensible traits that brings to the negro discourteous rudeness, contemptuous insult and corporal ill treatment. The white man's claim of superiority may be readily refuted by the manner in which he asserts it. Insulting another or wounding his feelings is always to be condemned, but never more so than when it comes from a superior to an inferior A negro dare not insult a white man. Fear restrains him. A more commendable spirit should restrain the white man from daring to insult or maltreat the negro. Let him 'dare do all that may become a man'—remembering that 'who dares do more is none.'"

Lynching Is Not Sectional.

He then spoke of the migration of the negro and pointed out that frequently the negro is not accorded fair treatment by some white men in business, and sometimes does not get justice in the courts. He arraigned lynch law in a powerful, effective manner, but declared that "lynching is not a sectional crime." He pointed the way to opose the Dyer bill's passage and conforcement is to "arouse an enlightened public sentiment which will compel such universal and impartial and fearless administration of the law and protection of the individual as to make federal intervention clearly unnecessary and inexcusable."

Colonel Lawton pointed out the falsity of the opinion that negroes cannot and do not achieve worthy places as students, scholars, writers, busin ss men and orators. He then drew the picture of the negro today:

"Do you realize what a hard fate it is to be a negro? Put yourself in his place and imagine that through no fault of yours, but merely because your skin is black, you are expected to go through life doing your share as a man, a citizen, for yourself, your family, your community, your state and your country, with handicaps and restrictions such as these: You are barred from holding any office and may not serve as a juror. You may not be a clerk. You may work as a porter or waiter on a sleeping car, but never as a conductor or a steward. You may work with white men as a skilled laborer, but never as a foreman. You may work at trades and vocations but, however well you may work, you have no hope of promotion. You are altogether barred from many trades and crafts. You are barred from the principal labor unions. You may be a locomotive fireman, but never an engineer. Whatever your ability to pay, whatever your dress, your habits, or demeanor, you may never use the best facilities provided for public entertainment. These and many other handicaps must be your lot and the lot of your children and your children's children, from the cradle to the grave. Imagine yourself so situated, would you be content to accept it without question? Would you never dream of changing it? Would you cheerfully agree with those who believe that it must ever be?"

Commends Race Commissioners.

He then called attention to the one way in which in Georgia the problem is seriously, earnestly being studied, through the offices of the "commission on interracial co-operation"—as in fourteen other states of the union. He cited the head of the Georgia organizations, Dr. M. Ashby Jones, as a guarantee of the safety of "our most sacred traditions." He told of the work this commission is doing in each Georgia county except where the negro is not present in numbers. The suppport and the co-operation of all thinking citizens he solicited as the one way open to study the question in Georgia and go as far as possible in its solution. He took occasion to speak of some of the obstacles to this sane manner of going about the business of effecting co-operation and understanding and sympathetic work of the races, scoring the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and its organ, "The Crisis," with some other leaders of the negro press whose influence makes co-operation more difficult. He scored "The Chicago Defender" as another conspicuous exception to the rule of preaching good-will and co-operation as voiced by many of the sane and earnest negroes. He scored as another obstacle the office-seeker who panders to base instincts of race prejudice to further his own ends. He paid his respects, too, to the K. K. K., which, denying hospitality to the negro, "presents a serious obstacle to those who" are trying to bring about better relations between the problems introduced by the segregation question, the speaker concluded:

White Men Must Decide.

"The white man is and will continue to be in the ascendency, and the races can co-operate only on terms which the white man will accept. I hope that having the greater power he will be just and liberal: but he will never regard it as just to risk even slightly the perpetual purity of the white race, and liberality will never induce him to abandon his insistence on segregation, but that degree and kind which recognizes race instinct and which race instinct demands.

"I have spoken freely, not hesitating to point to our own shortcomings, but trying to avoid criticism which is merely destructive. I have noted the marked progress of the negro in less than two generations. This and his earlier progress (even with the handicap of slavery) from untutored savagery and paganism indicate capacity for further advance, and give encouragement of successs—yes, substantial success, if we awake to full realization that we must be up and doing. The task is difficult, but not hopeless, and it is our task.

"I know that deep down in your hearts you have an affection for thenegro. Remember his remarkable record during the civil war. During those four years of trial there was not even one instance of faithlessness by the slaves left to care for the helpless women and children on the plantation. And John Brown called for them in vain. It is a record of which any race should be proud, and I am sure that you are proud of it for them.

Negro Deserves Sympathy.

"We know that we are in the ascendency and that his fate is largely in our hands. We know that as compared with ourselves he is helpless and that he deserves not our criticism, but our sympathetic interest; not our antagonism, but our help and our encouragement. I appeal to each of you for active aid in urging upon your community and your state fair and impartial consideration of this harassing problem; for study of it in the light of tradition; for encouragement and participation in the work of the inter-racial commission; and for a firm determination as men and women on whom higher duty rests that no unfair advantage shall be taken of our power, and that the negro shall always receive that justice and fair treatment which is his due, and which we cannot withhold if we wish to retain our self-respect."

B. F. BOWLES MAKES PLEA FOR JUSTICE

Negro Delegate To The Constitutional Convention Calls Upon Associates To Move The Old State Forward.

CONTRASTS 75 YEARS AGO WITH CONDITIONS TODAY

Says Segregation Is A By-Product Of Slavery And Has No Place In An Up-to-Date Constitution.

During the recent consideration of a section of the State Constitution which provides separate schools for those of African descent, Mr. B. F. Bowles, delegate from the 12th District, made a strong speech in which he urged the convention to strike out that section.

And while the convention did not vote according to Mr. Bowles' wishes yet in his address, he made a profound impression upon his hearers.

It is said by some of those who heard Mr. Bowles that he used eloquence, logic, reason and appeal in his arguments, but as the old saying, "the cards were stacked against him."

When the report of the Committee on Education was read, Mr. Bowles spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to Section 2.

The Chairman: Mr. Bowles offers the following amendment to Section 2, which the secretary will read.

The Secretary read as follows:

Amend Report of the Committee on Education, File 11, Section 2, by striking out the section.

The Chairman: That may be entertained, I think, only after the friends of the section have perfected it by amendment. Are there any amendments to Section 2? If there are no amendments to Section 2, the motion to strike out the section will be entertained. Mr. Bowles recognized:

Mr. Bowles: Mr. Chairman, I wish to reward, as far as I am able the members of the convention for their courtesy in deferring the consideration of this matter by extreme brevity.

When the makers of the national constitution were in session they were confronted with a peculiar difficulty. They had only recently written a document declaring that all men are born free and equal. That was in the Declaration of Independence. Possibly they did not mean it but by force of circumstances they practically had to say it, and in the making of the constitution they had to confirm it. Now, trying to be consistent, trying to be delicate with the condition of slavery—it was a condition; it was not yet an institution but it later became such—with the condition of slavery existing all the way from Vermont to Georgia, they dodged the issue in the constitution and did not mention it. The nearest they got to it was by saying, "all other persons." It seems to me that the same problem comes into this convention and with even more force. We are proceeding today upon the theory of a common citizenship and the theory of a common humanity, which theories are effectively denied by the introduction of any class legislation founded upon race or any such consideration. It is a fact, I think, that race segregation is a monument to slavery, is a by-product of slavery and is of the essence of slavery. I mean to say this: that insofar as any limitations are put upon an individual who is theoretically a citizen, by virtue of or on account of his race or color or anything of that sort, to that extent he is a slave. It cannot be denied; that fact confronts us. Now, I know that in making the state constitution of 1875 there was a condition that was different; the smoke of the Civil War could still be smelled; the shadow of slavery virtually was still over the land. The quesetion is, have we made no progress since that time in matters of liberality? Such a presumption would be a reflection, I think on Missouri. Do we intend to make no progress in the next fifty years or so? That would be even a greater reflection on Missouri. Now here is the proposition. I know sentiment in Missouri. I am not visionary. If the question of separate schools were up to be voted on the white people of the state would vote almost unanimously for separate schools; the Colored people of the state would vote almost unanimously for separate schools. I know the facts; but there is a large element even in Missouri, who do not believe that this thing should be incorporated in our fundamental law. We have sometimes questioned what can safely be left to the Legislature. There seems to be just a little feeling between the Constitutional Convention and the Legislature; but there is one thing that I think can safely be left and that is the question of separate schools for a long time to come. Why not leave it to the Legislature and use just a little of that consideration and courtesy and delicacy and consistency that was used by the fathers of the Republic?

The Chairman: The question is upon the Bowles motion to strike out Section 2. Are you ready for the question?

The vote was taken and the amendment of Mr. Bowles was lost.

N Y C POST
MAY 26 1923

Sociology

WHEN BLACK MEETS WHITE. By John Louis Hill. Chicago: The Argyle Publishers. $1.50.

Our American race problem is compounded of many minor problems—economic, cultural, civic, and others—of which the outstanding and most urgent is perhaps the problem of mutual interpretation. A race problem is always definable as the sum of the relations existing between two or more races in a state of friction; and a little sagacity would suggest that any interpretation presupposes a mastery of at least two languages. To one who surveys mankind with a philosophic eye it must seem strange that most efforts to solve our race problem in America are limited to the compounding of prescriptions from ingredients supplied exclusively by one side. Especially is this true of that section of our country in which most of the negroes dwell. There, we are told, they know to a "t" just what is the negro's "place" and the most efficient method of keeping him effectively in it. Yet the continued existence of lynching bees, race riots, and northward migrations make it increasingly clear that the logic involved in the classic Southern process is hopelessly at fault.

But the day dawns even in Dixie, and there rises every year, clearer and more encouragingly, the voice of that better South which is working towards a renaissance of interracial good will which seeks to establish itself upon a broader and better basis. Mr. Hill's book is one of the minor heralds of this new day. It is a veritable evangel of fair play for the negro in the interest of the nation, South as well as North. The author is himself a Southern white man who insists that if the white men of his section believe themselves in any way superior to their black fellow citizens, they should not [illegible] upon the reality of that belief by giving them a handicap of fifty yards in a hundred-yard dash.

The fifteen chapters of his book make an interesting combination of sound knowledge, hard common sense, and a sympathetic understanding of the history, psychology, limitations, and virtues of the Southern white man, the Southern negro, and the American people. He speaks the language of candor in a most winning way, and while he makes no mighty contribution to the theory of the race problem, he brings to its consideration a spirit of genuine helpfulness and much sweetness and light.

Potential [illegible]ty of Races

To the Editor of The N[illegible]

Sir: Professor Hartley [illegible]s review of Dr. Alexander A. Goldenweiser's book "E[illegible]ization" must be challenged for the sake of a clear unde[illegible]ing of what modern anthropology is striving for.

A large part of the re[illegible] relates to the use of the term "civilization" as applied to [illegible]imitive tribes, a usage which has good precedents. Many pr[illegible]r it to the term "culture" because they wish to avoid the connotation of "individual refinement." The essential object of the book, to present concisely, by means of characteristic examples, the problems of anthropology, has not appealed to your reviewer. Nevertheless, we do believe that we can obtain a fuller appreciation of the problems of social change by the study of a few selected cultures as a whole than by an accumulation of disconnected facts, which has for many years been characteristic of anthropological work.

Anthropologists will particularly object to the lack of understanding on the part of your reviewer of the meaning of individual differences as against differences of social groups. In regard to the fundamental question of the "potential equality" of races, most anthropologists are agreed that this concept is the foundation of their science. It has formed the basis of comparative anthropology ever since the early studies of Bastian and Tyler. If we deny the "potential equality" of races at the present time, we should have to accept the opinion of the ancient Egyptians who might with equal justification have denied the "potential equality" of the ancestors of all the European nations. Your reviewer commits the common logical error of assuming that if individuals are different, the racial groups to which they belong must also be different.

New York, December 15 Franz Boas

Race Problem - 1923
United States, — Book Reviews,

CLEMENT WOOD'S ARTICLE.

Readers of The Age undoubtedly perused last week with a great deal of interest the article by Clement Wood reproduced from the New York "Herald." 1-6-23

Never has there appeared in any metropolitan newspaper a more frank or more fearless statement on the Negro problem than was given in Mr. Wood's article, **"The Problem of James Crow: 'Jim' Grown Up."** New York Age N. Y.

In three columns Mr. Wood discussed the whole problem, from illiteracy to amalgamation. As the readers of The Age had the opportunity to see the article or can refer to it, there is no need to quote it here.

Mr. Wood's article appeared in the New York "Herald" of Sunday, December 17. On the following Sunday, Mr. H. L. Pangborn in an article entitled "Racial Purity," made reply to Mr. Wood through the same newspaper. Mr. Panghorn's reply is aside from the point and in some respects amusing. He is particularly irritated at Mr. Wood's suggestion of the possibility of an amalgamated South. Near the opening of his article he says, "I for one cannot look forward to a chocolate-colored human race with equanimity. I hope for a better world than that could be, for my children's children. I think there are still many Americans old fashioned enough to believe in the value—and possibility—of racial purity."

And yet, after arguing through three columns, Mr .Panghorn from an opposite direction, arrives at the same point as Mr. Wood, that is, the possibility of an amalgamated South. Indeed, Mr. Panghorn's suggestion for avoiding such an end is segregation, and the segregation which Mr. Panghorn has in mind is complete and absolute segregation. Let Mr. Panghorn himself define what he means:

> "By segregation I do not mean 'Jim Crow' cars, a colored 'Ghetto' as a part of a dominantly white community, or any thing of that sort. As Mr. Wood says, 'the social bond is rather close, to promise success for that plan.' Segregation must be far more complete than that. And it must be voluntary. Such a result is, plainly, difficult of attainment but it is thinkable. For it might be attained by setting aside certain areas in the South (Alabama, for instance), areas large enough to hold all the black race."

This sort of segregation is one of the amusing things in Mr. Panghorn's article. Granted that the scheme of placing all the Negroes in the country in one or more states, say for instance, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, **a difficulty which Mr. Panghorn has not reckoned with would be that of keeping the white people out. The United States army would not be adequate for the job.**

A curious commentary on these two articles is the fact that Mr. Wood is a Southerner, a native of Alabama, the son and the grandson of slaveholders. On the other hand Mr. Panghorn is the son of an Abolitionist.

Mr. Wood is a well known poet and novelist. He is the author of a novel entitled "Nigger"—We hope our readers will not allow the title to prejudice them against the book. We expect to say something about this book in these columns within a few weeks.

Our readers may thank us for letting them know that an article by Mr. Wood on his native state, Alabama, will be published in "The Nation" of January 10 as one of a series of articles on the States now appearing in that magazine. Mr. Wood's article in "The Nation" will be even plainer spoken than his article in the "Herald."

N Y C TRIBUNE
JANUARY 7, 1923

Negro's Part In History

THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY. By Carter Godwin Woodson, Ph. D. The Associated Publishers, Inc.: Washington, D. C.

HERE at last is a history of the American negro in succinct and readable form, suitable as a text-book for high school or college and for the general reader who wishes to acquaint himself with the ways in which the presence of the negro population has influenced the march of great events in the United States. It hasn't the range and sweep of Benjamin Brawley's "Social History of the American Negro," but its compressed materials and the fine illustrations, which its great rival lacks, make it a more handy work of reference.

Dr. Woodson is the editor of the "Journal of Negro History," the only learned periodical published by American negroes. He has assumed the rôle of professional historian of the negro and he brings to that task considerable erudition and remarkable industry. "The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861," "A Century of Negro Migration" and "The History of the Negro Church" have already appeared as products of his learning and industry, and the present volume clinches his claim to consideration. It is unfortunate that Dr. Woodson's style is cramped and slovenly in all these volumes, but the interest of his subject matter in the volume now before us is so compelling that it enables us to overlook this primal defect.

The various forms of American slavery are clearly exhibited: the first soul-grinding phase which changed to a mild patriarchal form as the South became saturated, changing again to intensified exploitation as Crompton's "mule" and Whitney's cotton-gin made cotton king and dictated the extension of slavery with its consequent political conflict which gradually estranged the two great sections of the country from each other and led to the Civil War. Freedom and reconstruction and the rise of the freedmen to their present status are graphically treated, and a wealth of materials is presented which will open the eyes of many American readers whose knowledge of the history of their darker fellow citizens rests mainly on a mass of myths.

HUBERT HARRISON.

"THE COLOR QUESTION IN THE TWO AMERICAS"

New York Age
(By Dr. Bernardo Ruiz Suárez)

This is the latest contribution to the study of problems affecting our race. A comparison is made of the conditions in which the colored race lives in Central and South America on the one hand and in the United States on the other hand. 1-13-23

The price of this book is $1, but we are making a special price to new subscribers of The New York Age, giving the book and one year's subscription to The New York Age for $2.30, within the United States, and $3.40, foreign countries. All orders must be addressed to The New York Age, 230 West 15th street, New York City.

BOOK CHAT

(By Mary White Ovington)
Baltimore Herald

"THE BLACK BORDER: Gullah Stories of the Caroline Coast."
By Ambrose Gonzales.
1-3-23

There are book reviewers, and I understand their name is many, who read what "the jacket" of the new story has to tell of the inside, and then after a cursory glance at the first and last chapters, give their learned opinion of the author and his work. I have never been guilty of this method, thinking that if a book was worth talkink about it was worth reading, but I must plead guilty at not having finished "The Black Border." Hours and hours of patient effort with the dialect has left me still with pages yet to conquer. So I will start by quoting the opinion of John Bennett in the Literary Review of the Evening Post. "Devoid of maudlin sentimentality, but touched with comprehending pity, marked by a caustic, humorous, but somehow affective irony, the tolerant humor of one who has known the Negro from birth, disembling nothing, and without malice, he has drawn them as they are, with Hogarthian fidelity, George Morland's eye and a Teniers-like truth of detail." This is only a little of Mr. Bennett's praise. It spills over into two columns.. But he has a sentence that explains it all: "To one who has heard these anecdotes from Mr. Gonzales' lips—"

Here is the reason for the reviewer's enthusiasm. He has heard these stories told by one who know how to speak American-Gullah. But to try to read the transcription that Mr. Gonzales gives us, is like trying to read a foreign language that one has never heard spoken. The thing is impossible. And it does seem a little hard to have to decipher, by means of an elaborate glossary, a corruption of English. Now if it were really Gullah!

The Black Border is a collection of forty-three stories, bits of happenings in that section of the country along the coast between Georgetown and Beaufor. Here the Gullah Negro lives; and here the writer retails his quite simple happenings. Many of the stories relate to the past. Thev start, to take the sory of Barney as an example, with an account in Mr. Gonzales' own charming English, of the countryside, the Negro cabins with their poorly fenced little gardens and the bull, Barney, that is allowed to roam over the country though known to be dangerous. He walks over fences and eats up the garden-truck, while the black man

vainly, at a long distance, peppers his side with small shot. At length Barney disturbs a religious outdoor meeting and the Negroes rush in terror. One colored girl in a new hoop skirt, but without shoes or stockings, tears past a young man, who describes her later as follows: (And here the author drops into dialect and makes his Hogarth-Morland-Teniers-picture all the more true and less improper) 'E pass me duh paat', en' 'e binnuh trabble so swif' uh yent ruckuhnize um 'zackly, but 'e stan' sukkuh two blacksnake duh 'tratch out een one bu'd-cage."

There isn't as much old Massa and Missus as usual in these stories, and there is more rough fun. One feels that Gonzales is something of a Gullah himself. His own writing is sufficiently artistic to place him out of the path o fthe automobile that drops the commercial story at every door-post, into a pleasant, untouched country, rich in swamp and lazy streams, where the cranes fly overhead and the alligators move sluggishly through the mud. The book, by the way, has a great alligator stry. It should be of value as a record, and also as a store-house for those who wish to recite Negro stories. But the stories must be told by one who knows dialect, "this strange blend of African tribal sounds and intonations," to quote again from Bennett, "with a scant vocabulary of peasant, archaic English." And the audience must not be squamish.

London, Dec. 19.—The archeological treasures of the recently discovered tomb of King Tutenkhamun in the Valley of the Kings were described today by the American Egyptologist, James H. Breasted, in a telegram to the Cairo correspondent of the times from Luxor.

"I spent an hour in Tutenkhamun's tomb this afternoon," Dr. Breasted said in his dispatch. "The impression is overwhelming. The dispatches but feebly suggested the marvelous reality.

"The ante chamber of Pharaoh tomb is filled with magnificent equiment which only the wealth a splendor of the impreial age of Egy of the fourteenth century befo Christ could have wrought or conceived, and with everything standing as placed there when the tomb was last closed in antiquity. Two facts are evident: First, it is clear that the place is a Pharaoh's tomb and no mere cache. Behind the remaining unopened sealed doorway we must expect to find the burial chamber, where the Pharaoh still lies in royal magnificence.

"Second, we have here a royal burial very little disturbed, in spite of the hurried plundering it suffered at the hands of the ancient tomb robbers.

"In mere quantity of furniture found it far surpasses all precedent. In quality it is an astonishing revelation o fthe beauty and refinement of Egyptian art at the culmination of its development in the imperial age, quite surpassing anything I ever imagined."

COLLIER'S WEEKLY DEMANDS FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING LAW

The Freeman
Indianapolis, Ind.
2-24-23

NEW YORK, Feb. 16 — Collier's National Weekly (416 West 13th St., New York), demands enactment of a Federal law to prevent lynching. In the issue of Feb. 17th, according to a reprint sent out by the press service of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The editorial in full is as follows:

"The Nation Must Punish Lynchers.

"When the miners tried for the murder at Herrin were acquitted the other day, their lawyer commented that the mine guards had terrorized the community and the strikers rose in righteous wrath. He gave the blanket excuse that is given for every mob that kills. Murder under any name, done for any excuse, is the same. Murder is murder, regardless of who the murderers are and of who their victims are. This means mobs as much as individuals.

"A mob at Harrison ,Ark., kills a railroad striker. That is murder, though the killers think themselves public-spirited vigilantes. A mob in Louisiana tortures two men in a cotton press and kills them. That is murder, though the murderers wear silly regalia and call themselves high-spirited patriots and Heaven knows what else.

"Our commonest type of mob murder is called lynching. But Harrison, Mer Rouge, Herrin, the burnings of Negroes at the stake, are all off the same piece. Call them murders and done with it.

"It is almost a foregone conclusion that members of a murdering mob in a small community will be acquitted as were the Herrin miners. The defendants have much local sympathy. A jury that would convict can scarcely be had. A local prosecutor who will do his duty whole-heartedly must be one of singular courage and integrity.

"If we hope to stop mob murders and punish the murderers, we shall have to act as a Nation. There will have to be a Federal law, so drawn as to cover mob murders of all types, and to provide that cases resulting shall be for Federal prosecution in Federal courts."

BOOK CHAT

St. Louis Argus

By Mary White Ovington

Chairman, Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

St. Louis - Mo

"Africa and the Discovery of America" Volume II.

By Leo Wiener. Published by Innes & Company, Philadelphia, Pa. Price $5.00 postpaid.

2-16-23

This is the second part of a work to be completed in three volumes. Its thesis is a new one; that Negroes from Africa visited America before Columbus and left their mark here. This second volume concerns itself with evidences in America of African civilization as seen in the introduction of cotton, tobacco and shell money.

I wish that I might be able clearly to present Prof. Wiener's argument, but this is impossible because this very learned scholar cannot present it clearly himself. His book is for experts who can disentangle salient facts from a mass of evidence, a mass that shows a learning prodigious in its scope. Leo Wiener is professor of Slavic languages at Harvard University; and in his first volume, he related his discovery of African influence in America. While working on a comparative grammar of American languages, he came upon a number of words that study told him were corruptions or adaptations of woods used by the Negroes in Africa especially by the Mandingoes. In this second volume he tells especially of material signs of African influence. There can be little doubt that in some things African influence was exerted before Columbus. Probably the Mandingoes first reached America in the middle of the fifteenth century, with the Portuguese explorers. The Mandingoes were a sturdy tribe, and if we look on the map we can see that the trip from Western Africa to Northern South America was not an impossible one, though it must have required immense courage to take it in a canoe. I remember seeing in Norway an open boat, like a large dory, in which the Norseman is reputed to have made his early discovery of North America. At least the African came over milder waters.

That they did come Professor Wiener does not doubt. He shows us, among other things, two pictures, one of an African, another of an Indian, stockade. There is indeed an extraordinary similarity between the two. One is reminded of the interesting chapters in Brawley's, "Social History of the Negro" concerning the close association of Negro and Indian in this country. Wiener has a great deal to say about tobacco, relating the story of nicotine from very ancient days to the sixteenth century. It was brought by the Arabs to the Negroes and they in turn brought it to the Indians, "possibly a century before America's so-called discovery." At first tobacco was used only by the priests in their rites. In the wampum with which the Indians first traded with the Americans, we again see an African origin. And lest the African become too puffed up with pride at this precedence we would note that Prof. Wiener finds that he got his civilization from the Arabs, those marvelous folk who have been consistently maligned by the Christians through the centuries to today.

I have spoken of the learning evinced in this book. I counted in the word index references to 12 European and 9 Asiatic languages, to 13 American and 33 African dialects, and then stopped, not through, only tired. One of my friends who is a historian tells me, that it is dangerous to base historical research on seeming similarity of language and that Wiener is looked upon as somewhat hasty in so doing. He answers this criticism in his preface where he speaks of archaeologists who "insist upon denying all but the archaeological evidence and shower upon an objective investigator a veritable deluge of abuse." We are sympathetic with the "objective investigator and trust that the Mandingoes did bring good things to this continent, when they came here of their own free will. When the evidence is more complete it will be an interesting story for colored children, that of these brave black sailors who dared to cross the Atlantic and who caried thither coton and tobacco that their descendants, later unwillingly dragged here, were to plow and reap.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

KELLY MILLER SAYS

Race Co-operation, the Keynote — **Dyer Bill Revived**

Negro in New England — **Tuskegee's Hospital**

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Race Cooperation

In making out a program for the All-Race Conference the selection of a key word was of utmost importance. The committee deliberated at great length make sure that no mistake was made. It was at once seen that it would be needless to parallel the programs of our usual conventions and organizations.

The anecdote of Abraham Lincoln was brought into play. When the great war president consented to meet representatives of the Confederacy as to some compromise basis of ending the war, Mr. Lincoln insisted on only one word. He said to the Southern representatives: "If you let me write Union at the top of the page, you may write anything you please underneath."

The committee decided to write race cooperation at the head of the program, and felt that this was of far greater importance than anything that could possibly be appended below, that caption. It was in this wise that the key-word of the conference came to be adopted.

Cooperation is absolutely essential to race salvation. If we were united to aim and objective, we could ask whatever we would and it would be granted unto us. There is neither the power nor disposition in our civilization to deprive eleven million American citizens of their just deserts if they demand them with one united voice.

But as long as we proceed by divided counsel, our numbers but add to our weakness. Divide and conquer is a motto as old as human oppression. The overlord always seeks to dominate the underman by keeping him divided.

To quote from myself: "the white man hopes to keep us under by keeping us asunder." He has played this game successfully from time immemorial. Will he be permitted to play it to the end? The salvation or damnation of the race depends upon the answer. If the intelligentia of the race cannot devise a statesmanship which will lead the race to unity of aim and purpose in things essential to racial welfare, then our higher education is a failure and leads to no desired end.

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The Dyer Bill Revived

The Negro has to all intents and purposes forgotten the Dyer Bill. On the other hand Mr. Dyer its author, is touring the country calling the attention of the nation to the imperative demand for this moral measure.

If there is any clearly differentiated method of the white man as compared with the Negro it is to be found in his spirit of indomitable determination and persistence.

Now is the time of all times for the Negro to focus upon whatever legislative relief the race may hope to gain from the next Congress. After the issues have been set, and the platform has been written it is too late to inject special demands or to expect favorable consideration of our special grievances. The whole race should busy itself with the formulation of some plan of national check and control of lawlessness.

The next Congress will only devote itself to these measures which the demanded by the people. The Presidential election will be impending. The Administration will be over anxious about its stewardship to the American people. If the Negro expects any legislative advantage, he should formulate it now, I suggest that our civil rights organizations proceed at once to have a suitable measure drawn and presented at the opening of the next Congress. Whatever influence it can command should be brought to bear upon the political organization bidding for his suffrage.

The American Bar Association should be asked to formulate a measure enabling the Federal Government to deal with lawlessness. This legal body could and doubtless would be able and willing to frame such a measure that would stand the test of constitutional objections. We should not sleep upon our rights and privileges, and as usual, wake only when it is too late. Let us rather imitate Mr. Dyer and take time by the forelock.

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I was in Boston last week. Boston is New England, and New England is Boston so far as the Negro is concerned. After delivering my set address on the Negro Sanhedrin I was invited to meet with a delightful group that was giving a reception to the graduates and students of Harvard, Boston University, the New England Conservatory of Music and other regional institutions.

Hon. William H. Lewis, ex-Assistant Attorney General was the orator of the occasion. His address was up to his usual high standard of eloquence, wit and wisdom. By the way, Mr. Lewis is recognized as being one of the great lawyers of New England. He has found ample room in his profession, on top.

It was an inspiration to witness these thirty or forty young men and women gathered from all parts of the country seeking the forms of knowledge and culture of the highest scholastic type. I could not but advise them that their special attainments would find useful expression mainly in service to their own group, but would become comparatively impotent and barren unless quickened by the human motive and winged with missionary zeal and enthusiasm.

The situation of the New England Negro is a study and a puzzle. The old traditional spirit of philanthropy is dying with the years. The abolitionist freed the slaves, and are dead. Their descendants maintain a decent and distant respect for the deeds and devotion of their ancestors. They have little interest in the Negro in New England in the year of our Lord nineteen twenty-three. The forms of traditional equality still survive. Harvard was forced to the right decision out of deference to its traditions rather than the dictates of contemporary attitude and feeling.

Trotter and the Equal Rights League are fighting manfully for the maintainance of the old foundations. Foreigners are flooding New England with moral indifference.

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The ordinary working man is scarcely more than holding his own. The professional men are doing well. There is shown a fine spirit of social service on part of a number of noble women and worthy men. Associated business enterprise is making a commendable beginning. The race problem, however, is as evident in Boston as it is in Baltimore. It merely takes on different modes of manifestation.

The Negro is brought face to face with himself and his problems in all places and sections of the country. The Negro in New England, like the Negro in Mississippi, must keep constantly on the alert to keep from losing out. The Negro problem is one with only local variations and the Negro must understand and deal with it as such

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The proposition has been put up to President Harding to specify a time when the colored personnel will be installed, and to name well qualified candidates for special assignment and place them under a course of training in government hospitals to meet whatever lack of expertness may now obtain. In this way a full colored staff can be qualified in a few months.

Possession is nine points of the law. It will be much more difficult to replace a white staff once installed than to install a colored staff from the beginning. The Negro came out of the World War with a bad case of grievance against the American people. If the Tuskegee Hospital is taken from them and given to the manipulation of the whites it would merely serve as the climax of their disappointment.

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The Negro should not always be wanting something the white man has, but should have something the white man wants.

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The meeting was held under the auspices of the "Sons of Negro Freedom" and Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes presided. "Dr. DuBois," said the speaker, "says we are moving toward a Colored world. The object of great movements of today is to remove the question of color at all. But granting for the sake of argument that we are moving toward a Colored world, is it logical or sensible for us to accelerate our motion toward that world of proscription, discrimination and race hate? We might just as well conclude to commit suicide, because we are on the road to death. We are not moving toward a Colored world. We are moving toward a world where justice will reign; where men are thinking in terms of humanity, of a new day, of a new democracy.

Segregation Destroys Negro Initiative

Wealth accumulated shows Negro business initiative. Under Segregation this would all be destroyed. Take Tulsa for an example. If we had had Negro homes in the White sections of Tulsa these homes would never have been destroyed. Voluntary segregation may be the development of iniative. We would have Negro banks, business enterprises, Negro barber shops, restaurants, etc. The poison of segregation will go through the life of the Negro and destroy him. Education is merely a means to an end. Education means happiness. The teacher is to mobilize and adapt the forces of nature to secure happiness to the pupil. Now a condition to happiness is freedom and freedom is the ability to act in accord with one's desire. Segregation limits an individual to obtain what he desires—happiness. We oppose segregation because it opposes the end of life—happiness.

Race Prejudice Born in the Schools

Race prejudice is transmitted, educated into the mind of the child. It is not born in him. It is not inherited. It is transmitted through various social agencies. The child's mind is plastic—that is why segregation begins in the school. The Negro child cannot convince the white child that he is his equal except through contact. The segregationists maintain that the Negro teacher is a greater inspiration than white teachers. The inspiration the Negro child gets in a school where he competes with the white child is a greater inspiration than that he obtains from Colored teachers. I am opposed to separating Negro pupils from White pupils and Negro teachers from White teachers. The Negro teacher has the task of educating the White teacher, an opportunity that will never come unless they have contact. The Northern Negro boy underrates the Southern Negro boy because he believes he is educated at a better school and if the White child gets it into his mind that Colored schols are inferior, he will reason that the Negro is inferior.

Negro Teachers Favor Segregation Because They Want Jobs

Why do some Negro teachers favor Segregation? Because they want jobs. But jobs will not come with segregation. Segregation will limit the school term, lower salaries, and provide fewer jobs. If Negro carpenters could only work on Negro buildings, they would get fewer jobs than in case they could work on all buildings. Suppose we had separate money. The money passing from a White man's hand would depreciate in a Negro's hand. The world is getting away from Segregtion. You accomplish more through education and agitation than you do by standing still."

Rev. Logan raised the collection and after a few pointed remarks by Rev. Tindley, the meeting adjourned

Negro Editor Says Whites of South Are Truest Friends To His People

The forty-sixth commencement exercises of the State Normal school in Montgomery closed Wednesday, when more than a hundred negro boys and girls received certificates and diplomas from the several departments. The enrollment this year was the largest of any during the forty-six years of its existence and they come from every section of Alabama and quite a few from other southern states. The enrollment is 760.

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The commencement address was delivered Wednesday by Oscar W. Adams editor of The Birmingham Reporter. He made a well balanced address using for his subject "The Negro and American Citizenship". The speaker received complimentary words from President G. W. Trenholm when introducing him to the student body, the faculty and the several hundred persons who gathered for the closing scene.

Adams said in part:

"If I carry out my purpose today it will be to develop the thought of manhood and citizenship, based on the American plan. I have selected to use in connection with this thought. the negro and American citizenship. In this utterance today we hope to be free from foolish flattery of our race history. We have had quite enough of that, while the things that make for elevation and genuine progress along the line and principle of race growth have been too often relegated to the background.

Citizenship is Highway.

"American citizenship is a great highway, when we come to enjoy it fully and respect it as it is, it must be after much struggle, toil and sacrifice. The American negro is a part of this citizenship and it is with him as to how he will function in its affars. I am reminded here of a question asked, is life worth living? It was answered with the expression that it depends on the liver. The question of the future progress and the place of the negro in the American plan depends almost entirely on the negro himself. His destiny is in his hands. This is said in the light of history and philosophy. Life is what we make it. A race or a nation is what it makes itself. It is never an accident that people become what they are Certain distinct laws, rules, customs and principles when adopted and followed, fix the mould of races. It is equally true of individual men and women.

"I hear it often said that the negro will not be recognized in the South no matter how genuine a man he may be. I am ready to face the world as I am to face this audience today and flatly deny such assertion that upstanding negroes are not respected by upstanding white people. No one can be reared in the South and study conditions about him while seeking to ascend the scale of excellence without recognizing the fallacy of that accusation. Certainly we are going to be opposed by some, but we are supported by a large number that give us strength and encouragement, fortitude and protection.

No Race Prejudice.

"I lamentably deplore much that is taking place in the injustice and oppression visited upon my race, but I thank God that I take no share in race prejudice. To me a man is a man, whatever be his color or his garb. Many a heart of gold beats beneath the rough clothes of a man and princes live often in shanties and cabins. It is character that makes the man and woman. If at heart one is right, he is all right. When men get right life becomes right, the world becomes right all things are right. We are just as bad as the white race when we make a wholesale condemnation of that race as when they make a wholesale condemnation of our race. There are good white people and we know it. There are good black people and the white folk know it. These groups must put their hearts and their heads together to save and civilize the unruly ones of both races. Ignorance is our greatest curse. It is the one continuous drawback in our American life.

"I have faith in the South. I have faith in the negro of the South, and have faith in the white race of the South. I believe when both races are properly educated that the disadvantages, injustices and ungodly practices will be removed. I am persuaded to the expression that whatever misunderstanding evists, it is because of the ignorance on the part of both races, and where the negro is at fault it is almost entirely because of his ignorance. It is foolish on the part of any of us to think for a moment that we can have a peaceful and happy progressive state or section with a half ignorant group and a half intelligent group.

"None are safe. All must be educated. The blacks are unsafe in a community of ignorant whites and the whites are unsafe in a community of ignorant blacks To carry out what seems to be written in our fundamental laws, we must consider all the laws as laws and each of them having specific and direct meanings for the protection of humanity. The early adjustment of all of our condition, I believe can best be handled through an honest, brave and christian race relationship committee."

President George W. Trenholm presided at the meeting and with encouraging remarks delivered the certificates and diplomas to the graduates

tiveness. The American people have a mania for big things. We do not distinguish clearly between bigness and largeness. So organizations mean little to us unless they are big. They must swing the crowd, they must bulk big in outward noise and demonstration. Not infrequently we have these social, civic and notoriously religious organizations, which cover everything and touch nothing.

We need more efficient and smaller organizations, which will tackle a few simple things and perform them well. In every block a few people without much organization, perhaps with a mutual understanding, could perform miracles in the matters of beautification, sanitation, health, law enforcement and community welfare in general. The largest and best things have been wrought by a few people doing well a few things.

"ARE NEGROES OVER-ORGANIZED?"

Are the Negroes over-organized? The question is pertinent. To form new organizations seems to be our only solution for the problems which crowd upon us. Now, organization is essential to life. There seems to be no other way to protect and propagate it. Life, however, should be directed through those channels which oftentimes are ready and most adapted to serve it. At all events, there is nothing in organization just for organization sake.

Certain it is, that many of our organizations are up in the air, so far as obtaining results are concerned. They do not function. It is a case of the King of France with forty thousand men marching up the hill and then marching back again, rather than an intelligent, aggressive and sustained campaign until the objective has been reached. Perhaps the kind of organizations which we as a people delight in are much to blame for their ineffec-

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"If I carry out my purpose today it will be to develop the thought of manhood and citizenship, based on the American plan. I have selected to use in connection with this thought. "American citizenship. In this utterance today we hope to be free from foolish flattery of our race history. We have had quite enough of that, while the things that ress along the line tages, injustices and race growth have been legated to the backgr

Citizenship is H

"American citizensh highway, when we co fully and respect it as after much struggle, of this citizenship and as to how he will fare. I am reminded h tion asked, is life wo was answered with the depends on the liver. of the negro in the Ame pends almost entirely himself. His destiny is said in the ligh and philosophy. Life is it. A race or a natio makes itself. It is neve ported by some, but we are sup ported by a large number that give us strength and encouragement, for protection.

No Race Prejudice.

"I lamentably deplore much that is taking place in the injustice and oppression visited upon my race, but i thank God that I take no share in race prejudice. To me a man is a man. his color or his garb gold beats beneath rough clothes of a man and princes live often in shanties and cabins. It

"ARE NEGROES OVER-ORGANIZED?"

Are the Negroes over-organized? The question is pertinent. To form new organizations seems to be our only solution for the problems which crowd upon us. Now, organization is essential to life. There seems to be no other way to protect and propagate it. Life, however, should be directed through those channels which oftentimes are ready and most adapted to serve it. At all events, there is nothing in organization just for organization sake.

Certain it is, that many of our organizations are up in the air, so far as obtaining results are concerned. They do not function. It is a case of the King of France with forty thousand men marching up the hill and then marching back again, rather than an intelligent, aggressive and sustained campaign until the objective has been reached. Perhaps the kind of organizations which we as a people delight in are much to blame for their ineffectiveness. The American people have a mania for big things. We do not distinguish clearly between bigness and largeness. So organizations mean little to us unless they are big. They must swing the crowd, they must bulk big in outward noise and demonstration. Not infrequently do we have these social, civic and notoriously religious organizations, which cover everything and touch nothing.

We need more efficient and smaller organizations, which will tackle a few simple things and perform them well. In every block a few people without much organization, perhaps with a mutual understanding, could perform miracles in the matters of beautification, sanitation, health, law enforcement and community welfare in general. The largest and best things have been wrought by a few people doing well a few things.

Race Problem—1923.
United States

THE NEGRO AND THE SOUTH

Hon. Richard H. Edmonds, Editor of The Manufacturers' Record, Baltimore, takes issue with Mr. N. L. Willet, of The Augusta Chronicle, by writing an open letter to our Augusta contemporary, The Chronicle.

It appears that Mr. Willet charged The Baltimore Journal with delivering an occasional lecture to the south on Negro wages and conditions. Mr. Edmonds takes Mr. Willet to task for a lack of frankness, and denies that he either lectures to the south on the Negro question or invites the Negro to Baltimore.

Mr. Edmonds says: "Now, my friend, Mr. Willet, instead of saying 'Baltimore Journal,' might just as well have said The Manufacturers' Record, and, instead of saying that we were trying to invite the Negro to Baltimore, he might have stated the exact facts. We were not inviting the Negro to Baltimore. We were trying to say that the south must meet the conditions which exist in Baltimore and elsewhere for the comfortable housing of Negroes, if it is going to keep the Negroes in the south. Baltimore has over 100,000 Negroes, but there is not one Negro house in the city that has not a bathroom, for there is a law in Baltimore, in operation for twenty or twenty-five years or more, which forbids the building of any dwelling in the city, however humble it may be, without a bathroom and sanitary facilities. In mentioning this fact and citing as one indication of how Baltimore is seeking to educate the Negro here, that it is building a Negro high school at a cost of $1,250,000, I was simply trying to indicate some of the ways which the south must carry on its campaign to retain the better class of its Negroes."

We quite agree with Mr. Edmonds, and Mr. Edmonds is an authority on economic conditions in America, and, as much as we are opposed to the wholesale migration of our people, we cannot escape the conclusion that if the south retains the better class of its Negroes it must resort to the Baltimore plan (and Baltimore is in the south) of giving him better housing conditions and better educational facilities.

In our own city, the educational facilities for the Negro is not one-fifth in adequateness as the facilities for the whites. We have no facilities for the education of our people furnished by the public schools above the eighth grade, and the outlook now for the next year is that our children will not get beyond the ninth grade, for, in the Junior-Senior High school now being built both the facilities and room will only take care or three classes in the Junior High—the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. Whereas, the whites have not only all the grades, the kindergarden and technical schools, but they have every industry known to modern education—commercial high schools, preparing the white boys and girls for every vocation. The whites have the grades, kindergarten, the Tech High, Commercial High and Junior and Senior High schools.

As to housing conditions—the shacks and huts surrounded by surface closets in which Negroes live are eye-sores and a disgrace to our civilization. We have no idea that the City Council or the Sanitary Department knows the conditions surrounding the homes of thousands of Negroes. It would be well for Atlanta to adopt the Baltimore idea and pass a law prohibiting the building of any house for people to live in in Atlanta without bathrooms and modern sanitary connections. We are publishing in another column of this issue Mr. Edmonds' letter, for the moral and prophecy it carries.

The Negro, like other people, likes attractive, comfortable and sanitary quarters to live in, with educational facilities for the improvement of his children, and in the place where he can find these comforts and opportunities he will make his permanent home. Why Negroes in Atlanta do not die, because of sanitary and housing conditions, like cattle when a plague devours them is a question in our mind that puzzles us beyond comprehension. A boy cannot rise above his home, and the house in which he lives, and the environment with which it is surrounded, including comfort, sanitation and ventilation, is a part of the home. The colored man does not seek alms, but opportunity.

It would be well for the south to investigate the causes of migration by looking officially into the educational facilities provided for Negroes, the housing conditions that he is compelled to accept and live in and the wages he receives. It is about as Mr. Edmonds says, the white man accepts low wages himself in order that the Negro may not receive a wage above a living level. Writing and speaking is not going to solve this problem. It must have heroic treatment. It will take performance, not talk. Migration will end when we are provided,

First, with better housing conditions in both the cities and rural districts; and in the cities, build no house without a bathroom and sanitary and ventilating facilities or connections.

Second, with adequate and ample facilities for the practical and helpful education of our children. Give them every facility and opportunity for education, morally, physically and intellectually, afforded white children.

Third, with living wages—wages large enough to afford us a living and to save a dollar, with a view of purchasing a home and having a little savings account for a rainy day.

Fourth, with confidence in the white man's willingness to give us a square deal, by enforcing the law alike against white and black violators.

Fifth, let us feel that the law is for our protection and not our punishment; that we may rest in our homes at night, whether in the city or country, without fear of bodily harm or the destruction of our little churches, school houses and lodge rooms. Let us feel that we are at home and amply protected by the strong hand of the law from all outlaws or violators of the law, white or black.

(Signed) BENJAMIN JEFFERSON DAVIS. Editor.

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(Signed) BENJAMIN JEFFERSON DAVIS. Editor.

N. A. A. C. P. FIELD SECRETARY SAYS HOWARD PROFESSOR HAS BRAINS BUT LACKS COURAGE

Applies Lash to "Sanhedrin" Advocate—Unmercifully Criticises Attitude of "Keeping to the Middle"

(By Willam Pickens)

NEW YORK, April 27.—We often talk together, Kelly Miller and I—and I like to talk with him, for he does not "straddle" so much in conversation as he does in public utterance and in print. We talked together yesterday, privately, after he had just made a speech to an audience, chiefly white, and had told them that "the white race is the trustee of civilization"—a statement which would justify every arrogance of the white race. If the white race is the trustee of civilization, then Vardaman and John Sharp Williams, and all that breed are right. If the white race, as a race, are trustees of the thing, then all other races should be governed by them—Negroes and Indians should be disfranchised, and the trustees should have sole voice in the administration of the estate. All others are the WARDS of civilization, if the whites, as whites, are trustees.

Miller Dodges the Truth

Now, Miller knows better than that; he knows that this would be the TRUE STATEMENT of the case: That the intelligent and civilized people of ALL RACES are the trustees of civilization, and not by any divine appointment, but by virtue of their advantages—and that the intelligent and the strong should administer civilization for the good of themselves and of the ignorant and the weak.—This statement of the matter would take in Negroes, Japanese, Indians and all competent individuals among all races as EQUALS in the ruling of this world.

"Sandhedrin" Man Is Tricky

But why did Miller put the matter up to the white race? Simply because "the line of least resistance," a phrase of which he is very fond, was to be found in flattering and fooling that white audience into a feeling that at least here is one sensible, educated black man who knows that white folks should have privileges by the virtue of being white.—That is a regular little Miller trick, and although he is a friend of ours, he shall not get away with it. His plan is to bark with the hounds while running along with the hare and so keep the peace for Miller with everybody. He quotes Disraeli, who, as a politician, fooled people, to prove that it is a high and noble thing to fool people—not to let people know what you really think.

Miller Makes Nasty Insinuations to Be Funny

We noticed several little nasty insinuations which Prof. Kelly Miller has brought out in his weekly and weakly Middlings recently, and we would not mention them but for the fact that he mentioned them yesterday and tried to apologize for them. Evidently, his conscience does not run with his weekly editorials. "Oh," said he, "I just wrote that in fun, just to be humorous." That is to say, he did not mean it—but how is the general public to know that he does not mean it, when he pretends, for example, that he is so acquainted with the English language that he thought that our second article on "Intelligent Christianity," in the April Messenger, was at all contradictory to our first article on "Thing Nobody Believes," in the February Messenger? We wish to record for Miller's sake (all other people can read it in the articles) that we know no reason for changing a single crossing of a t in either one of our articles. But our friend is a mathematican and not an English teached, and perhaps that accounts for his misinterpretations of the plainest of plain words.

Howard Dean Has Brains But No Courage

The man has brains. His great misfortune is lack of courage. Even in the days of contention, the very foolish contention, between the advocates of higher and the advocates of "industrial" education, the professor, the teacher of higher mathematics, tried to satisfy both these foolish factionalisms. They tell a joke on him which is more than a joke as an index to his character: It seems that the colored people were having a banquet in Washington, and both the "college" and the "industrial" factionalist were present, when some one rushed into the room and announced: "Prof. Kelly Miller has just had twins born in his family, and he has named one of them Booker T. Washington and the other one W. E. B. DuBois!"

"Sandhedrin" A Supreme Straddle

Whether this be true of the professor's children or not, it is certainly true of his thoughts—they always come in TWINS, one for each side, though the sides are diametrically opposed to each other. Some times we wonder if his proposal of a "Sandhedrin," as he calls it, is not merely the supreme straddling effort of his career—an effort to stand steady (on only two legs) in a dozen different factions at once. We believe in an all-race conference, and shall endeavor to point out its possibilities, and its difficulties, in a subsequent editorial—but for the present we are merely analyzing the straddling psychology of Prof. Kelly Miller.

Miller Deals In Half-Truths and is Insincere

When he pretends in public print that he (perhaps maybe, and probably) disagrees somewhat and in some way not made clear with some of our honest statements about the religion which concerns all of us—and then tells us in private that he is just "kidding," so we speak, he displays an intellectual dishonesty for which nobody should thank him. He gets into the fooling business, like some of the preachers, who disagreed violently with what I said, when they spoke in public, and then told me in private that they agreed with me. One preacher who announced that he was going to preach more than a dozen sermons on me told me, of his own accord and in private conversation: "Oh, you are right! In fact, I have long ago stopped preaching the foolish things you mention. All sensible people agree with you—but it just took somebody with guts enough to say what you said." Another said: "All the best theological schools are teaching what you say, but then, you see, you said it so plainly that the people can understand it—while the progressive preacher says the same things in words and phrases that the people cannot understand." Another: "We are glad you said it—we cannot afford to say it." And an old and honorable minister of the A. M. E. Church, who raised a fine family of boys and girls, who lives in Colorado Springs, and who would perhaps be perfectly willing for us to call his name, said: "The worst curse of the American Negro has been the fear of the white man's hell. No people could ever be oppressed and bullied as the Negro is oppressed and bullied, except a people who have (not the fear of God in their hearts but) the fear of hell in their psychology."

"Sandhedrin" Man Needs A Fool Killer

So has Professor Kelly Miller been trying to fool the preachers and fool us at the same time. He will not fool either one of us, is our prediction. If he believes in the things in which we say no intelligent person today believes, let him say so, not in generalities, but let him take them up **ad seriatum** and assert his belief in each separate item. He has a right to do so. Let him copy after Kelly Miller, Junior, and say what he means in the shortest words, without the slightest effort to dodge or straddle.

Howard Man is Hypocritical "Knocker" of Doubtful Honesty

Is it not a queer thing for Miller to pretend to be "surprised," that some of us write some things which are printed in other papers besides the Crisis—as if the rest of us were any more bound to be limited to the Crisis than is Prof. Miller? Even the editor of the Crisis writes articles for other publications. We notice that our friend does not limit his straddlings to the publications of Howard University, or even to those of Washington, D. C., but spreads them around among several publications.

The best part of good religion, the best part of good citizenship, and the best part of good journalism is HONESTY. The plain and honestly expressed truth will in the end do most good for the church, the state, and for public education.

But, no sir, you are not going to get Prof. Miller between the Devil and the deep sea, and if you do, he will straddle out by running on the "line of least resistance" right up and down the shore line, dodging both his majesty and the waves.

Miller's "Little Game" Can't Work

But it is not easy to get away with that little game always. People will find you out. It is hard to stay "on the fence," and when a fellow tries to sit on two chairs at once, he is most likely to hit the floor between them. And we wonder if Prof. Miller ever heard of that philosophical donkey who starved to death midway between two ricks of fine hay—simply because the donkey could not CHOOSE—could not make up his mind WHICH stack he should go and eat—FIRST.

We believe in the good intentions of Prof. Miller, but we fear lest his vacillations and Disraeli-isms may mislead those who may not know that it is the law of his nature to straddle, to show himself "safe and sane" at all costs even if he must acknowledge by a slight camouflage and right in the face of Egypt and India that civilization belongs to the white race. We have learned much from his and we shall learn more but we are not going to adopt his dodging ways because it is not our nature to dodge. We are going to give a boost and a lift to that generation to which Kelly Miller, junior, belongs.—Wm. Pickens, New York, N. Y.

Race Problem— 1923.
United States.

KELLY MILLER SAYS

The Afro-American 8-24-23

The "Black Cabinet" **Leadership North or South**

The Civil Service Photos **New Administration**

Baltimore, Md.

The "Black Cabinet"

This term was applied to the highest ranking Negro officials in Washington who banded themselves together as advisors to the President upon all matters affecting the Negro race.

Although made the butt of ridicule and coarse ribaldry, nevertheless, the black cabinet is calculated to render valuable racial service. The President seeks advice from persons in high official station who are committed to the fortune of the Administration. It is but natural that he will turn to his highest ranking Negro appointees for special advice touching the class with which they are naturally supposed to be most familiar. They have the easiest access to the ruling powers, and if they be men of probity and race loyalty, the public interest of the group might well be intrusted in their hands.

If on the other hand, our Negro officials be merely self-seeking politicians, willing to trade and barter upon the rights of their people, then their disservice might result in incalculable damage. The "Black Cabinet" has a worthy role to play, if it will only play it worthily.

* * * * *

The Political Boss

In politics the power behind the throne is often more effective than the power on the throne. The real political boss rarely holds office. The very fact of official restraint weakens his manipulatory control.

The boss of Tammany Hall never takes office. The Negro is poor, and must make his livelihood directly from his political activities. Rarely indeed can he direct the forces from an independent basis. He must look for favors to the big white boss to whom he is but a second lieutenant. Alas, too often this is the burden of his appeal to his white lord and master:

Nothing but gaff have I to give;
Nothing but gaff shall I receive.

Theodore Roosevelt, with his keen political sagacity selected Booker T. Washington, as the political referee and spokesman of the race or in plainer terms, the Negro's political boss. He was above the necessity of office. His standing before the world did not rest upon a political foundation. His genius and his accomplishments lay entirely in a different field. And yet he was the single, solitary member of the race who could have been thus utilized to the general good of the cause.

The Negro group must have a political spokesman. If the ranking Negro officials do not command the appreciation and approval of the race, then the Administration feels forced to select some individual upon whose advice and council it can rely.

This inevitably leads to unfortunate factional animosities, unless forsooth, the referee possesses transcending talents, like Booker T. Washington, when the appointed officials are glad to submit to his superior position in the general scheme. Shall the "Black Cabinet" or the political referee dictate the Negro's political welfare under the new Administration? We shall have o wait and see.

* * * * *

Political Leadership, North and South?

Hitherto all of our national political leaders have come from the South. The mass of the people are there. While the actual franchise has no practical effect upon the election, yet the Negro politician in the South exercises a larger measure of control over party machinery, and thus becomes a controlling factor in his State or locality.

The Negro, as often as not, heads the delegation from the Southern states to the national convention. Henry Lincoln Johnson is national committeeman from Georgia, and stands out conspicuously as a trustee of the Republican party. No Northern Negro can hope for like leadership in his organization. He can never lead the orchestra but is permitted to play only the second or third fiddle.

Those who aspire to national leadership of the race might reasonably enough be required to show credentials of local control. The crafty white politician is very anxious to eliminate the Negro from controlling place in any political organization. This is the declared policy and purpose of the lily whites.

In Georgia and Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, the Negro is still a primary factor in such Republican politics as prevails in those states. Everywhere else he is only a secondary factor.

There is no immediate prospect that the Republican party will function in the far Southern states except as office-monger and as quadrennial factor in national conventions.

There is no good reason why the Negro should not hold on to the form of power that rests wholly upon the political aspiration of the black population. From his point of advantage, the voteless Negro of the South still has the upper hand of his voting brother in the North for national leadership of the race.

* * * * * *

Losing Out In The Civil Service

When Theodore Roosevelt was Civil Service Commissioner, the Negro had a fair show for clerical appointment on the basis of tested merit. But laterly the Civil Service is so manipulated that the black man is all but excluded.

I entered the government service as result of civil service examination in the good old Rooseveltian days. But now the applicant is required to submit his photograph, and is left at the mercy of the head of the bureau to which he is certified. By such insidious means the race is being excluded from the government. I want to call attention of the N. A. A. C. P, the Equal Rights League the Race Congress and other political and civil rights race organizations to look seriously into this matter.

First let them quietly investigate and determine the facts. Let them study the insidious methods and devious devices which this free government of ours adopts to eliminate its own loyal citizens from their proper participation in the civil service. Let them bring this whole question to the attention of Congress and of the country. Let them begin his investigation without too much noise and flare of trumpets. It will not be necessary to call on the Federal troops to enforce this right.

The several civil rights oganizations have recently issued a concordat of their purpose to work in harmony. Let them begin on this worthy task. Let no one hasten to get in the limelight ahead of the rest.

I call on the N. A. A. C. P. the leader of the group, to begin at once I call upon the Race Front Conference organized for just such purpose to arouse the constituent organizations to the importance of this task. Unless this newly formed union of organizations shall shortly show some constructive results of united action its efficiency and usefulness will be seriously questioned. Leadership in this movement should be conferred upon James Weldon Johnson. Lo, I have told you.

* * * * *

The New Administration

The Negro race is anxiously waiting and watching for some clear announcement of racial policy by the Coolidge administration. The politicians are asking who shall stand at the right and who at the left hand of the Administration for the distribution of Negro patronage.

For the past forty years candidates for the Presidency have appeased the gullible Negro with flattering pre-election promises whose unfulfilment bore bitter fruit. Extravagant expectations and fulsome laudation have been quickly followed by wild denunciation and abuse. This has been the undeviating experience from Harrison to Harding. The lure of campaign promises have deceived the Negro for ten quadrenniums.

The cunning politician might well rely upon the eternal gullibility of the Negro voter. But Mr. Coolidge enters upon his office

without commitment. He presents to the public a carte blanche, with only the word "conscience" written at the top. This is our hope and expectation.

There should be presented to the President through the "black cabinet," the political boss, or the civil rights organizations, or some other influential agency, the practicable things which the Negro expects his administration to do. This should be done with common understanding, so that one delegation should not discredit or discount the other by conflicting claims and presentations.

The Negro is in a better strategic position under Coolidge than he has been for a long time, if he will only use the opportunity wisely.

TWO PROMINENT WHITE EDITORS THINK SLAVERY WOULD UNQUESTIONABLY RESCUE NEGROES FROM THEIR CURRENT TROUBLES

On the Other Hand, a Negro Writer Believes That Negroes Should be Taught to Measure Up to Meriting the Concessions Made Them by Other People

IF THE "CONCESSION" OF SLAVERY WAS MADE, WOULD NEW NEGROES MEASURE UP TO IT?

By AMY JACQUES-GARVEY

I have heard of many solutions to what is commonly called the race problems, but the most malicious one, as coming from white men, is the re-enslaving of Negroes in America.

About a year ago my husband (Marcus Garvey), in a public address, warned his hearers that if the Negro race did not make plans for its future existence, the day was not far distant when the white man would make efforts to re-enslave Negroes. Some of the "professional critics" laughed at him, and said it was hot air talk; no white man would even dare to think that way in this present civilization, this highly developed period. But here are two white thinkers, Messrs. Menken and Nathan, the retiring editor of the Smart Set Magazine, advocating the re-enslaving of the Negro, as a relief from the ills he now suffers as a citizen. Negro World

The Smart Set is called the aristocrat among magazines, therefore, it is well for all of us to know the kind of propaganda that is being disseminated among the class of white people who read this monthly aristocrat. The following appears in the December issue under the caption "The Crime of January 1, 1863": 12-15-23

"The present parlous condition of the late Confederate States, with the native blackamoors emigrating to the rolling mills, illicit distilleries and jazz-palaces of the North by the hundred thousand, will probably give some pause to the surviving proponents of the old doctrine that chattel slavery was economically sound. Was it, indeed! Then try to imagine Georgia under chattel slavery, getting into the appalling economic condition that it labors under today. One of the leading bankers of the State is authority for the estimate that the departure of field-hands will cost its cotton growers $20,000,000 this year. Certainly they never suffered any such staggering loss under slavery. The slave may have been an indifferent workman, but he at least did some work. New York

The truth is that the plan of remedying the acknowledged evils of slavery by abolishing it altogether was as extravagant and imprudent as the plan of cutting off a man's head to cure his headache. As a matter of historical fact, it was not adopted with any such nonsensical intention; it was adopted simply as a device for harassing and punishing the confederates. Unluckily, it set a precedent which still harasses and punishes all of us. . . .

If, as was widely held at the time, chattel slavery was full of defects, then the obvious remedy was to search them out and remove them. Most of them had been detected and cured nearly 1,500 years before by the Romans of the empire—for example, the custom which allowed a slave-owner to separate a slave family. A few simple reforms of that sort, most of which would have been supported by the overwhelming majority of Southerners, and the slaves would have ceased to fret under the bondage. As everyone knows the complete freedom that was so suddenly thrust upon them demoralized them almost unanimously, and brought upon them a host of woes. Before ten years had come and gone, the white Southerners, in self-defense, had to take their liberty away from them again by extra legal devices—this setting another evil precedent. In most parts of rural Georgia today the black field-hands is almost as much a slave as his grandfather was on December 31, 1862. He is not permitted to exercise any of the common rights of citizenship, he is deprived of equality before the law by being denied a trial by his peers, and now the alarmed cotton-growers are even trying to take away from him his right to free movement. The only right that remains to him is the right to acquire and hold property. This right was enjoyed by all slaves under the Roman Empire; many of them grew far richer than any Southern Aframerican is today. In addition these Roman slaves got honest justice in the courts, and many of them were permitted to travel. The free Aframerican is thus worse off than they were. More important still, his vain efforts to obtain his theoretical rights have caused him to be disliked intensely; the Roman slave was popular; and often rose to positions of public eminence. . . . These blackamoors shiver when they hear the word SLAVERY, though the thing itself would unquestionably rescue them from most of their current troubles. They'd rather be "Free" chained to an upright rail with a pyre of fat pine-knots burning under them, than "slaves" in a comfortable cabin, with plenty of hog-meat in the smoke house and no tax bills to pay."

This statement is brutally frank, but any one who knows anything about H. L. Mencken knows that he is one of the keenest minds of America, and one of the most outspoken of his group.

Here are these two editors, Messrs. Mencken and Nathan, stating in plain language that the abolition of slavery was an extravagant and imprudent act, and that the defects of slavery should have been remedied rather than have the institution abolished, and, finally, that if Negroes were re-enslaved it would rescue them from their present troubles.

Perhaps these white men do not know that there are leaders in the Negro race today who are not paid by white folks to do their bidding, but leaders who are supported by the race to think and act for the race, and to the interest of the race, and that these leaders are determined to so work and plan that Negroes will not become so economically bankrupt that they will have to submit to enslavement in order to exist.

The idea is now to squeeze the Negroes out of jobs and fill those jobs with white immigrants from Europe. The Negro, after a few years, will find starvation staring him in the face; then slavery, in a modified form (modified to suit present-day civilization), will be offered to him as a relief for his condition. He will either have to accept this offer or starve and die. This is one of the plans of the thinking white people to deal with the Negro, and sometimes an outspoken member of the white race spills the beans and shows us in what direction the wind is blowing.

These white men are figuring without their host, they are thinking and planning for the Negro of fifty years ago; not for the Negro of 1914-1918 and of today. The Negro of fifty years ago might have been satisfied with a cabin and plenty of hog-meat, but this New Negro wants everything that the civilized, progressive white man wants. The New Negro wants nice homes, and the means to protect them. He wants the biggest industrial and political jobs in a nation. And since this New Negro knows that the white man has only such luxuries as a cabin and hog meat to offer him, he is planning and working toward establishing a government and a nation of his own, where he can satisfy his needs and ambitions as a MAN. If any reenslavement is to be done, it won't be done to this progressive, forward-looking New Negro.

Unfortunately a few of our writers are wickedly blind, and in the face of the attitude of the white man toward the race, they tell us of a better future, and sit with folded hands waiting for the day to dawn.

I came across a Negro newspaper published in a mid-western city in which a Negro writer states:

"The white man has made many concessions that it was thought he would not make. What is needed is to teach the Negro to measure up to meriting the concessions he demands.

"What concessions in the name of God, could the white man make the Negro that he did not merit?. Can you imagine a Negro writing such nonsense? Are we in America a set of uncivilized barbarians? Or are we as civilized and Christianized as the white man in his western hemisphere? I hate to think that the weakling who would write such puny rot is a member of this noble race of ours, and that he contaminates others with such apologetical statements. I would like to know that the writers of the race, in fact, that all Negro men are MEN. Men that we women can feel proud of; men that can protect us and plan for us; not men that we have to apologize for, not men that suffer from curvature of the spine and shaking knees. In other words, "Murse, boss good niggers." Please, Lord, straighten out their back bones, and strengther their shaking knees, so that they all be real men.

DEFENDS DR. DUBOIS

Editor Chicago Defender: Of course every subscriber feels it his prerogative to make suggestions as to the policy of the paper, so I want to ask a question: Are you sure you know DuBois as to his spirit and fighting ability? Twice you have criticized him, to me, unjustly. I refer to the Lincoln paternity and to the segregated schools. In both, words were taken out of the context and without the spirit of the man. Chicago Defender 6-25-23

I have read his books, heard him lecture, sat next to him at dinner, introduced him to a parlor audience of thinking people, so that I feel I do know his ability and his spiritual as well as his intellectual power. He has a certain sarcastic bitterness which I like to attribute to his French ancestry and environment instead of to his Negro blood, but he has the vision and the personality to carry his fight for interracial justice into high places.

It seems to me that a tremendous power like the Defender's would be better applied to co-operation with such a force than to portraying his faults.

As a postscript may I say that much seeming neglect of the Negro organizations, such as a failure to include delegations to the memorial services of the president, comes not from intent, but from pitiful ignorance of the position the Negro American is now fitted to occupy. I am neither condoning nor apologizing for this ignorance, but simply stating a fact. I have visited with intelligent people this summer who really do not sense the change that has come; they think in thoughts of childhood when illiteracy and helplessness were real. In other words, the powers that arrange do not decide against recognizing the Race; they simply do not think of it, and if attention is called to it they even then do not sense things as they are, but as they think they are.

Of course the whites are going to get a jolt some time. I hope not sudden but gradual, as those of us who do come in touch with the Negro as he is and not was, know the outcome.

MINNIE WHITMAN,
School Principal.
Oak Park, Ill., Aug. 19.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

I.

White Men Are Responsible For White Mongrels

THE NEGRO IS NOT TO BLAME

WATCH THE MAN WHO DODGES THE QUESTION OF WHITE SUPREMACY.

A lot of people, very much interested in the exodus of negroes from the South to the North, are unneccessarily disturbed, fearing lest these colored 'possum hunters will become entranced with the prospect of obtaining "Social Equality," in Yankee land, and decide never to return to the land where the sweet potatoes grow.

No altruistic sentiment enters into this anxiety for the return of the colored troops from the North. Practically all negroes in the South are city, and town dwellers nowadays never venturing very fat from the bright lights, and the celestial harmony of the nerve-wrecking jazz, except in the pleasant Fall weather, to visit the cotton fields, pick up some easy money, and then burn the wind back to town, with a "Git For Home Bruno" speed.

A limited contingent of the colored troops hold down more or less good jobs in the towns and cities, but the vast horde of the modern-day mulatto males, never average three months of actual labor during the year.

Millions of the lordly loafers spend their entire time in polishing pavements, and flashing their sun-set socks and Turkey-Red neckties, to an appreciative public. If the "bones" are running lucky, easy money jingles in the pockets of their tailor-made lavender trousers—but in case of necessity, each big lazy buck always has a trusty friend "in the white man's back-yard," that never fails him.

This is merely the repetition of a truism, or statement, which the writer has printed a thousand times, to wit:

The white man, who has a negro woman for cook, always feeds from two, to more niggers." The white man who doubts this, should consult an alienist immediately—for he certainly needs scientific attention, and quick action.

Referriing again to the element of white men who are uneasy over the migration of Southern negroes to the North, there is still enough left, to carry on all the farm work needed. The cities and towns are full of 'em yet—but it is that particular element of crap-shooters, who never work in the country—except an occasional visit to the plantation and farms in the Fall of the year—when the cotton fields are white as snow, and you can shoot a 7 or 11 by moonlight, and no fee-hunting Cop will gather you in, and force you to divide your honest winnings.

If enough negroes leave the South, the big farmers are going to be "up against it," for a year, at least. But the negroes will come back—and that is the bad feature of those sporadic, and senseless migrations of the mulatto breed. If they would only **stay North,** conditions would adjust themselves in the South, sooner or later, for there are plenty whites **"pattering around"** in towns and cities (living from hand to mouth, and often missing the mouth) who would finally go back to the country, if they did not have to come in direct contact and competition with the mulattoes. In addition to scenting the atmosphere for miles around, the negro farm hands work for **lower wages than a decent white laborer can live on.**

In the long run, white labor is the **cheapest,** but the big farmers either don't think so, or they prefer the nigger—whom they can "cuss out, and not hurt his feelings.

All the miserable propanganda and lies, recently carried in the dirty columns of subsidized periodicals in America about the negro being scared airless, "on account of the Ku Klux Klan," has had nothing to do with the Northern drift of this mongrel migration. The niggers occupy the same position in the South, as they did, before the Klan was reorganized. So long as he attended to his own business, and kept his black lecherous fingers from the throats of American White Women, no decent white man would ever molest him—least of all, members of the Ku Klux Klan—for they were gunning for **much larger game than a pee-nigger.**

The mulattoes may have been a trifle excited at first, but they know now—as they knew then—that the genuine, 100 per cent Protestant White man, was the **best friend,** a law-abiding, real negro ever had, or **ever will have,** in the South.

A certain class of the foreign element in America, have literally ruined the black race in this country, by transforming it into a miserable, mess of motly mongrels—neither man nor beast—that taken **en mass, are not to be trusted**—as was the old-time ex-slave.

No decent white man will deny this statement—then why should I not print the truth about it?

Beware of the alleged white, who dodges the question of **White Supremacy.**

If in doubt,, step to the lee side of him, and see if you don't detect an African aroma—"which fadeth not away."

Remember the proposition, that I have been printing for over 40 years of newspaper life:—

First—that the old-time, full-blooded African slave (or ex-slave) was a **valuable, and trust-worthy asset to the South,** that the Southern people **loved, and trusted,** and he never **failed them.**

Second—That the debauching of the 100 per cent, **ever-ready,** African **women,** by God-cursed lecherous **alleged white men,** was the **crime of the age**—and Southern people **are not responsible for this unpardonable Sin.**

I stick to the above proposition, for I **know they are true** —and pity, more than condemnation, springs up in my heart, when I view the wreck; which the **lust of the alleged white man** has left strewn in his wake.

The negro is not to blame.

"HAT THE SOUTH OWES TO ITS NEGRO NEIGHBOR.

(Portion of an address by DR. J. W. PERRY, Home Mission Secretary, M. E. Church, South, before the Social Service Conference of Southern Methodists at Lake Junaluska.

Today we celebrate the 147th an niversary of the birth of that docu ment which a great Englishman has called the noblest uninspired utter ance that ever sprang from the brain of man. In its first paragraph it assumes as an axiomatic truth that all men are born equal. To stop with that is to misunderstand the meaning of the paragraph. Soap box orators and corner loafers are often heard prating the untruth of the statement. They say men are not born equal; and they are not, for they are not equal physically at birth, not equal mentally; not equal in social rank. None of which the declaration proclaims. In the discussion of such questions as that before us today is it not true that we of the South are too prone to raise the bugaboo of social equality. As an old mountaineer of my native county when looking at a giraffe in John Robinson's circus declared, "The haint no sich animule." Social equality is a bugaboo of politicians and demagogues. **It does not exist and no revolution is in prospect to** usher it into being. Let us bury it and forget it, and let social matters take their course under the direction of an all wise Providence.

The declaration proceeds to define what is meant by equality of birth. That all men have certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit for happiness. These are rights of which no man can be justly deprived without due process of law.

Right to Life. Every man has the right to live. He did not bring himself into the world nor is he responsible for the flag under which his life begins, nor for the race or class to which he belongs. He has a right to live and the duty of a Christian society is to protect him in that right. If the priests and Levites had policed the road to Jerico the work of the Good Samaritan would not have been needed. It could have been traveled in safety. The fact that a road existed which was notoriously unsafe for a peaceable citizen to travel was a repoach to the social order of Palestine.

A very black spot rests upon the character and honor of our country in that citizens are too often deprived of life without legal process. The nonChristian world questions our religious faith and integrity as a people because of this. When a scholarly and cultured Hindoo gentleman some time ago was asked by an American for his opinion of the value of our Christian Missions, replied that he did not think a nation whose citizens lynched so many black men had any religion to export. Our Missionaries in every land meet the same criticism. "Why do you not stop the fearful crime of lynching and such violence at home before you come preaching a gospel of righteousness to us." To our credit, be it said that the number of victims has been growing smaller each year and that some Southern states have practically eliminated it. We owe it to ourselves and to the race which has served us for generations to end the evil in every state. It is the only way to secure justice and insure just punishment for every crime. Crime does not end crime, it begets it by making it popular. When the mob has sway no man is safe in his life or his home. There can be no law or enforcement of law. The good men and women of the Negro race look up to us with pleading eyes and voices, as so many have looked to me within the last year and plead pathetically, "Can you not do something to take from our people this awful horror," declaring themselves ready to help bring to justice those of their race guilty of crime. Do we not owe them the duty of the strong to the weak, of the more privileged to the less privileged?

Right to Liberty

The Christian South is under obligation to provide for the liberty of every man. No one desires to see involuntary slavery introduced into the country again. Our declaration of rights made it impossible for this nation to continue half slave and half free, just as the sermon on the Mount with its golden rule and the epistle of Paul to Philemon renders it impossible for such servitude to survive in a Christian social order. If peonage be practiced in a few other countries, it must not be in the Christian South, thank God! Wherever it dares to lift its head today in all our South it is made to feel the strong arm of the law. And yet has our Negro neighbor been accorded in every place the liberty of economic justice? I speak not of industries closed to him because of social restrictions but of his opportunities to buy and sell in an open market. We have grown in grace but are we not still suffering some pains of growth? Has the man of color everywhere the assurance that he can sell the produce of his toil, especially where organization controls the marts of trade? I have heard of a Negro who could not market his berries because he could not be a member of the Berry Growers Association. Just the other day I heard of some Negroes who were grossly ill treated in the matter to titles to property they had purchased in a city of the southwest. Surely a Christian people can find a way to guarantee this freedom to our neighbors.

The Pursuit of Happiness. Every man of whatever race deserves the best chance the nation can provide to make of himself the best and most useful neighbor and man he can make. Will not this require that we give more attention to helping our neighbor develop his home life? Slavery was not conducive to home life. The Negro brought no tradition of home life from Africa. In the days of slavery too often the Negro home was broken and he was taught to regard too lightly the vows of marriage. Do we not owe him Christian sympathy and help in the effort to make his home an institution which will contribute to the development of the best traits of character? Is it right to charge him high rent for poor quarters and leave his quarters in filth and darkness? To use his labor for our enrichment and put him to live in a miserable shack which no

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II.

art could make attractive?

If he is to make the best man possible he must have the blessing of a pure and holy religion. He is naturally religious. The race does not produce sceptics and infidels. We can learn from these neighbors as we try to help them. Their religious work is carried on under great handicaps. But their loyalty and devotion to their churches is inspiring, and their liberality puts us to shame. In 1860 the Southern Methodist Church had 247 of its white preachers appointed to work among the slaves. Now we are helping to support only 110 colored preachers and that has not been done for many years. We must establish more contacts with them in their religious life. We can help them in training schools, institutes and so know them better and give them the chance to know us. Do we not need this as well as they?

The struggle of the Negro race for education, which they must have, if religion is to be anything more than superstition, is a story of one of the most heroic struggles in the history of our nation. Have we toted fair with them? Have we not neglected their school houses? Or failed to build them? Have we not given them too meager a share of the public school fund? Kentucky and Missouri are the only states to show a disposition to treat every child alike. Louisiana spends $25.37 for each white child and $3.49 only for each colored. Even North Carolina, which is leading the whole South in its program for Negro education spends $15.37 for every white child and $5.83 for each colored child or nearly three to one. Is that up to the Christian standard of a square deal? Is it wise or right to compel those who want to prepare themselves for the best service in teaching or other forms of service to go to the northern schools for that preparation? But where else could they go? Even the best schools, schools of highest grade for them in the South have not been builded by Southern people and are not conducted always with southern ideals. Should not the South, the Southern Methodist Church, build for them and in cooperation with them a school in the South where under the best traditions of the South, and with the ideals of the South, surrounded by the balmy atmosphere of the South a Negro may be able to prepare himself for any special service to which he devotes his life, and be a trained workman who needs not be ashamed?

The world looks on us today and expects us to lead in the way to right race relationships. The days of criticism are passing, for our problem has become a world problem and God has put us in the place of leadership. May we prove true to Him in this day of our opportunity.

NOV 18 1923

The propoganda that is being disciminated broad cast over Georgia against the negro the Jew and the Catholics is as full of meat and prejudice as an egg shell is full of meat. It is as foreign to the spirit of Christianity as the devil could wish. The Jew was, and is God's chosen people. The constitution guarantees to everybody, the right to worship according to the dictates of conscience. The Catholics believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ and trust in Him for salvation. Bishop Haygood said: "The negro is our brother in black."

MANUFACTURERS RECORD
December 20, 1923.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO.

COLLIER'S WEEKLY recently contained an article by Mr. W. O. Saunders giving his reason as to why so many negroes have been moving to the North. Mr. Saunders opens his article with the following statement: "I am a Southern white man, born and raised in an old-fashioned Southern country town where the population was about half black and half white. I have lived nearly all my life in the South and close to colored people. When I was a child I loved my "ole black mammy" and played with negro children without prejudice. But I grew up to dislike negroes generally, just as almost everybody in the South does, for no particular reason at all except that "a nigger is a nigger." I came to manhood with a Southerner's dislike and contempt for black folks."

The MANUFACTURERS RECORD knows no language that would fitly answer these statements. There are, indeed, a certain class of people in the South, as those known by the negroes of old times as "poor white trash," who hate the negro. They will hobnob with him and drink with him, at times, and place themselves on a social par with him, although the negro is really far above that class, and then they will as occasion offers fight the negro, or sometimes shoot him. But these people no more represent the real people or the real sentiment of the South than the vilest black criminal represents the real negro element of the South.

The true Southern people appreciate the negro, and are doing their best to benefit him financially, morally and spiritually. They do not hate the negro, they do not regard him as a "nigger." They regard him as a fellow being doing his appointed work and they do not hold the race responsible for the criminals in it any more than the decent whites of the South should be held responsible for the criminality of its criminal classes, or for the effort to misrepresent the relations of the better class of the Southern whites and the better class of the negro.

Collier's Weekly introduces the article by Mr. Saunders with the editorial statement: "A Southern white man, reared with a Southerner's aversion to the black man." Now the Southern white man has no aversion to the black man per se. The aversion of the average Northern man to the negro is far and away greater than that of the Southern man. The Southerner understands the negro. He appreciates him, he knows his failings, he knows his good qualities, he knows that the race as a whole is a child race, in mental development, and must to a large extent be treated as children. But he knows that inherently the negro race has great possibilities for work and for spiritual and moral advancement, whereas, the average Northern man knows so little of the negro that he misunderstands him, mistreats him and hates him if in close contact.

A minister from the North accepted a call, some years ago, to a Baltimore church. He said to the writer one day that he never sat in a hotel dining room and was served by a negro waiter that he did not shiver every time a negro came near him. He had an aversion to the whole negro race whenever one of them approached him. No Southern

man ever feels that way. A Colorado man, after a visit to the South, stopped at Baltimore and said: "I cannot possibly imagine how you people in the South can ever be satisfied with the negro's presence there."

Both of these men, and they are typical of the majority of the Northern and Western people, neither understand nor appreciate the negro. The South understands the negroes and appreciates them.

But the writer of the Collier's Weekly article shows that he is not of that class of Southern people who do appreciate the negro and who are, to the utmost of their ability, striving to advance him morally and spiritually. They have no such aversion to negroes as Mr. Saunders admits that he has and the very fact that he makes his admission shows that he is wholly unfitted to discuss the question as it relates to the South and to the North.

Mr. D. L. Bingham, vice president of the Bank of Indianola, Miss., writes the MANUFACTURERS RECORD calling attention to the article in Collier's, and referring to the misinformation it contains, says:

"But when the writer qualifies as an expert and makes the statement 'I grew up to dislike negroes generally, just as almost everybody in the South does,' too much is enough, and I can only pray: Good Lord, deliver us from such friends!"

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AT THE FORK OF THE ROAD

NEGROES are at the fork of the road in America. Three paths stretch out before them. One leads ultimately to racial destruction by vulgar miscegnation, with the South as the incubator. Industrial strangulation is at the end of the other, through warfare between organized capital and union labor with its door shut in the face of the Negro. A third road leads to racial preservation and economic advancement, with industry as the instrument and incentive to achievement in America.

Three groups of the race are contending with each other at the fork of the road, trying to choose the route Negroes should follow in their march of progress. Three groups of whites are at the back of each Negro party. The fighting Negro factions are obeying a law essential to their own self-preservation—the eternal law which in its operation makes the death of one thing necessary that another may live. So these three groups of Negroes are fighting each other at the fork of the road for "the best place in the sun."

The Onlookers

Twelve million souls are involved in the warfare of the three contending groups, while all stand at the fork of the road. There is a mass of ignorance and incompetence anxious to learn, to know and do. This mass of sodden ignorance has been miserably abused and misused by some whites. It is being wretchedly neglected, abused and misused by a class of Negroes. Yet they all constitute the onlookers as well as principals in the struggle of the three parties at the fork of the road. While this factional fight for "the best place in the sun" continues, every Negro of the 12,000,000 capable of thinking should begin to do so, and choose the path he thinks best to follow as he looks ahead from the fork of the road. If this is done, it will help end the nonsense of the three contending groups of Negroes. Perhaps then they will give way to common sense and reason, and permit the race to get itself on the road to permanent progress and stay there until the end. Negroes cannot move forward with the world, with their heads in the clouds and feet dangling above the earth.

The Group Carrying The Cross

PASSING no blows and exchanging no bitter words when pelted by the other two contending Negro groups at the fork of the road, there is a third group of constructive people of the race. Their creed is Service. Preparation is their cry. Production is their slogan. Business is their watchword. Contribution is their actuating motive. They are the cross-bearers of Negro leadership. They constitute the individuals whom the other two groups damn if they do and damn if they don't. Every Negro outside of this group considers himself a committee of one not to commend what is achieved, but rather to damn what is accomplished under most difficult and discouraging circumstances, be it ever so good and worthy of commendation. These cross-bearers are bearing the burden of work being done for the elevation of the Negro mass in America. They are clearing the road, educating the people, training them in fine arts of better living, better work and better citizenship. They are establishing, operating and supporting Negro business. Encouraged and supported by sympathetic whites, these cross-bearers get little sympathy and no material support from the acrimonious critics who damn them if they do and damn them if they don't. But they go ahead just the same and the mass of the race is following their leadership, whatever may be said by others to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The United States "A White Man's Country"

GOD made the world for men—not white, black, red or brown men alone, unless the Bible lies. America is a free country, and the United States is a man's country. It is not "a white man's country." Only crack-brained Negroes and dirty, mean, crazy white people entertain such a belief. "Po' white trash" believing that the United States is a white man's country does not make it so. Such white people are more homeless and brainless than wharf rats. They haven't as much good American blood in their filthy bodies as the cock-roaches infesting their dirty kitchens. They are not to be blamed for the ignorance of their thinking, but pitied for their stupidity. They are generally foremost in cursing the members of their race whose competence and thrift have provided the country with a ruling capitalist class. Entertaining the belief that this is "a white man's country," is the bone of contention between ignorant poor whites and Negroes. It confuses the problem of race with that of economics in a way to keep poor whites and blacks fighting each other, while the rich white man has an everyday vacation because of the use he makes of his brain and money. Capital should not be damned half as much for its competent organization as labor should be censured for its incompetent and ignorant organization. The present organization and spirit of organized labor is the nestor of the doctrine that this is "a white man's country." May God pity organized labor wearing the mask of a brute and demanding human treatment, while all the time doing its best to strangle every Negro needing the same kind of treatment. And may God help organized capital, whenever and as long as it shows a disposition to open the doors of opportunity to all men without regard to color, previous condition or servitude. Then may God help and pity the Negro in America today whose spirit is enslaved, whose will, whose mind and body are so utterly and pathetically dependent upon the white man, that he dare not move to defend his life, protect his family or support himself without appealing to "white supremacy" on bended knees.

Simple Justice

A few weeks ago authorities from North Carolina caused the arrest of a man named John Rowland in Battle Creek where he had fled from a condition of peonage in a southern state. Through the timely work of the Battle Creek branch o fthe N. A. A. C. P. it was shown that the charge on which he was arrested was a false one and after being appealed to, the governor of Michigan refused extradition papers and Rowland was released. Later he

was rearrested in Grand Rapids by authorities from North Carolina. Hasty efforts were made by Grand Rapids citizens to again secure his release, it being virtually acknowledged by the agent from North Carolina that the new charge on which Rowland was rearrested was also a trumpted-up one. He decided to return, however, on the assurance that by so doing he would not be held more than a week or two and that while he was charged with bootlegging he was really wanted as a witness against parties "higher up." Michigan State News

It was generally felt by those familiar with the circumstances that he had made a very serious mistake by agreeing to accompany the agent back to the southern state and that he was returning to persecution if not lynching.

It is with genuine joy that we learn that Rowland is back in Grand Rapids. That every promise made him by the agent from North Carolina was kept; that he was only held as a witness against parties "higher up"; that his life was well protected while he was held and that he was returned at the expense of those who were interested in getting his testimony. 7-28-23

We are genuinely glad—first, because we believe that he is innocent of criminal acts and that Governor Groesbeck was justified in refusing to return him when it was known beforehand thatthe charge on which he was arrested in Battle Creek was false. Secondly, because it is a definite instance where the protection due an Ethican citizen of a southern state was rigidly applied. The means taken to get Rowland back south as a witness were irregular and, we believe, illegal, but the promises made him by an agent of the state were definite and convincing—and were kept to the letter. Grand Rapids, Mich.

This one instance of honesty against the thousands of disonesty is hardly sufficient to change our opinion of southern justice to Ethican citizens. We still feel that an Ethican is safer in the north than in the south and is foolish to agree to return on the promise of "protection." We do believe, however, that if southern authorities will furnish even this degree of protection for her dark skinned citizens she will have gone far toward solving the so-called "race problem," "Negro exodus," etc.

Recollections More or Less Trifling

N Y C POST
JULY 27, 1923

By Chester T. Crowell

I have written a number of articles on Southern negroes for the *Evening Post*, all more or less serious, but it is negro humor, uncontaminated by vaudeville, that I like best.

In nearly every large group of Southern negro laborers there will be one who takes pride in being the bully—and the others seem to take pride in it, also, even if it does cost bruised countenances.

There was such a group and such a bully working on a cotton loading platform in Texas. Only one negro had not yet felt the heavy hand of the big "bad niggah." He was a little fellow about five feet two inches tall, with the architectural lines of a gumdrop, very black, and goggle eyed like a perch. He hadn't been considered worth bothering with. Any one could lick him. But one day at the noon hour it suddenly occurred to the fighter that he had one more bit of conquering to do, no matter how trifling.

The little negro had attracted attention to himself by rising while the others were still seated eating their lunch. The big negro rose and fixed him with an evil and threatening eye. The little negro stood still, hypnotized and terrorized. Very slowly and impressively the black giant approached his victim while the latter perspired even more freely. When only one foot of space separated them the big negro lifted his left foot—all eighteen inches of it—and placed it heavily on the little fellow's equally large foot. Then he lifted his right foot and planted it on the little fellow's left foot. The little fellow looked around appealingly.

"You little wart," roared the giant. "Don't be trying to staht nuthin wid me. Take yo feet out from undah mine. What you trying to do? Get smaht?"

The little fellow promptly sat down and laboriously followed instructions, grinning his appreciation at getting off so lightly.

* * *

When the draft age was raised from thirty-one to forty-one years during the war the constable of a small Texas village where there were many negroes pinned on his largest badge and set out to do his duty.

Seated on a barrel at the railway station was a negro in overalls reading the Dallas *News* and waiting for some farmer to hire him. It was plainly to be observed that he was slowly spelling out the dispatch about the new draft age.

"How old are you?" demanded the constable, levelling a threatening index finger at the negro's nose. One upward glance gave warning of the badge and the farmhand adopted his most conciliatory tone, a weak falsetto.

"I don't jes' rightly 'member how old I is, boss," he said, "but I'll average a little mite over forty-one." Anyway, it worked.

* * *

Two Southern boys from a State that had been dry for years before national prohibition were on their way home after the demobilization and whiled away the tedious hours of a hot day on the train by telling me about France.

Neither of them had ever seen a saloon or touched a drop of any intoxicating beverage before he went to France.

"They got a drink over there they call cognac," said Tom. "They spell it c-o-g-n-a-c, but they pronounce it cognac. Me and Will, here, we tried some. They just give you about a thimbleful for a drink. We drank five of them. Gosh, it sure made our eyes beautiful, but for a few minutes we couldn't see good."

* * *

Residents of Eastern cities may find it difficult to understand the amazement of a Main Streeter, accustomed to a single track railroad meandering off over the rolling prairie, when he adventures between New York and Washington, for instance, accompanied all the way by three spare tracks. Not long ago I sat next such a citizen bound for Washington. The locomotive of our train broke down and left us standing somewhere in the vicinity of Baltimore. Suddenly there was a roar and a brilliantly lighted express train shot past us through the dark, going north. Some ten seconds later there was another roar and another express train went by like a rocket on the other side, going south.

"Here it comes back already," remarked my neighbor, his eyes and mouth wide open with wonder.

* * *

Secreted in a pretty little dell between two rocky hills in the oil fields of central west Texas there used to be a wayside eating house which served the truck drivers who carried freight to the oil field camps. An aged native of the neighborhood spent most of his time on the front steps of this pine board establishment whittling, chewing tobacco, and scrutinizing each truck driver, truck, and its contents.

One truck particularly interested and puzzled him. It was always loaded with large steel barrels. One day as the driver hurried to his meal the old man plucked his sleeve and asked:

"What you got in them barrels, mister?"

"Nitroglycerine."

Nitroglycerine! Good Lord, that's explosive, ain't it?"

"Yep."

"Dangerous, ain't it?"

"Yep."

"Ever have any explosions?"

"Nope. Never expect to have but one."

* * *

Before prohibition one of the pleasant adjuncts of the University of Texas was a German beer garden, famous for good food and enormous earthenware beer mugs, with very lifelike representations of green frogs in the bottom of them.

One day a young man who looked much more prosperous than the general run of students entered and inquired for the proprietor. Expecting an order for a large dinner party, the proprietor hastened forward, wiping his hands on his apron and smiling like a full moon. He was almost illiterate outside of the kitchen, but there he held all the degrees there are.

"I would like to interest you in a set of Shakespeare," said the prosperous looking stranger.

"No, no, no," groaned the disappointed proprietor. "Shakesbeer. I couldn't do it. Here ve sell Lemp's beer from Saint Looie."

DEC 6 1923

THE COLOR LINE AMONG NEGROES

Slavery, with its practices of miscegenation, has divided the race into many color groups, resulting in the negro's social life taking on as many forms as there are color groups in the race. The "near whites" intermarry with "near whites;" the "high yellows," "high browns" and "sealskin blacks" likewise choose their mates among those of the same tint as themselves. No group finds congenial society in another, thereby destroying mutual confidence and racial solidarity, regardless of the unwritten law which decrees that 99 percent of white blood and 1 percent of negro blood in the veins of a person in this country makes that person a negro. The two most influential welfare organizations of the race are at variance with each other because of the color issue. One accuses the other of being too white, while the other retorts that the first is too black. One advocates a program of social equality, aided by philanthropic help while the other puts forward social isolation and self-help as solutions of the race problem. The incessant warfare waged by these schools of thought inevitably retards progress. To those unacquainted with the intricacies of negro life such a color issue appears to be the height of folly, but when a careful analysis of the problem is made it will be found that each group has some justification for its point of view.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

Souls of Black Folk

The Christian Century
Chicago Ill.
November 8 1923

A GOOD many years ago Dr. Burghardt DuBois wrote "The Souls of Black Folk." It stirred the emotions of educational colored youth as nothing had ever done. It was a cry of anguish from a wounded soul. By this work the hearts of a multitude of humane white folk were tuned into sympathy with the feelings of their less fortunate fellow beings.

Dr. DuBois is now past fifty years of age. He is one of America's leading authors and one of the most dynamic minds in our national life. The Negro question is foremost among the social issues that confront the citizenship of this land. We may attempt to minimize its importance, but if we do so it is only because we fear to face it. The influence of this man of letters with thousands of the leaders of his race is most poignant and soul-stirring, and the appeal he makes to their feelings and to their sense of justice kindles burning fires in their consciousness.

There are now published in America more than five hundred Negro journals. A survey of a large number of them, both editorial and news pages, convinces one that the leading motif is that of a keen feeling of race injustice. The news pages contain many "leaders" on incidents of race mistreatment over the country. It is to the shame of both the nation and the white race that there is such a plethora of this sort of material.

* * *

The Reaction to "White Superiority"

There is a tone of bitterness in the editorial comment of these Negro journals upon the assumption of superiority by the white man. Sometimes it is unrelieved by a recognition of the colored man's shortcomings or an appeal to his better nature, but usually there is a core of vicariousness in it and a manifestation of Booker T. Washington's benign and far-seeing spirit. Here is a fair sample, taken from the Freeman, of Indianapolis:

"He (i. e., the white man) boasts much of his courts and law, his jury system, the right of trial by men of his peers, and yet mob rule is an established institution in this country. They not only lynch colored men but they lynch white men in America with impunity. While the white man fights it out, we suggest that the Negro dedicate himself to the task of proving his worth to the world. To do this, he needs a new race consciousness, a new birth, a higher conception of American citizenship; and too, he needs a new medium of expression. In plain words, the Negro needs to advertise his virtues rather than his vices; he should tell his story where it will be heard."

William Pickens is one of the cultured intellects of the Negro race. His life story would stir the heart of any unprejudiced American, so much is it like that of the most honored of our white leaders in their climb from poverty to education and success. He protests the attempt in certain northern states to prevent Negro youth from entrance to high schools and junior colleges. Many editorials of like temper are appearing in various journals and these bring to the front a vital problem in the migration of Negroes from the south to the north. Mr. Pickens' protest is representative. He tells, in the Public Journal of Philadelphia, of the segregation of pupils until their completion of the grammar grades and their admission to some one high school in the city. "He is painfully tolerated in the high school, and many things are set so as to make it so uncomfortable that he either won't come, or will soon leave." Mr. Pickens tells how the colored citizens of Coffeyville, Kans., were induced to vote for a bond issue for a junior high school and then their children were refused admission. He says: "The nasty phase of this war is that it is a war of grown-up white men against little colored children. Great, grown, whiskered, gray and grizzly white men fighting against little brown children, denying their right to even the half deal which they were being already given. If you know of any more cowardly action than that, describe it."

The "Jim Crow" or "White Man's" Negro

In an appeal to members of his race to support their own institutions and business enterprises, the editor of the Atlanta Independent says of the "Jim Crow" Negroes: "They get about in their own circles and talk about how much more wealth they possess, what schools and colleges they attended, their social aspirations and attainments, and there is no end to their hifaluten theories, and no pedestal of greatness too high for them to perch upon: still they are found trotting up and down a dirty alley to a jim crow theater to witness a show by white folk where, very often, the comedian holds up their race as the butt of his humor—and all this they enjoy as much as do the white folks downstairs."

Professor Kelly Miller, one of the best educated of Negro leaders, sets forth the problem with rare good sense without losing sight of its bearing on the race's aspiration. He calls the subservient type "the white man's Negro," and says:

"The white man's Negro as a type is the product of the institution of slavery and he is more to be pitied than blamed. Where resistance is risky, the temptation to yield is great. The seeming servility which the Negro displays in the presence of the white man is often more spurious than genuine. He feigns a submission which he does not feel, and makes believe what he does not believe as part of his protective philosophy. The white man is easily flattered and fooled by the appeal to his racial vanity. Concede his racial superiority, and he will readily grant the submissive Negro any subordinate request. The Negro knows this and plays upon his vanity as his trump card.

"Over against this type of white man's Negro there is developing a type of defiant, discourteous, contentious, bumptious Negro who resents and resists the white man merely because he is white. These are found among the city toughs, and are quick with gun or razor to avenge any offense, real or fancied, which the white man commits against the Negro race.

"We also find his counterpart in the educated class. A certain brand of intellectual fire-brands are quick to denounce the white race without the least restraint of caution or courtesy. With chip on shoulder, they are eager to fly into fury at the slightest affront or insinuation. They are keeping hat on head when it should be in hand, in order to display their 'manhood.' Both extremes are equally dangerous to the best welfare of the race. Neither submission nor defiance is calculated to secure the desired results.

"The salvation of the race depends upon the type of Negro who is intelligent, courageous and manly, who is courteous, considerate and sensible, but who will not, in any mood, compromise the manhood rights of his race by servile submission, nor sacrifice them by rash, intemperate impetuosity of passion which would curse the white god and die."

* * *

Liberty, Justice and the Ku Klux Klan

Quite universally the migration of the southern Negroes to the north is analyzed as the expression of "a desire for liberty and justice." It is acknowledged that the matter of wages has a bearing, but generally denied that the economic motive is weightiest. "Prices of labor have always been better in the north than in the south. But, all facts considered, it is not dollars and cents that is taking the southern Negro from his old landmark." The Chicago Defender reasons thus:

"The only effective remedy for the evils complained of is for the business and property-owning white people of the south, regardless of party differences, to repudiate the office-seeking, political demagogues among them and accord to all the citizens of their respective states the rights and privileges to which they are entitled under the laws of the land, including the right to vote and be voted for, and to make them feel safe and secure in the enjoyment of the same, and amply protect all citizens through the courts and by popular sentiment in their private and property rights.

"The present situation gives the southern white man an opportunity to save his section from financial disaster. The experiment of supplanting colored by white labor, whether foreign or domestic, has been tried in the past and lamentably failed. It has been unmistakably demonstrated that the black man is the only one who can stand the rigors of the cotton and corn fields of the south for any great length of time."

Of course the Ku Klux Klan is a dragon to Negro fears and sensibilities everywhere. Nothing could be better calculated to feed the fires of race hate than the klan's attitude toward the race when it is coming into a sense of self-pride and rearing a leadership to protest its wrongs and plead its rights. Many journals reprint the New York World's comment on the proposal to buy Valparaiso university, suggesting that, "As usual in the most modern institutions instruction in theory and technical detail may be combined. Reasons for Anglo-Saxon supremacy will fall in the former classification; the melting temperature of tar as a medium for affixing feathers to the latter. Students will no doubt improve their grasp of practical details by 'laboratory work' in actual lynching parties under experienced leaders."

The Kansas City Sun puts the bitterest of the protests against the klan in vivid language. While it is representative of much comment, it is much more radical than most of it. A white woman shot into a group of white-hooded figures who came to intimidate her from giving testimony in a case where klansmen were interested. The Sun commends her in this language:

"They call themselves brave, Mrs. Benjamin, but you know and we know the kind of bravery that seeks to intimidate women. You know, even as we, that they are not brave men but sneaking, vile things whose venomous fangs are drawn to strike the helpless, defenseless and powerless in humanity's fold. They creep through the dark and unfrequented spots, like the

monster beasts of primitive ages, and strike their victim when his attention is turned elsewhere.

"Such, Mrs. Benjamin, are the things you flouted. These wretches are of the same ilk as those who took your Lord and mine and led him away under a cruel and heavy cross, under a crown of pressing thorns, with a body bloody everywhere from merciless lashes."

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Race Problem — 1923. I
United States.

COL. LAWTON DISCUSSES THE RACE PROBLEM

Before Georgia Alumni

ASKS IF WHITES REALIZE THE HARD LOT WHICH FACES THE NEGRO

Athens, Ga., June 19th.—Before the alumni association of the University of Georgia, Colonel Alexander R. Lawton, of Savannah, delivered here to-day a most interesting address on the race problem, his subject being "The Negro in the South and Elsewhere." His address in entirety is as follows:

"In this day of perplexing problems I speak of one nearer to us—the relations between the dominating white race and the dominated Negro. I bring it to you because it demands the attention of those who should be and are leaders of enlightened public opinion.

"Reluctantly, but without hesitation, as one who shares your traditions, your environment, your pride of race and your responsibility, I speak plainly and critically, for I believe that you owe to your State, to the white man and to the black man, your best thought and leadership to the end that this problem may carry with it the minimum of friction, injustice and evil.

"Do not be alarmed. I shall not violate the proprieties by even remotely touching on politics; and my own race instinct makes impossibleany suggestion which may even in the distant future permit amalgamation. Amalgamation would produce results far worse than any evils attributable to the segregation which we deem necessary. It is for some good reason that God has given us this race instinct. Where it has been lacking, as in Cuba and Porto Rico, the result is gradual creation of a mongrel race unable to keep up in the progress of civilization until taken under the protective wing of a country where race instinct still controls.

"I doubt not complete accord of race instinct between us beyond the Negro question. Conceding full credit for the part which non-English speaking immigrants have played in the development of America, it is far short of their numerical proportions and the dominating influence has been and is the stock which founded the colonies, attained independence, created and developed the Constitution. I cannot contemplate with equanimity any amalgamation of this high grade stock with that which I believe to be inferior, accompanied as I fear by gradual departure from the traditions of living and of government which we inherited. My race instinct bids me keep the original stock pure, and the outlook for the future distresses me.

"The terms race pride and race instinct do not primarily carry imputation of discreditable characteristics; but, not etymologically but in common speech, the term race prejudice does, and when I use it it will be with intention of conveying that meaning.

"It is useless to discuss responsibility for the existence of the problem. All the original states are responsible for the presence of the Negro and we have the problem in larger degree because we were slower in learning that slavery was an economic error, and freely bought of our neighbors the chattels they wished to sell. As authority I cite Lincoln's second inaugural in which he holds both 'North and South responsible for the Scriptural 'offense' and the 'woe' which it brought.

"But it is the responsibility of the white race only, and the white race has the higher duty. We are in the ascendency and no solution or amelioration can progress except on our initiative. While we need the sympathetic co-operation of the Negro, we can make some progress without him: he can make none without us. Moreover, the white race has always claimed racial superiority. Who makes this claim must never forget that superiority carries proportionate obligation.

"In 1920 the Negroes in the United States (10,463,131) were but 9.9 per cent. of the total population. In Georgia (1,206,365) they were 41.7 per cent, and in Mississippi and South Carolina more than half. They are our off set to the foreign born white population in other sections. In the United States the native white inhabitants of native parentage are but 55.3 per cent of the total population. In Georgia more than 99 per cent. of the whites are native born and of native parentage. While we have two counties, Towns and Dawson, with 100 per cent. native whites born of native parents (probably all of the pure old stock), we have two, Burke and Lee with over 80 per cent. Negro, and sixty counties in which the Negroes are in the majority.

"We can expect neither the disappearance of the Negro nor diminution to negligible numbers. Some advocate deportation. Waiving its undesirability, the enormous expenditure required would make it impracticable. And where would we send them, and what would we do to keep them from destruction by starvation and disease? And think of the heartless cruelties of it! The per centage of their increase is diminishing, but they are still increasing. Modern sanitary science is accomplishing much to diminish the death rate, and this good work is progressing in the South. The percentage of increase will probably grow.

"Approximately four-fifths of the 10,463,131 Negroes in the United States reside in the southern states, and one-fourth of the population of these states are Negroes. Race instinct and probably race prejudice seem to be strongest in the English speakign people, and substantially all Southern whites are of this British stock. Within the life time of many of us the black man was our slave and was recognized both by statutory and by unofficial law as inferior. These facts alone sufficiently explain the more conspicuous manifestation of race instinct in the South. You may not justly class race instinct as either sectional or historical. At least by those of British blood and environment it will manifest itself on reasonable provocation wherever numbers are sufficient to bring frequent contact or economic pressure.

"Many non-Southern states have civil rights laws under which segregation or exclusion of the Negro is made a criminal offense. He may not lawfully be denied the right of free access to and service in hotels, restaurants, theatres and other places of amusement. You have frequently been to the larger cities, and perhaps the small towns, in other sections. How often have you found yourself in the same hotel, the same restaurant, the same place of amusement as the Negro? The statutory law enacts non-discrimination, but what Judge Sibley so aptly called 'unofficial law' enacts otherwise. Almost the only exception is their public schools, where the combination of statutory civil rights law and statutory compulsory education makes it impossible for the unofficial law to be wholly effective, despite its force as shown in the Illinois school litigation of which I shall speak.

The Chicago Report

"I take some facts from the report of the Chicago Race Commission, not only because it represents thorough research, but because its authors have no bias in our favor.

"The Chicago race riot of 1919 brought the appointment by the Governor of Illinois of a commission of six white men and six Negroes, all residents of Chicago, to investigate the causes, report the facts and recommend the remedy. Iis report is a comprehensive volume of approximately seven hundred pages containing much personal testimony, answers to questionnaries by selected representatives of both races, and fifty-nine numbered recommendations. It includes accounts of the race riots in Springfield, Ill., and East St. Louis, Ill.

"Springfield was the home of Abraham Lincoln. Its Negro population in 1910 was 4.7 per cent. of a population of 60,000. The riot of August, 1908, arose from a mob seeking a Negro charged (but wrongfully charged) with 'the statutory crime.' He was spirited away and the mob took its revenge on the race, lynching with brutal accompaniments a highly respectable Negro barber and an old Negro whom they found sleeping in his own yard, who had for thirty years peacefully lived there with a white wife. They mutilated his dead body. There were no charges against the barber, and miscegenation was apparently the old man's offense. The casualties were: killed six, injured seventy-nine, and many houses burned. This riot can be attributed to nothing but race prejudice, which is at least as strong in Springfield, Illinois, as in the counties in Georgia with 80 per cent. Negro population.

"East St. Louis had 11.1 per cent. Negroes. Its riots of May 28 and July 2, 1917, had origin in economic pressure arising from labor questions and the employment of Negroes in the places of white men, and its sequence in barbarities which can be explained only by race prejudice. Torturing burning, murder, lynching were rampant. Women and children were not spared. They burned 312 buildings. A large force of militia was called to duty. There were thirty-nine Negroes and eight whites known to have been killed in the rioting. Many Negroes were birds of passage, and estimates of the number of Negroes killed ran as high as three hundred.

"The Chicago race riot of July 27 to August 2, 1919, started when a Negro boy bathing off that section of a lake front beach which was by custom assigned to Negroes, either purposely or otherwise swam into the white section. When in deep water he was stoned and he was drowned; whether or not as the direct result of his stoning is uncertain. Much excitement brought unrestricted riot for several days, with armed bands of both races motoring through the streets and firing into houses and several deliberate individual lynchings. Order was finally restored by the State militia after many days. The casualties include thirty-nine deaths and over five hundred injuries. The indictments were Negroes seventeen, whites four; convictions, Negroes three, whites two.

"The drowning incident was but the spark that set off the mine. Chicago's Negro population had more than doubled as the result of the migration of Negroes, but was only 4 per cent. Many Negroes had taken jobs formerly filled or then desired by white men. There had been great excitement over invasion of white residential districts, and fifty-eight Negro houses were bombed. There had been frequent trouble in public recreation grounds, bathing beaches, schools, restaurants and places of entertainment. Of course the rioting was by far the worst element of both races. Negroes in Georgia do not riot, and Georgia has no white riots directed against the race. We have disgraceful out-

rages, but it is the individual (sometimes, alas, his family) that is attacked and not the race. In Georgia also it is the worst element that thus disgraces us.

Conditions in Illinois

"Illinois has a drastic civil rights statute which makes it a crime for any person in any place of public entertainment or service, railways, theatres, restaurants, hotels, drink stands, schools, anywhere, to exclude any person because of race or color. In 1908 the Illinois Supreme Court gave an illuminating account of resistance to this law, which apparently challenges the prestige of the XVIII Amendment as an example of the futility of efforts to regulate social habits!

"The Negro plaintiff sought a mandamus against the School Board for admission of his children. There had been two mistrials and five verdicts for defendant. Reviewing the evidence the Supreme Court held that that there was no conflict and that it had been clearly shown that the refusal was because of color, that race prejudice alone controlled, and would continue to control. It exercised its power regarding the verdict and itself issued the mandamus notwithstanding the verdict. Meanwhile the plaintiff's children had passed the school age, and the victory was barren. This in Illinois, and in a city of 17,000 where the Negroes were less than one in fifteen.

"The facts reported by the Chicago commission were gathered by educated, intelligent whites and Negroes. Except for one Negro member who neither concurred nor dissented, the report was unanimous. Whether the fact that he was in politics was the cause of hist non-participation does not appear. While it reports schools with both white and black pupils, and sometimes white and black teachers, particularly in or near Negro residential districts, it notes the use for schools where there were many Negroes of buildings mostly built long ago (in some instances before the Civil war) and reservation of the better buildings for schools in which there were few or no Negroes, and social functions in the schools confined to white pupils, who declined to invite the Negroes. It recites repeated meetings of property owners protesting, often with most intemperate speeches, against Negro tenants and Negro owners; fifty-eight separate cases of bombing Negro houses; frequent clashes on street cars; various devices of resistance by restaurants and soda stands; exclusion, not by regulation but by custom, of Negroes from public recreation grounds near Negro residences; with warnings from managers that while they would be protected within the grounds, they could not guarantee protection just outside. It reports persistent resistance by Negroes to segregation anywhere for any purpose and under any circumstances, though it notes instinctive voluntary separation into racial groups in the parks and other public places. It reports the objection by Negroes to the appointment of a Negro principal in one of the schools because this would cause substitution of Negro teachers for white teachers, consequent withdrawal of white pupils, resulting in segregation! It reports inability of Negroes, except by threat of prosecution, to procure seats in places of amusement frequented by whites; prejudicial treatment by the police, particulary during the riot and in pretended search for those guilty of bombing Negro residences; in short overwhelming proof that race instinct and race prejudice in Chicago are at least as strong in proportion to contact as in Georgia, and that no criminal statute and no court can anywhere suppress there manifestation in conduct which while malum prohibitum is not malum in se.

"I have little of no criticism of the Chicago report of facts. It is comprehensive and reasonably exhaustive. But I regret that except in casual instances it does not in reporting treatment of Negroes by whites distinguish native British stock. It mentions sections where they mingle freely in schools, restaurants and other places. These places other than schools seem to be in the industrial section, for example, the stock yards. Less than one-fourth of the white population of Chicagoare native born of native parents, and most of the laborers are of the foreign born. Where the report doe smention the race of whites who do not discriminate it shows them to be non-British. It is fair to conclude that it is where the white population is non-British in race and environment that they mingle freely and without trouble.

Chicago Recommendations

"I looked with interest to the fifty-nine recommendations of the commission. They include the following:

"1. In future race riots or threats of them use white and Negro police and white and Negro militia. Imagine the results!

"2. Eliminate brothels from Negro districts. Most commendable and nothing but justice.

"3. Limit the sale of fire arms. This has been many times tried without success.

"4. Raze unfit habitations. Commendable, but expensive. The report showed serious shortage of houses.

"5. Provide for the Negroes as good schools and as competent teachers as for whites. A just recommendation.

"6. On street car lines much frequented by Negroes place inspectors (with authority) at transfer points. Very practical.

"7. Appoint a permanent committee of Race Relations which shall continue to study and to recommend. Very practical.

"Of the fifty-nine recommendations I find these seven as the only concrete recommendations which would not be included in a single one reading. 'If you have race instinct, do not allow it to influence your conduct or your thoughts. Thus free mixing and amalgamation will come, and you will abhor segregation, greatest of all evils. You must never be unjust or unfair. Thus shall all difficulties vanish!' Reporting widespread race prejudice, the Commission in its recommendations ignores its existence in so far as it advises its suppression. The recommendations are impracticable, visionary and impossible— a veritable mountain in labor for a mouse that is truly a ridiculous mouse!

Fundamental Data

"No individual, no commission, no organization, can progress in the improvement of race relations that discards facts for theory and does not recognize these fundamental data:

"1. Race instinct, frequently exaggerated by race prejudice, does exist in the white man, is particularly strong in British stock, and will manifest itself on slight provocation wherever the percentage of Negroes is not so negligible as to make contact infrequent.

"2. It is stimulaed by economic pressure such as competition for jobs, or depreciation of values in residential districts.

"3. It makes absolutely impossible (at least with British stock) intermarriage, social intercourse, free mingling in recreations, assemblies, places of amusement, hotels, restaurants, and, where Negroes are numerous, in railway cars, stations and schools. It is even impossible in churches. It is as powerful against fear of scriptural punishment in the life to come as against the fear of statutory punishment in the life of to-day!

"4. It may not make impossible if we all did our duty, but it makes difficult equality of privilege and opportunity for the Negro in his struggle for life, liberty and happiness, in which are included the right to better himself and his family.

"It is not race pride or race instinct, but race prejudice augmented by want of character that brings to the Negro injustice as between man and man. If I yielded to a natural reluctance to admit distasteful truths, I could not conceal from you the tendency far too frequent with far too many individuals to deal unfairly in business transactions with the Negro because he is helpless. It is manifest in some shop-keepers (particularly those who give credit) and with some farmers in their dealings with Negro tenants. It is to an appreciable degree more difficult for a Negro than for a white man to obtain justice in some of our courts, whether on the civil or the criminal side. I do not believe that our judges are subject to this criticism.

"It is not race instinct but race prejudice augmented by more reprehensible traits that brings to the Negro discourtesy, rudeness, contemptuous insult and corporal ill-treatment. The white man's claim of superiority may be readily refuted by the manner in which he asserts it. Insulting another or wounding his feelings is always to be condemned, but never more so than when it comes from a superior to an inferior. A gentleman should be more careful of the feelings and sensitiveness of one below him than of his equal or his superior. A Negro dare not insult a white man. Fear restrains him. A more commendable spirit should restrain the white man from daring to insult or maltreat the Negro. Let his "dare do all that may become a man'—remembering that 'who dares do more is none.'

Migration

"It is not amiss to note the heavy migration of Negro labor from the South to the North and West within the past few years, which is now possibly at its maximum. The President of our State College of Agriculture has quite recently estimated that this migration has brought about the recent abandonment of more than 11,000 farms, and that 100,000 Negroes have recently left our state. An actual count by the tax authorities of Wilkes county, published on May 28th, shows that within the year 631 heads of Negro families have left Wilkes county. Counting their families, this means a migration of approximately 2,500 Negroes, and tends to confirm Dr. Soule's estimate.

"Many causes have contributed to this migration, including the tempting of the ignorant, either by false representation or by permitting him to remain in ignorance of what awaits him at the end of his journey. Nevertheless, I believe that if we had sooner inaugurated organized and intelligent study and consideration of the relations between the races and had practiced what was thus found just and wise, there would be no migration. There are some, a minority, I think, who favor the departure of the Negro. I register my dissent, but I do not discuss it. My theme is not economic advantage, but primarily right and justice and secondarily the fair fame of the State we love.

Lynch Law

"The Dyer Bill for trial of lynching cases in the Federal courts and punishment under the Federal statute has earnest support of many able and conscientious persons, whose chief difference from ourselves is their point of view of the Negro problem. Its chance of passage is due solely to the fact that lynchers are allowed to go unpunished. I shall not give you the appalling statistics of lynching. You have often seen them.

"Much has been said and written about lynch law and the mob. I can say nothing that is new, nor can I say it as well or as forcefully or as convincingly as it has been said by others. I cannot forbear quoting a distinguished Confederate soldiers and judge, the late Hon. Thomas G. Jones of Alabama, and my quotations will show how fully he sympathized with our own point of view. Hear him in 1904 in his charge to the United States grand jury in Alabama:

"The instinct of race pride which objects to mingling the blood of the races is implanted in our bosoms by the finger of the Almighty Himself, to preserve the purity of the race. It i sa divine right. It is almost sacrilege to liken it to prejudice. It has nothing in common with the meanness and cowardice which would deny a fellow being those common and inalienable rights which the Creator gave all men, or oppress or outrage a man because he is humble and helpless, or born of a different race. The two feelings are as different and as far apart as virtue and vice. It is infamous to contend the one with the other. Yet day after day, the passions of the unthinking and ignorant, have been stirred by reckless agitators, who argue that the purity of the white race can be maintained and defended, only by beating down the benign rule that justice should be 'administered without respect to persons', and that laws which have one rule alike for rich and poor, favorite at court and countryman at plow,' are not bulwarks of our defense, and that their enforcement is a menace to the integrity of the white race. No wonder then, with the difficulties which naturally surround the subject, that under the influence of these long continued and combined assaults, a volume of race bitterness has been put in motion, which has drowned the law in some communities.'

"Again 'What excuse is there for this condition of things? The white race is superior and wields the power of government. The Negro has practically no part in it. The laws are made by white men. White men preside in the courts. White men sit upon the juries. The danger is not that a guilty Negro will escape just punishment at the hands of the law, but that in many instances the innocent may meet with unjust punishment. The pretext that the criminal will not receive justice, if the law

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is allowed to take its course, is wholly wanting.'

"Again: 'Every mob is a stab at the sovereignty of the people, and a malign denial to them by force of arms of the right to the freedom of orderly government. There is not a village in Alabama whose able-bodied men and boys would not fly to arms to repel a band of freebooters who organized in their midst to enforce a demand that the community should have nothing to do with enforcing its own laws. Yet this is the mob, and what it does. The fire bells would ring out the alarm and the streets of any of our cities would swarm with armed and indignant people if they were told that a gang of intruders were coming to expel their chosen judges from the judgement seats, and put irresponible and vicious men, chosen by the marauders, in their places. Yet that is the mission of the mob when it arms to storm a jail and put a prisoner to death. If men would only reflect what treason mob law is to their homes and institutions, mobs would be well nigh impossible.

"Aside from his attack on government, the evils of the mob have almost boundless sweep in all the relations of life. Can any man, in the wildest flight of brain, picture Robert E. Lee or John B. Gordon, no matter what the charge against the criminal, joining a mob to break down a jail, and taking a prisoner out to hang him? Why not? Because they are types of courage and honor, and justice and veneration for law, and all these cry out against such an act. No man who forms a part of the flood of passion and cowardice which storms a jail and murders a defenseless prisoner, is ever again the same moral being. Then and there a human tiger is born. He comes to despise the sanctity of human life. He is swift to the shedding of blood of his neighbors, and sure to give loose rein to his passion when it turns upon one who is weak and helpless. These he will always find. He is an enemy of the youth of the land; for he teaches them it is right to subridie their worst passions and to trample down those who are set over them.'

"Lynching is not a sectional crime. Many of the most brutal have occurred outside of the South, and the reason why most of them have occurred here is the greater seriousness of the racial problems because of the greater contact to which I have referred.

Our people oppose this bill and claim it to be unconstitutional. I have not studied the constitutional question. In the same year in which Judge Jones, permeated with our race instinct and our traditions, delivered his charge to the Grand Jury he held in an able judicial opinion (Ex Parte Riggins, 134 Fed. 404) that Congress may legislate directly for the enforcement of the 14th Amendment's guaranties of equal protection of the law and due process of law, and refused to discharge upon habeas corpus one indicted in his court for lynching a Negro, confined in the Alabama jail for trial in the State court. There was not then so strong a tendency as there is to-day to enlarge grants of power in the Federal constitution and to limit restrictions upon Congressional functions. Many statues which would undoubtedly have been declared unconstitutional in the past are sustained to-day, and you are not justified in being confident that the Dyer bill will not become a law, or that it will be adjudged unconstitutional. The way to oppose its passage and to obviate its enforcement is to arouse an enlightened public opinion which will compel such universal and impartial and fearless administration of the laws and protection of the individual as to make Federal intervention clearly unnecessary and inexcusable.

The Negro of To-day

"Thomas Jefferson is quoted as saying that 'a Negro could scarcely be found who was capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid.' If this was true when he spoke it is not true now. All Negroes are not of one class. There is a wide gap between the illiterate Negro field hand and the Negro men and women of to-day who are important in the field of scholarship, literature, the learned professions, business, banking, and, conspicuously, oratory. The number of able thinkers among them is by no means negligible. The Negro population with whom we deal is not the Negro population of reconstruction days. We cannot apply to them treatment which has its foundation in the natural resentment and cruel humiliation of the political mistakes which then oppressed a conquered people. We did not then study and carefully consider what we should do, and we have to this day laid down no course of conduct based on the best thought that we can command. We should have begun to look it squarely in the face fifty years ago. This is but an additional reason for not neglecting it now.

"Do you realize what a hard fate it is to be a Negro? Put yourself in his place and imagine that through no fault of yours but merely because your skin is black, you are expected to go through life doing your share as a man, a citizen, for yourself, your family, your community, your State and your Country, with handicaps and restrictions such as these: You are barred from holding an office; and may not serve as a juror. You may not be a clerk. You may work as a porter or a waiter on a sleeping car, but never as a conductor or a steward You may work with white men as a skilled laborer, but never as a foreman. You may work a ttrades and vocations but, however well you may work, you have no hope of promotion. You are altogether barred from many trades and crafts. You are barred from the principal labor unions. You may be a locomotive fireman but never an engineer. Whatever your ability to pay, whatever your dress, your habits, your demeanor, you may never use the best facilities provided for public entertainment. These and many other handicaps must be your lot and the lot of your children and your children's children from the cradle to the grave. Imagine yourself so situated. Would you be content to accept it without question? Would you never dream of changing it? Would you cheerfully agree with those who believe that it must ever be?

"It would seem that race instinct is so firmly implanted that these handicaps are permanent, and that part of our problem is this: How may we continue forever and ever to deal justly and fairly and wisely with a large percentage of our population conscious of the grievance that, not through their own act but by the accident of birth and inheritance, they are denied equality of privilege? The answer is not easy.

Inter-Racial Co-operation

"The immediate cause of my more careful consideration of this question is the recent organization of the Commission of Inter-racial Co-operation in a territory which covers fifteen states, with general headquarters in Atlanta. At the head of the Georgia organization is Rev. M. Ashby Jones, whose name you will accept as a guaranty of earnest purpose and able work on lines which will not clash with our most sacred traditions. There is a local committee in each Georgia county except those in which the number of Negroes is negligible. In my county substantially equal numbers of white and Negro men and women meet for conference in a spirit of mutual co-operation, freely discussing weak spots in inter-racial relations. Every member realizes and tacitly recognizes unavoidable differences of opinion on certain fundamental questions, the futility of discussing them, the hopelessness of agreement on them. I can unhesitatingly say for the white members that, well knowing that practically no Negro endorses their opinions on these fundamental questions, they neither find nor anticipate difficulty in agreement and co-operation in remedying many conditions which all know are wrong. There has been in these meetings no incident which has been either awkward or embarrassing, and we have no reason to anticipate any.

"The general, state and local organizations are actively at work doing all that available funds permit. They are investigating lynching and instituting prosecutions. They have secured no if not complete unanimity opposes, not convictions, but they have every evidence of the beneficial effect of even un successful prosecution, and the efforts of the Commission to educate public sentiment will naturaly in time bring convictions. It has paid the expense of litigation in several flagrant cases of gross injustice in private contractual relations between white and Negro, and will continue this work. It is using the printing press and other means for educational matter.

Some Obstacles

"There are many organizations with the avowed object of improving the status of the Negro, which is improving race relations. Most of them are composed of both races and they represent two different schools—one of Booker Washington-Moton school with which our Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation may freely co-operate, and one whose attitude is so extreme and so radical that co-operation is impossible.

"The leaders of the opposing school are represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with headfuarters in New York, which publishes 'The Crises.' The President is a leader, if not the leader, of the Boston bar, a high class cultivated courageous Massachusetts gentleman, representative of all that is good in the splendid New England Puritan stock. The editor of the Crisis is a brilliant Massachusetts Negro, an A. B., A. M., and Ph. D. of Harvard, a student abroad, and author of several books. If you wish an exhibition of race prejudice, race bitterness, race hatred from the other side, read his book, 'Darkwater,' and other writings. Among the supporters of this association are many of the best white men and women of the North, who are undoubtedly actuated by no desire in the world except to help their fellow man. In the effort to do this they are extensively circulating a mass of literature, intemperate in matter and in form, capable of no results except irritation, anger and opposition, and advocating complete abolition of the slightest distinction in law, official or unofficial, or recognition of the fact that there is any difference between them. They earnestly advocate unrestricted intermarriages, and are the chief supporters of Federal intervention in lynching cases. The very existence of this Association is an additional reason why we should work along more hopeful lines. Like the Chicago Commission it sets its own impossible theories and hopes above conditions which actually confront us, and make the mistake of so many overzealous reformers of trying to attain what can never be attained and losing the opportunity to get that which is possible.

The Crisis is only one of the leaders in the Negro press whose influence makes co-operation more difficult. Some of the many Negro papers published in the United States are conservative and preach goodwill and co-operation, but there are many exceptions. One of the most conspicuous is the Chicago Defender, with a circulation of 185,000, edited by a Negro member of the Chicago Race Commission, who is registered as having been born in Georgia. He is a graduate of Hampton Institute, but he has not followed the policies of that excellent institution, of which Robert R. Moton is also a graduate. The Defender is violently abusive of the South and preaches gall and bitterness. It is credited with having been chiefly responsible for the large migration of Negroes from the South to Chicago which was the primary cause of the riot. Its proprietor and editor joined in the report, which finds that even in Chicago whites and Negroes will not mix in quantity; that you cannot eradicate race instincts; that in Chicago loans on property owned by Negroes are not attractive to investors; that the presence of Negroes is at least one cause of the depreciation of property; that there is deep-seated and general prejudice against Negroes, and many like expressions which show that, while he knows that advice and agitation cannot overcome the race instinct, he forgets it when he maps out his course of action.

"Another obstacle to racial co-operation is the office seekers who curries favor with the large white majority by pandering to their baser instincts and helping to hold the Negro down to the lowest level. Of him I fear we can never be rid. From time immemorial the thirst for office has been a potent influence for evil.

"And there is the Ku Klux Klan. It does not announce hostility to the Negro as one of its principles. I believe it even denis eit. No one is able to test the sincerity or the truth of any of its claims or denials because it has surrounded itself with the cowardly mantle of secrecy. When a communication purports to come from the Ku Klux Klan it is the Klan's own prac

tice that makes it impossible to ascertain the truth. Indications are that it does countenance and practice unjust unfair and brutal treatment of the helpless Negro. The man who is himself honest and sincere is not inclined to give weight to asseverations of men who, if not afraid, are ashamed to come out in the open. Historical precedent cannot justify its present existence. We are no longer in the days of reconstruction when there was no law but force, and we have no place for an invisible government hiding behind a mask and repudiating law and order. If its members be sincere, let them teach respect for constitutional organized government, and practice it. They present a serious obstacle to those who do.

Segregation

"In questionnaries to selected groups of men, white and Negro, the whites were asked by the Chicago Commission whether they favored segregation, and the Commission in summarizing their answers reports that they did. These were Chicago men selected by both races. It is significant that this question was not asked of the Negro group, the only reference to it being a question which assumed as of course that the Negro opposed segregation. Here is a serious obstacle to satisfactory treatment. The race instinct of all white men who are near neighbors to the problem unanimously demands reasonable segregation as a sine qua non, while the Negro with substantial unanimity regards not merely inequalities and hardships which unjust and unfair segregation brings—and in this he is justified—but any and all segregation, minor or major, at any time, at any place, under any circumstances.

"The white man is and will continue to be in the ascendency, and the races can co-operate only on terms which the white man will accept. I hope that having the greater power he will be just and liberal; but he will never regard it as just to risk even slightly the perpetual purity of the white race, and liberality will never induce him to abandon his insistence on segregation—not cruel, unjust, unfair segregation, but that degree and kind of segregation which recognizes race instinct and which race instinct demands.

"Negroes, and their radical friends who know the problem only as we know those of the Japanese, the Chinese and the foreign-born, should realize this. When they do, and not until they do, when they accept it as irresistible, we will have made a long step forward, and may look to the future with renewed hope. Until they do, their blindness to stern necessity will continue a stumbling block in the path of the white man who wishes them well cannot suppress his race instinct.

"I have spoken freely, not hesitating to point to our own shortcomings, but trying to avoid criticism which is merely destructive. I have noted the marked progress of the Negro in less than two generations. This and his earlier progress (even with the handicap of slavery) from untutored savagery and paganism indicate capacity for further advance, and give encouragement of success—yes, substantial success if we awake to full realization that we must be up and doing. The task is difficult but not hopeless, and it is our task.

"I know that deep down in your hearts you have an affection for the Negro. Remember his remarkable record during the Civil War. During those four years of trial there was not even one instance of faithlessness by the slaves left to care for the helpless women and children on the plantation. And John Brown called for them in vain. It is a record of which any race should be proud, and I am sure that you are proud of it for them.

"We know that we are in the ascendency and that his fate is largely in our hands. We know that as compared with ourselves he is helpless and that he deserves not our criticism but our sympathetic interest; not our antagonism but our help and our encouragement. I appeal to each of you for active aid in urging upon your community and your State fair and impartial consideration of this harassing problem; for study of it in the light of today and not exclusively in the light of tradition; for encouragement and participation in the work of the Inter-racial Commission; and for a firm determination as men and women on whom the higher duty rests that no unfair advantage shall be taken of our power, and that the Negro shall always receive that justice and fair treatment which is his due, and which we cannot withhold if we wish to retain our self-respect."

"BLACK BELT" DATES TO FIRST SETTLER

Motives Which Brought DeSaible Here in 1779 Still Appeal to Race.

(This is the sixth-fourth of a series of articles dealing with development of Chicago's various business, industrial, residential and suburban centers. Another article in the series will appear on this page next Saturday.)

BY HARRY M. BEARDSLEY.

"The first white man to live in Chicago was a black man."

This is the naive statement attributed to the Pottawattomies by the earliest historians who interested themselves in pre-Fort Dearborn Chicago.

The black man whom the Indians classified as "white" because he was not of the same hue as themselves, was Jean Baptiste Point DeSaible, a free Domingoan, who first appeared along the sandy banks of the Chicago river about 1779.

The same motives that later brought thousands of his race to Chicago and made it the fourth largest colored city in the world, impelled DeSaible to settle here. At that period, the Spanish controlled much of the country west to the Mississippi, and the English had recently acquired control of the lands of the Peorias to the south and west, where DeSaible had lived for many years.

DeSaible Loyal to France.

In Santa Domingo, DeSaible had lived under French rule, and had prospered. He was loyal to France, and hated the British and the Spanish; so he sought new fields where he could be free from the rule of either Britain or Spain, and enjoy greater opportunities and independence.

Thus his presence is noted in July, 1779, by Col. Arent Schuyler DePeyster, commandant of the British garrison at Michelimackinac, who wrote "Baptiste Point DeSaible, a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschikagou; but much in the French interest."

DeSaible built a cabin near the mouth of the Chicago river, and lived there eighteen years, trapping and trading with the Indians. At the end of that period he sold his cabin to another trader, named LeMai, and went back to live with his friends, the Peorias.

Owned Property at City's Founding.

City records indicate there were several colored property owners in Chicago when the city was incorporated in 1837. By 1848 there were at least five owning property on Lake, Madison, Clark, Harrison and Wells streets. By 1848 a colored church owned property at the corner of Buffalo and Jackson, and there was a growing colored colony along Clark and Dearborn streets north of Harrison.

After the Chicago fire the colored colony was pushed further south by the rebuilding of the central business district, and the nucleus of the present "black belt" was created.

The 1920 census credited Chicago with a colored population of more than 106,000, the fourth greatest colored urban population in the world. Estimates by the Chicago Urban league place the present colored population at approximately 130,000.

By far the greatest portion of this population lives in the district bounded by Roosevelt road on the north, Pershing road on the south, Wentworth avenue on the west and Wabash avenue on the east. The census shows a total of more than 92,000 colored people within the area bounded by Roosevelt road, 55th street, Wentworth and Indiana avenues.

Section One-Fourth Colored.

While this is the largest and most densely populated colored section in the city, the colored people constitute only one-fourth of its total population.

That this section would some day be 100 per cent colored, and the remainder of the city 100 per cent white, is a hope that has been expressed in some quarters from time to time during the last decade. That there is no possibility of this wish being realized is obvious, and the desirability of its realization is contested by most students of both races who have investigated the problem.

The present "black belt" is well established and the proportion of colored residents probably will increase. It is a convenient location for the thousands of colored workers employed in the stockyards, the loop, the railways, the Pullman service, and the central industrial district. Its many old buildings, with their low rentals, offer poor housing accommodations, but they are the best that many of the race can afford. The growing class of well-to-do colored business men and professional men are seeking homes along the borders of the district or in outlying sections, where they can enjoy benefits of better environment.

Another class that has moved out of the district is the domestic servants. These people must live near the homes of their employers or near the fashionable apartment houses and hotels; hence, the colored colonies in Evanston, Glencoe, west of Lincoln Park, in Hyde Park, and near Beverly Hills and Morgan Park.

The "black belt" is the only local colored colony where colored business men have succeeded in establishing themselves to any extent, and it contains by far the greatest amount of property owned by colored people. Here are nearly 150 colored churches, with approximately 20 per cent owning or buying their church edifices. There were 1,500 commercial and business establishments conducted by colored people within the district in 1920, a survey showed, including thirteen newspapers and magazines, three banks, three insurance companies, and a number of hotels and theaters.

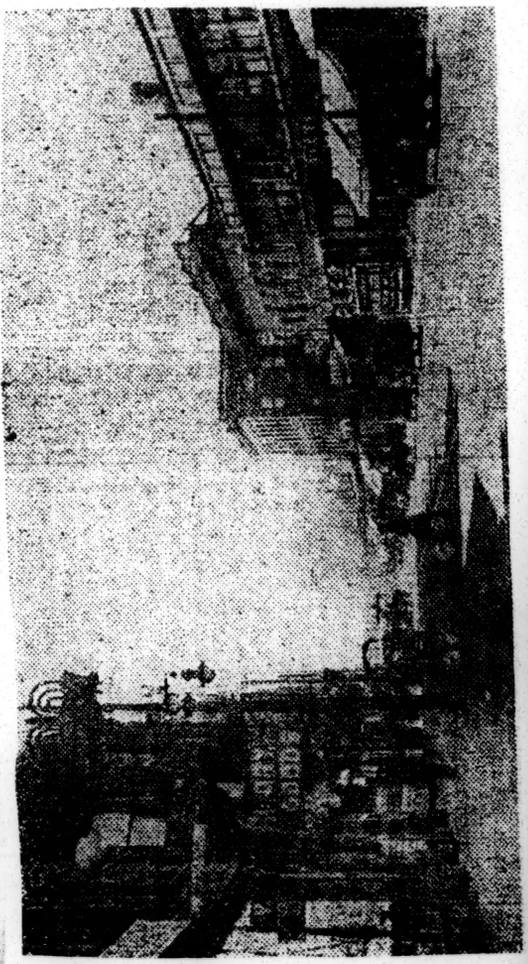
New Projects Launched.

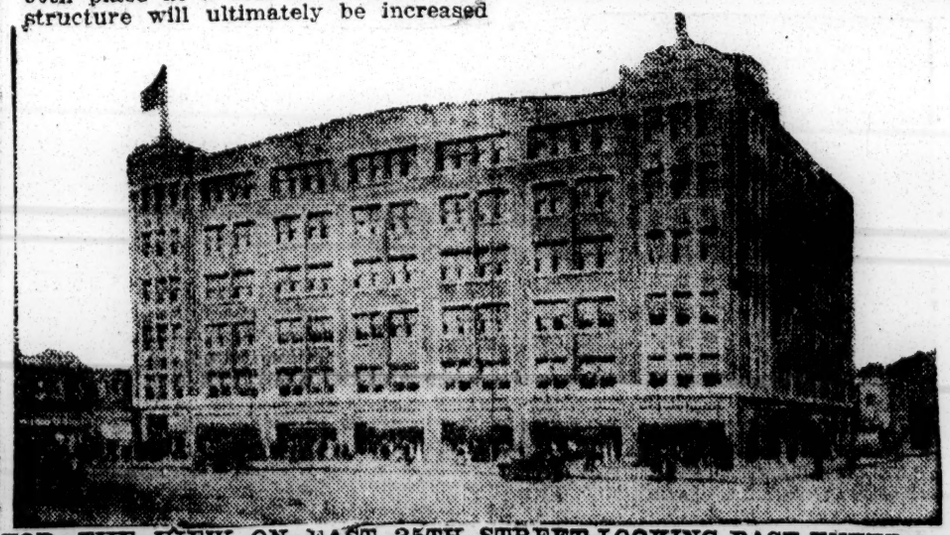
During the last year three new projects have been launched by colored business men that indicate a growing interest in the business development of their own district. The Douglas National bank, the second colored national bank to be chartered in the country, was organized. It is expected to serve as sort of a clearing house for smaller colored banks throughout the country.

The bank will occupy the corner store of the new four-story Overton building now nearing completion at the northeast corner of South State street and 36th place at a cost of $250,000. The structure will ultimately be increased to six stories. Anthony Overton, president of the bank, is putting up the building.

A few blocks away, at the northwest corner of Indiana avenue and East 36th street, a syndicate of colored capitalists plans to build a $750,000 hotel, theater and recreation building, to be operated solely by and for colored people.

Plans of the south park commissioners call for the purchase of not less than eleven acres within the district to be developed as a park and neighborhood center for the people of the district.





TOP—THE VIEW ON EAST 35TH STREET LOOKING PAST ENTERTAINERS' CAFE TOWARD INDIANA AVENUE. BELOW—NEW OVERTON BUILDING NEARING COMPLETION AT SOUTH STATE STREET AND 36TH PLACE.

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SOUTHERN CIVIC EQUALITY OR—!

New York News—N.Y.
3-31-23

Honest and epoch-making is the mandate that Western civilization place a lighthouse upon the uncharted sea of world race relations, that those relations must be adjusted on the basis of equality or that they will prove the shoals of that civilization's involuntary suicide, appearing in the Century of February from the pen of that courageous student of the Orient, Nathaniel Peffer. Had Mr. Peffer on looking back from the Far East upon his native shores soliloquized upon their greatest besetting problem, he could have mused that in tabloid and more menacing form that is the crying, vital question now facing America. There seems nowhere in this great republic among the savants of sociology or statesmanship either the mental courage or the clarity of vision to speak this thing out loud and bold. No Roosevelt appears upon the horizon to carry forward the mandate, to say the honest thing, to do the honest deed in American race relations and thereby compel all his fellow Americans toward that ennobling and saving standard.

To illustrate: The son of a Texas banker on February 1, 1923, says to a group of colored Americans prospecting a haven of refuge in hospitable Mexico for thousands of their harried, hardy kinsmen now leaving or seeking to leave Texas, Oklahoma, the South and the United States: "At conferences of our best men in the South we have agreed that we just can't get along without the colored people." In anxious, fearful tones he asked the writer: "After your long trip throughout the Southern States, do you think they are going to leave?" Thousands of the best colored people of the South, heartsore and embittered, are striving might and main to get away from Dixie by hook or crook, just as they would flee the plague of death, the writer replied. He then told this scion of the Caucasian South of a group of colored Oklahomans, all of whom had been in the State of Tamaulipas less than a year, with whom he talked that day. A black veteran of the World War, who jested with bitter irony that never again would he be within the war call of Uncle Sam; a refugee victim of the Tulsa, Okla., race riots whose fine undertaking establishment and home was destroyed, but now as a bellboy gloats in almost delirious obsession "that the Mexicans treat the gringos just like they treat us"; an angular-featured white-locked and bearded Oklahoma farmer en route by box cars to a leased hacienda fifteen miles from the Mexican Central with his family of eight, four mule and horse teams, farm implements et al., who told of the strategy by which he had succeeded in getting away with $700 from a 200-acre farm; an ebony giant farmer living with a cultured housewife in a thatched cane house, boasting that he would rather live in Mexico without a dollar and be a man than live in the States for a thousand dollars a week; a real estate man who fled a Texas estate of forty thousand dollars in rent houses after a successful court fight preceding a gun fight—these are the types of colored Texans, Oklahomans and Southerners—the beginning of an exodus from the Ku Klux-ridden boll weevil-infested Dixie that will make the World War black exodus from the South seem like an excursion party. Why does this seem inevitable?

The South is determined that the colored people shall stay in a "nigger's place." The overwhelming poor white cracker element now in power and coming into the ascendency in every Southern State knows nothing else, dreams nothing else, wills nothing else. The colored people of the country are in a revolt against this inferno which the white South plans and in which the white North aquiesces.

With this as the major thing in their life, they gratuitously insult, ceaselessly harass and fiendishly mob murder the intelligent and independent colored individual. The docile, plodding exponent of non-resistance who succeeds excites their envy and they rob and terrify him and drive him out. Witness President Harding's lily white Republican party policy and appointments. Witness President Lowell of Harvard's violation of Harvard's tradition toward the equality of colored students in her dormitories, witness the heedless, flippant Pontius Pilate attitude of the Northern press and public toward the exclusion of colored Americans, not only from places of public accommodations, but from sections, and toward race disfranchisement and jim-crowism. These are the ultimate discouragements for colored America. That the intrenched places of equal chance and privilege for them should have capitulated to the Southern mammon of unrighteousness leaves them in the open field of ruin—as predicted Frederick Douglass, their political sage of forty years ago—to tread the wine press alone. They could hope for the future promised land in the United States when only the Southern States practiced their fiendish civic persecution and inhuman physical torture. So long as Dixie denied them schooling and the opportunity to stand as high as they could build they still could pray with faith that right and the square deal and the vaunted ultimate sense of American fair play would prevail. Now that these are not to be—as it becomes apparent—they are turning in larger numbers, not to the North, but to other lands. This movement can no more be stopped than could King Canute stay the tide from rising, nor the foolish husbandman set back the dawn by stopping the cock's crowing.

Nor is this evidence of cowardice upon the part of such as these types enumerated that are leaving. The machinery of government is in the hands of the enemy whose vicious will their implacable foe—may and does work against them with impunity and without scruple. From the Governor of a State like Oklahoma, Texas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana down to the rural justice of the peace, the foreman of a chain gang in a convict camp, working in tar or on the State roads, the rights of the colored citizens the virtue of their women folk, the privacy of their home life are the pleasure of their race-baiting white overlords. A considerable proportion of the refugees are thus being mercilessly driven out. An almost equal proportion of the wiser, thriftier and more ambitious are fleeing, stealing out. That the majority of these should not come north to compete with the fierce struggle of industrial, urban competition there to combat the rigors of a cold climate in Northern, unhospitable congested cities, that the tide seems destined at no distant date to turn southward to sunny, hospitable Mexico, Dixie to tap the virgin agricultural resources of her millions of rich and fertile waiting acres, to mix and mingle with a colored people who now call them paisanos—my countrymen—and to accept all this at the invitation of Mexican people and officials as recently wrote the Governor of the prolific high and health-giving State of San Luis Potosi, who appears at once as the logical solution of their industrial and political problem. This is the practical solution of the problems of the million colored citizens of the South that within the next decade that will go to Mexico. This is the practical fulfillment of the "Back to Africa" dream of the hosts of the South's black Americans for generations looking for relief from the relentless storm of colorphobia.

That this may be the practical solution of the problem of the millions, more or less, of colored people who still remain in Dixie may be conjectured. With the tens of thousands more of her fertile acres lying fallow and waste, with her wheels of industry more nearly paralyzed, her cotton gins, her sugar and her planing mills more completely deserted, the South will face the alternative of black race civic equality or impossible foreign immigration. This is the inferno and the future of the South's race problems.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

SOUTHERN CIVIC EQUALITY OR—!

New York Herald—N.Y.
3-31-23

Honest and epoch-making is the mandate that Western civilization place a lighthouse upon the uncharted sea of world race relations, that those relations must be adjusted on the basis of equality or that they will prove the shoals of that civilization's involuntary suicide, appearing in the Century of February from the pen of that courageous student of the Orient, Nathaniel Peffer. Had Mr. Peffer on looking back from the Far East upon his native shores solilo-quized upon their greatest besetting problem, he could have mused that in tabloid and more menacing form that is the crying, vital question now facing America. There seems nowhere in this great republic among the savants of sociology or statesmanship either the mental courage or the clarity of vision to speak this thing out loud and bold. No Roosevelt appears upon the horizon to carry forward the mandate, to say the honest thing, to do the honest deed in American race relations and thereby compel all his fellow Americans toward that ennobling and saving standard.

To illustrate: The son of a Texas banker on February 1, 1923, says to a group of colored Americans prospecting a haven of refuge in hospitable Mexico for thousands of their harried, hardy kinsmen now leaving or seeking to leave Texas, Oklahoma, the South and the United States: "At conferences of our best men in the South we have agreed that we just can't get along without the colored people." In anxious, fearful tones he asked the writer: "After your long trip throughout the Southern States, do you think they are going to leave?" Thousands of the best colored people of the South, heartsore and embittered, are striving might and main to get away from Dixie by hook or crook, just as they would flee the plague of death, the writer replied. He then told this scion of the Caucasian South of a group of colored Oklahomans, all of whom had been in the State of Tamaulipas less than a year, with whom he talked that day. A black veteran of the World War, who jested with bitter irony that never again would he be within the war call of Uncle Sam; a refugee victim of the Tulsa, Okla., race riots whose fine undertaking establishment and home was destroyed, but now as a bellboy gloats in almost delirious obsession "that the Mexicans treat the gringos just like they treat us"; an angular-featured white-locked and bearded Oklahoma farmer en route by box cars to a leased hacienda fifteen miles from the Mexican Central with his family of eight, four mule and horse teams, farm implements et al., who told of the strategy by which he had succeeded in getting away with $700 from a 200-acre farm; an ebony giant farmer living with a cultured housewife in a thatched cane house, boasting that he would rather live in Mexico without a dollar and be a man than live in the States for a thousand dollars a week; a real estate man who fled a Texas estate of forty thousand dollars in rent houses after a successful court fight preceding a gun fight—these are the types of colored Texans, Oklahomans and Southerners—the beginning of an exodus from the Ku Klux-ridden boll weevil-infected Dixie that will make the World War black exodus from the South seem le an excursion party. Why does this seem inevitable?

The South is determined that the colored people shall stay in a "nigger's place." The overwhelming poor white cracker element now in power and coming into the ascendency in every Southern State knows nothing else, dreams nothing else, wills nothing else. The colored people of the country are in a revolt against this inferno which the white South plans and in which the white North aquiesces.

With this as the major thing in their life, they gratuitously insult, ceaselessly harass and fiendishly mob murder the intelligent and independent colored individual. The docile, plodding exponent of non-resistance who succeeds excites their envy and they rob and terrify him and drive him out. Witness President Harding's lily white Republican party policy and appointments. Witness President Lowell of Harvard's violation of Harvard's tradition toward the equality of colored students in her dormitories, witness the heedless, flippant Pontius Pilate attitude of the Northern press and public toward the exclusion of colored Americans, not only from places of public accommodations, but from sections, and toward race disfranchisement and jim-crowism. These are the ultimate discouragements for colored America. That the intrenched places of equal chance and privilege for them should have capitulated to the Southern mammon of unrighteousness leaves them in the open field of ruin—as predicted Frederick Douglass, their political sage of forty years ago—to tread the wine press alone. They could hope for the future promised land in the United States when only the Southern States practiced their fiendish civic persecution and inhuman physical torture. So long as Dixie denied them schooling and the opportunity to stand as high as they could build they still could pray with faith that right and the square deal and the vaunted ultimate sense of American fair play would prevail. Now that these are not to be—as it becomes apparent—they are turning in larger numbers, not to the North, but to other lands. This movement can no more be stopped than could King Canute stay the tide from rising, nor the foolish husbandman set back the dawn by stopping the cock's crowing.

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LEST WE FORGET

By KELLY MILLER

Professor Kerlin

Back to the Farm *The Messenger*

The Pittsburgh Courier
5-19-23

Professor Kerlin

PROFESSOR KERLIN is a Southern white man of letters and liberal ideas. He occupied the chair of English in the Virginia Military Academy, Lexington, Va., for a number of years. His literary curiosity led him to make a study of the outgivings of the Negro mind in cultural form. Like all other Southern white people, he was acquainted with the Negro only on the lower level of household and domestic familiarity. There can be no honest expression of sentiment or sincerity of soul under the constraint of servility. Professor Kerlin undertook to study the movement of the free and untrammelled mind of the Negro through the medium of his newspapers. The revelations opened up a new world of suggestion as to the real Negro soul, which turns itself wrong side out, when it is unconscious of the presence of a critical or unfriendly eye. He decided to follow the leading of this new ray of light. This led to the study of Negro poetry, which still further revealed new and unsuspected angles of the Negro mind. He discovered that the Negro possesses not only the appreciation of beauty, but also the power of expressing this appreciation in literary form. 'The Voice of the Negro' 'is not a catalogue of grievances or a list of complaints, but the cultural expression of the feeling of the race in terms of poetic excellence. It is easy to imagine the surprise of a Southern white man at such a discovery.

The traditional attitude of his class expects only the animal reactions of the field hand and domestic servant, but looks not for artistic genius or expressional excellence. An individual instance might be shunted aside as a monstrosity hardly expected to recur. But Professor Kerlin found such indications widely distributed among various authors who strove to cultivate the poetic art. He was not hesitant or grudging in the expression of appreciation and praise. He disclosed his discovery to the members of the faculty of his school and the cultured society of the college town. They gave their cautious assent with a mixed feeling of curiosity and surprise. Professor Kerlins' interest deepened with his knowledge. He sought a wider audience. He began to appear before colored gatherings to tell of the hidden treasury which he had found. This step naturally led to a mad version upon the manhood claims of the Negro. He had the temerity to appear at a meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. and appeal for a square deal of the people who are struggling for simple justice and human recognition. This was at Detroit, if my memory serves me right.

Swift as the wire would carry the word, the report was flashed back to the authorities at Lexington that Professor Kerlin had turned Negrophile, and was advocating race equality. This was, of course, more than the traditional Virginia attitude of mind could endure. It upset the tradition of the elders and removed the landmarks which the fathers had set. Professor Kerlin's connection with the college was ruthlessly severed. Of course, there was no argument of the merits of the case. Those intrenched in power, but who are doubtful of the tenableness of their position, never argue. It is a word and a blow. "It is against our policy, and we need no further defense." Prejudice pays a tribute to truth by refusing to consider the merits of the case. The moral position of the South, from the beginning until now, has been wholly indefensible.

Whenever they attempt to justify their attitude, the intellectual and moral hollowness of their position is quickly revealed. There is not a right-minded white man in the South today but who is ashamed of the discredited arguments which their fathers advanced in defense of human slavery. The apologists for Negro suppression today show the same paucity of moral and intellectual resource. Tillman and Tom Watson could only asseverate—assert and swear. Those who feel forced to defend the wrong side of a moral issue are indeed to be pitied.

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Ill fares that land whose genius and conscience is drained away by reason of local intolerance.

A brief chapter in the story still remains. Professor Kerlin sued the Trustees for non-fulfillment of contractual obligations. He could not find a qualified white lawyer in Virginia to undertake the case. Herein is the narrow-minded intolerance of the South self revealed. This high-minded Southern professor selected competent colored attorneys to handle the case, not as a studied affront to Southern prejudice and tradition, but simply because the declination of white jurisconsults made this course necessary.

Professor Kerlin is a high type of American manhood that believes in the freedom of speech and the rights of man. It is easy to believe that he is typical of many a Southern man of liberal impulses who chafes under the galling gyves of provincialism, and who would, if he could, gladly free himself from the bonds of soul blighting prejudice of race.

The Negro in New England

I WAS in Boston last week. Boston is New England and New England is Boston, so far as the Negro is concerned. After delivering my set address on the Negro Sanhedrin, I was invited to meet with a delightful group that was giving a reception to the graduates and students of Harvard, Boston University, the New England Conservatory of Music and other regional institutions. Hon. William H. Lewis, ex-Assistant Attorney General, was the orator of the occasion. His address was up to his usual high standard of eloquence, wit and wisdom. By the way, Mr. Lewis is recognized as being one of the great lawyers of New England. He has found ample room in his profession on top. It was an inspiration to witness these thirty or forty young men and women gathered from all parts of the country seeking knowledge and culture of the highest scholastic type. I could not but advise them that their special attainments would find useful expression mainly in service to their own group, but would become comparatively impotent and barren unless quickened by the human motive and winged with missionary zeal and enthusiasm. The situation of the New England Negro is a study and a puzzle. The old traditional spirit of philanthropy is dying with the years. The abolitionist freed the slaves, and are dead. Their descendants maintain a decent and distant respect for the deeds and devotion of their ancestors. They have little interest in the Negro in New England in the year of our Lord Nineteen Twenty-Three. The forms of traditional equality still survive. Harvard was forced to the right decision out of deference to its traditions rather than the dictates of contemporary attitude and feeling. Trotter and the Equal Rights League are fighting manfully for the maintenance of the old foundations. Foreigners are flooding New England with moral indifferentism. On the whole, the race is losing rather than gaining in the sphere of racial rights and recognition. The numbers are increasing slowly. There are scarcely enough Negroes to sustain a highly functioning life of their own, while there is a lessening disposition on the part of the whites to have them amalgamate with the general life of the community. There are no Negroes in business who measure up to Lee and Lewis of a generation ago.

The ordinary workingman is scarcely more than holding his own. The professional men are doing well. There is shown a fine spirit of social service on the part of a number of noble women and worthy men. Associated business enterprise is making a commendable beginning. The race problem, however, is as evident in Boston as it is in Baltimore. It merely takes on a different mode of manifestation. The Negro is brought face to face with himself and his problems in all places and sections of the country. The Negro in New England, like the Negro in Mississippi, must keep constantly on the alert to keep from losing out. The Negro problem is one with only local variations, and the Negro must understand and deal with it as such.

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Race Problem— 1923.
United States

PHILOSOPHY, SONG AND ROMANCE FILL NEW NEGRO BABEL

[illegible] WORLD
APRIL 1, 1923

Harlem, With Population of 150,000 Negroes, Is City of Variants in Chiaroscuro.

LACK OF COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE STRIKING.

Few Native to America Are Successful Storekeepers—"Back to Africa" Is Taught.

By LESTER A. WALTON

That section of Harlem inhabited by over 150,000 colored persons has become the world's centre of Negro thought. From Africa, Asia, Europe, South and Central America and all parts of the United States are wont to congregate Negroes speaking different tongues, yet bound by racial ties and a community of interests. Confirmed followers of nearly every dogma and ism extant are conspicuous by their mental ebullitions. Both the conservative and radical schools of thought have their biased adherents.

Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Communists and I. W. W.'s enunciate their adopted political faiths with unbridled fervor. In religion every denomination of the Protestant church has its large quota of worshippers, as has the Catholic church. There are Negroes of the Jewish faith who speak Hebrew fluently. Mohammedanism has its loyal disciples, and Christian Science, New Thought, Seventh Day Adventist and Spiritualism have their devout believers.

"Back to Africa."

In this polyglot Negro community the outstanding race question of international importance is the "Back to Africa" movement, in a large measure fomented and agitated by the foreign-born. The majority of natives do not look with favor on this Utopian scheme. The average American Negro, while not mindful that he does not get a square deal in this country, labors under no delusion that his condition is to be improved by emigrating to Africa. He argues that he was born in the United States as were his great-grandparents before him, and the only sane and practicable thing to do is remain at home and fight it out.

Proponents of the "Back to Africa" plan greet this view with derision and skepticism. Many of them are fanatics on the subject and cherish a dream of setting up a Negro Government in Africa far away from what they term "the white man's baneful influence." They scoff at the Caucasian's civilization and standards and think mostly in terms of black. To date, this movement has not assumed tangibility. No one has departed for the Dark Continent except on the wings of imagination.

The treatment of the Negro in the South is the overshadowing domestic issue which is the theme for animated discussion in Harlem. Lynching, disfranchisement and Jim Crowism are keenly felt and severely condemned. A oneness of opinion prevails that the Negro in the South is entitled to a larger measure of justice, but how to bring about a betterment of conditions is the question dividing Harlem Negroes into hostile camps of opinion. As to method of procedure is where schism enters.

"Fire With Fire."

Barber shop and street corner orators, bitter in their arraignment of the South, loudly advocate "fighting fire with fire." Negro men and women of the South who are devoting their lives to improving race relations are as soundly berated as the white people for alleged subserviency to Southern sentiment. The garrulity and bellicose attitude of this element, hundreds of miles from Dixie, where the so-called race problem exists in all its poignancy, is frequently commented upon by conservatives. Those familiar with the Southern situation do not think an effective panacea has been discovered by indulging in Harlem echoes.

The grouping of more than 150,000 Negroes in an abridged territory, who live under modern conditions and in the morst progressive city on the globe, presents a situation clothed with unusual aspects. A comparison of the community's population with that of some of our well-known cities should afford one a better opportunity to visualize its numerical status. Nashville, Tenn., has a population of 118,342, while Trenton, N. J., is peopled with 119,289 souls; Des Moines, Ia., 126,468; Dayton, O., 152,559; New Haven, Conn., 162,537; Richmond, Va., 171,667; Birmingham, Ala., 176,806, and Atlanta, Ga., 200,616. The entire population of the States of Nevada and Delaware are 77,407 and 223,003, respectively.

Negro Business Failures.

The big local issue in Harlem is waking the Negro to the realization that it is incumbent upon him to support race business enterprises. Big business is yet an unknown quantity. Harlem's Negro section furnishes a striking illustration of the impotency and ineffectiveness of numbers unless used as a cohesive force. Larger than Nashville, Tenn., or Des Moines, Ia., in population, it is unable to boast of one race bank, dry goods or clothing store. Three months ago the only shoe store conducted under Negro management failed and went into bankruptcy for lack of support. A haberdashery had previously met a similar fate.

Group or race consciousness seems to be more highly developed among foreign-born Negroes. They are more clannish. West Indians, Cubans and Porto Ricans conduct more grocery stores and meat markets than the native born, who are successful as operators of real estate, restaurants, hotels, barber shops, cabarets, undertaking establishments and beauty parlors. Seven newspapers and two monthly magazines are published.

When the Negro visitor goes to Harlem he invariably looks for elevator office buildings. Instead elevator apartments meet his gaze. The spectacle of white storekeepers reaping a financial harvest in a Negro community always excites the wonderment of the Southern Negro, for race enterprises of all kinds flourish in the Southland.

The backwardness of Harlem Negroes to establish and maintain a larger number of commercial ventures gives substantiation to the contention of those who assert race progress in business is most marked where prejudice thrives. In New York relations between whites and colored citizens are unusually pleasant. The latter's trade is respectfully solicited and he spends his money wherever he sees fit. Furthermore, as the cost of living is high his patronage is given to the tradesman whose prices are more in keeping with his pocketbook.

The bulk of Harlem's Negro population, 135,000, reside in the 38th Police Precinct, which extends from 130th Street to the Harlem River, and from Fifth Avenue to St. Nicholas Avenue. Capt. Patrick F. Gargan, commanding officer, says the precinct has a record for observance of law and order that compares favorably with any community having a population of similar proportions.

Of the sixty-five places of worship in the precinct (which number is said to exceed that of any other police precinct in Greater New York), but five are white. There are thirteen dance halls and cabarets. According to Capt. Gargan, police regulations, such as 2 o'clock closing, denial of admission to females without male escort and the ban on vulgar language are faithfully complied with in most instances. Unlike the Gay White Way, no shootings nor serious quarrels are recorded.

Make Good Tenants.

Capt. Gargan, who has been a member of the New York police force for forty-one years, believes the Negro, as a whole, the best tenant of any race group, which statement is backed up by records showing that Harlem Negroes are taken to court less by landlords for non-payment of rent than any other people. Usually in a land-tenant case they appear as complaining witness.

There reside in the 38th Police Precinct 200,000 inhabitants, 65,000 of whom are white. Race riots are unknown, both white and colored manifecting a spirit of tolerance that is essential for the well-being of all.

In some sections of the country colored police are appointed to arrest members of their race only. In New York police officers are sworn to arrest all violators of the law, an evildoer finding no immunities because of the color of his skin. The Negro bluecoat is a full-fledged guardian of the peace.

William Jennings Bryan's recent statement that the North would act as the South in dealing with the Negro when the question of political equality was involved is flatly contradicted in the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts. Colored and white voters join in sending representatives of both races to the State Legislature and the Aldermanic Chamber. Negro aspirants for office do not seek nomination and election because of their racial identity but chiefly as members of some particular political party. In the 19th Assembly District the Negro Assemblyman is a Democrat, who is the standard bearer of his party and represents all of his constituents. The Negro Alderman is a Republican and performs a similar duty. The white officeholders of the district maintain an analagous attitude.

Beauty of Some Girls.

Our poets and writers have waxed eloquent in describing foreign beauties of twilight complexion. Some day, when less amenable to time-worn tradition, the pulchritude of face and symmetry of form of Harlem's dark-skinned daughters will be imperson-ally extolled—beauties who rival the rainbow for variety of types.

Some day Harlem is destined to be a fertile field for writers in search of new material, and yet in an atmosphere distinctively American. For right in the very heart of the Nation's great metropolis has risen this modern City of Ethiopia, where smiles and laughter are more articulate than sighs and tears, and where music and song are the natural and spontaneous outpourings of the soul.

Such is Negro Harlem, pulsating night and day with its romance and adventure, and teeming with a colorful and adolescent life yet unsung in poetry or prose.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

Hot Springs, Ark., June 15, 1923.
To The Commercial Appeal,

I see so much being said in regard to the exodus of the colored people of the south to the north and east, I write to say that I was one that went east attracted there by the higher wages—but I find that the climate does not suit me and am now here taking the baths to get back to normalcy, as our president would say; and when I do get in shape I expect to find a landlord that will give me a square deal.

The colored people have begun to think for himself and to "figure." The writer knows of two young men a few years back who entered into the "furnishing business" with only two thousand dollars cash—that was all they had. Today they are so rich that they had to split their business and start them a separate business. You have one of the biggest cotton firms on Front Street—the founder of this firm about 20 years ago left Mississippi with only $10,000 to enter into this cotton commission business, and in less than three years after he had entered this business he had bought himself a $40,000 home.

Now we that do the work certainly ought to be entitled to something. What we need is schools, better schools and the white people will soon see that the negro does not care to leave the south. The south is his native heath, and it would take generations for him to become acclimated in the north and east. Now what will help to keep the negro in the south and contented is to let us get "acclimated" to the cash and business, i. e., give us a square deal.

I have the interest of the south and the colored race at heart just as much as any one; I also with thousands of others have the interest of the white race at heart; but let's figure: Ain't it a little one-sided?

JOE SMITH.

...A PA PUBLIC LEDGER
APRIL 11, 1923

HARVARD RACE ISSUE

THE Board of Overseers at Harvard has decided to maintain in its rules for admission the "traditional policy of freedom from discrimination on grounds of race or religion." That is the only principle applicable in a non-sectarian American institution of learning—the principle of an equal privilege for all in the democracy of scholarship. Every boy who genuinely wants a college education should have his opportunity to secure it; and the first touchstone of fitness, beyond any scholastic ordeal, should be the intensity and sincerity of that desire.

If members of any one race show an extraordinary zeal for a liberal education, if by persistence and application they outstrip others who are leisurely and self-indulgent and half-hearted, they deserve to be rewarded, not penalized, for their initiative. The prizes in every worldly competition go to those who "strive and agonize" for them, and the collegiate premiums are not on sloth or luxurious dalliance but on zeal and diligence. These excellent qualities are not the monopoly of any race.

The doors of such a college must, therefore, [illegible] who qualify. [illegible] is the work [illegible] inquest suffices [illegible] seen in civil[illegible] academic exe[illegible] formances [illegible] men whose [illegible] to the pass[illegible]

The proc[illegible] invidious [illegible] to the ide[illegible] to any [illegible] idealism. To p[illegible] against earnest aspirants for true because they are not of a certain ethnic group is to resist the fundamental fact that schools and colleges are founded for those who need them most and use them best.

PREDICTS YOUNGER GENERATION WILL NOT STAND FOR INSULTS

President of Organization Says That Old Spirit of Cringing Cowardice Has Been Replaced With True Democratic Ideas.

PRES. HARDING SAYS

That Progress of Negro During Last Two Generations Has Been One of the Wonders of Civilization — Predicts a Great Future.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)
By CHARLES STEWART

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 10.—Mrs. G. Pelham was elected executive secretary of the National Race Congress and will establish headquarters on You street, N. W., in Washington, where information regarding the race will be sent out and every interest of the Negro from Washington as well as other parts of the country will be watched with the eye of an eagle.

One of the most interesting sessions in the history of the Race Congress was held here last week, and the legislation put through will be far reaching and helpful to the entire race. The sessions were held in the Mt. Carmel Baptist church. Dr. W. H. Jernagin was reelected president, and during the next few months he will spent some time on the road, and will hold conferences on racial matters. He will visit Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

An invitation was extended to President Warren G. Harding to address the congress. He wrote the following letter to President Jernagin:

"My dear Mr. Jernagin:

"Thank you most heartily for your invitation, and for the opportunity which it presents to me to address the annual Race Congress at the beginning of May. I am sorry it is not possible to accept. I hope the congress will be fruitful of useful contributions toward dealing with the many problems which confront the colored race in this country. In those problems, as you know, I have long taken a keen interest, and I am especially convinced that the greatest service to the colored people will be rendered in the future, as indeed it has been in the past, through the effective organization and efforts of the colored people themselves. Their progress in the last two generations has been one of the wonders of civilization's advance, and there is every reason to believe that its projection into the future will largely remove the most difficult of our race problems in the next few decades."

'The man or woman who says that the Negro is a baby in civilization should be examined by a specialist, for there is something wrong with his head," declared the Rev. W. H. Jernagin. 'We are over 50 years from slavery and are still babies. Not a bit of it.

"We are not seeking favors because of our race or color. We are not asking for any special legislation. We do want justice, fair play, protection under the law, and the free use of the weapon placed in hands of Americans with which to protect their right and that is the ballot. This is what the National Race Congress stands for, and this is what we are contending for. You are called together each year to take under consideration the future of our people in America. We are getting together for the purpose of being in better position to protect ourselves. We want to be represented in congress by members of our own race, and by the help of God we are going to be.

'We believe that we have long since paid the Republican party, for the part it took in our emancipation, both principal and interest, and then we took some part, too, and in doing so we helped to save the Union. [illegible] can no longer look in my face and tell how I am going to vote. [illegible] am independent in politics, voting [illegible] he Republican ticket when the R[illegible]ublicans are right and have the rig[illegible]t kind of men.

"We have no Bolshevists, or anarchists, or traitors in our rank. Every black face you see is 100 per cent American, ready to strike down any enemy who offers an insult to our flag. We are no longer blind to the discriminations which come to us in our country, where thousands of our men have died to hold together and protect against every foe we have had. We have been true, and bore all without murmur, but with the continuation of lynchings, burnings, shooting down our fellow beings in cold blood, we cannot guarantee what will be the attitude of our young people in the future who believe in protecting themselves. The spirit of cri ing cowardice which was bred in us in slavery days is fast disappearing, and those of us who have imbibed the free air and ideas of America, who love the flag and have sacrificed for its preservation cannot stand idly by and see these ideals destroyed by the dispicable and wickedness of lawless men."

The following officers were elected: Dr. W. H. Jernagin, president; Dr. J. U. King, vice president; Dr. C. C. Somerville, recording secretary; Miss D. E. Harris, assistant secretary; G. Pelham, executive secretary; Dr. C. T. Welcher treasurer; Dr. M. A. Hunter, national lecturer; J. C. Calvert, chaplain; Charles Stewart, organizer and press agent; John R. Hawkins, treasurer of defense fund. President Jernagin will visit Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma and Missouri in interest of the congress.

Negro In America Hundred Years Ahead

South African Educator Greatly Pleased with Race's Progress Here.

SETS STANDARD FOR WORLD

Africa Offers Fine Field of Service for Trained American Negroes.

Atlanta, Ga.—That the Negro in America is in every way a hundred years ahead of the natives of South Africa is the statement of Dr. [illegible] Henderson, a noted educator from that country, who is spending a few months in America in the study of race relations and Negro education. This is due, he said, to the fact that the American Negro came much earlier into contact with Christian civilization, and has had far greater opportunities for education and self-development. He was particularly impressed with the economic progress which the race has made in this country, which he said was far beyond anything he had expected.

Dr. Henderson has given his life to the education of the natives of British South Africa, having been for many years principal of Lovedale Institute, the great African Tuskegee, a missionary institution with a faculty of 60 and a student body of 900. While in Atlanta he visited a number of Negro colleges and was greatly pleased with them, commenting most favorably on their fine equipment, competent and devoted teachers and intelligent students. A number of well-trained American Negroes, he said, are rendering fine service in Africa as teachers and social workers Wherever they have been tried they have made good, was his emphatic testimony. He believes that the number of such workers will greatly increase and that in this way the educated American Negro is destined to make a great contribution to Africa's development.

The good will work of the Interracial Commission, of which he had heard in Africa, where its methods are beginning to be adopted, interested Dr. Henderson greatly. The problems of race relations, he said, are much more [illegible] there than here, and much further from solution. It was his opinion that the progress of the American Negro is setting a new standard for the world in the development of backward peoples.

From Atlanta Dr. Henderson went to Tuskegee Institute.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

SOCIAL JUSTICE, WANTED

A speaker at the 100 per cent American meeting held at the Englewood Christian Church Thursday, May 30th said among other things, that there was a secret Negro organization for the purpose of promoting inter-marriage between the Races and called upon the Protestant Churches to organize against the inter-marriage of Negroes and Whites. Ninety-nine Negroes out of every one hundred in America will laugh at this statement as so much silly twaddle, born of a mind that is desperate to make a case against the negroes. It is unfortunate that we haven't a voice that will carry to every white home in America, that they may know for all times to come, that the American Negro is just as much opposed to inter-marriage as is the American white man. As for the organization to spread propaganda between the Races we confess that we have never heard of such an organization and feel safe in saying that no such organization exists, but there is an organization, a very active one, that is trying to get a law through that will make the American white man responsible for his illegimate children born of a colored woman. The funny thing about some of these 100 per cent Americans is that they rave about the purity of the race and of womanhood and about crossing the line and yet they say not a word about the thousands of mulattoes that are born every year. The American Negro wants to know who is the offender. Let the American white man answer. The Negro is justly proud of his race and of his women and stands ready to join with anybody on a program for the protection of womanhood, not black nor Jew nor Gentile, but the purity of womanhood. The fact is this 100 per cent speaker flatters himself when he think the Negro wants inter-marriage or social equality in the common acceptation of these terms. What the Negro wants is protecttion and social justice. The Negro has his own home, church and social life and does not give a rap about the other fellow. It is very strange that if these 100 per cent speakers are so afraid of Negro invasion into their social world that they don't get behind a program to prevent that very thing. Why not say that the womanhood of America must be protected without regard to race or color and that the black brute of white brute who crosses the line will feel the teeth of the law. If these 100 per cent fellows do not want Negroes to move into exclusively white neighborhoods, why not see to it that the Negro has better streets, lights, sanitations, etc., in exclusively Negro neighborhoods? Why not see to it that the rent hog gives value received, in other words, why not a program of Christian co-operation instead of one of misrepresentation and hate?

TELLS WHITES TO GIVE RACE EQUAL RIGHTS

Senator McCormick Makes Plea Against Lynching; Seeks Racial Justice

Monmouth, Ill., July 6.—Senator Medill McCormick, addressing the students (white) at the commencement exercises of Monmouth college here June 14, made a strong plea for justice and law for our race and American citizens in general. He compared conditions in this country and in other countries where law and observance of law had broken down. He made it plain that Americans here at home must meet the test before this country can take its rightful place in the leadership of the affairs of the world. He made this plea not to a gallery of Race people, but to white people and white students who did not expect such plain words from the honored statesman. He spoke as follows:

"Already has the fever which followed the war been broken. The horrid period of mob violence we may hope has passed, but we must not forget that it was only a short time ago that West and East, North and South, men were put to death by mobs. The states which have tolerated the lynching of black men have been subjected to a salutary and ominous punishment in the migration westward and northward of the Race which not only has been disfranchised and which has been too long denied its elemental civil rights. And yet it does not become any of us in one section of the country to sit in judgment upon those living in another section of the country. The ancient rights of free assembly and of free speech too often, in many parts of the country, were denied men not only by mobs but by officers of the law. That is not American. That is in violation of the principles of the bill of rights. If officers of the law thus flagrantly violate the law what is the moral authority to uphold the law?

"The public service which we may expect during these coming years will be measured by the public spirit which moves the average citizen in the assertion of his rights and the discharge of his duty as a citizen. It was the greatest American of our time who said that the discharge of our duty to the commonwealth was no less important than the assertion of our rights under the commonwealth. It is an old truism too often misconstrued that ours is a government of laws, and not of men. How are the laws to be executed? Who is to assert the supremacy of the law and the constitution unless the public servants under the law and the constitution are devoted to the upholding of both and are fearlessly dedicated to the service of the people who have chosen them? I have no regard for the citizen or the public servant who so long as the constitution and the law stand as they are written would not enforce one or the other, despite the threat of any mob or public pressure, or the secret seduction of any powerful interest."

The address of the senator made a powerful impression on his hearers, particularly as it was evident that he made his plea, not with an eye to winning the favor of our men and women, who were conspicuous by their absence, but in sincere good faith to help justice and right under the law of the land for all races of men regardless of color or social position, from the lowest to the highest.

Boston Begins to Take Notice of Race Problem at Home

Editor Constitution: As a southerner and friend of the south and The Constitution, I am inclosing a clipping from The Boston Post which I consider very significant as regards the race problem, not only in the south, but in New England.

When the negro section of Houston, Texas, was burned some time ago, some newspaper stated that if the wind had changed a little the best part of the city might have been swept away by the flames. Then some Boston paper drew this moral from that statement, and added, "What if that wind should blow this way some day, what would Boston do?"

As a matter of fact, that wind was already beginning to blow in Boston and Boston was beginning to feel that unwelcome cr[illegible]

It will not be long now before Boston is going to be so busy with that wind that she is going to have very little to devote to Georgia and Georgia's problems.

Here is a Boston minister, Rev. J. J. Ross, moving out, as The Post article shows, and leaving his church because there are too many negroes around there, and he thinks that they might have their own churches and keep to themselves. Now, doesn't that sound just like Georgia?

Can you realize how much like Georgia Boston is becoming? It is one thing to criticize somebody else or another section of the country, in its dealings or relations to some problem, and quite another thing to deal with that same problem in a practical way when it comes home to you.

The negro is mistaken and deluded if he expects to find the color line eliminated in New England and other parts of the north, and all smooth sailing here. What he needs to do is to disillusion himself of that illusion which he received in France. Then he would find himself better satisfied and much happier. The only reason why the race problem has been in the south, instead of New England, is because the negro has been in the south.

I was reading a few days ago some account of the early slave trade in Boston for a while, but owing to the rice and cotton fields in the south combined with a warm climate, the slave trade became much more profitable in that section of the country. And so the slave business gradually went south.

Now, I wonder what would have happened had the rice and cotton fields and warm climate been in New England.

I have quoted a New England writer, and I am not saying this to justify slavery, but to help us to come to a better understanding of the race problem as it exists today. It was an economic problem that divided the north and south to begin with—not a political or social or religious question. These came later and were inevitable.

Now New England and the north invites the negro economically to come and work in her industries, and where his labor is profitable, but not to sit in her parlor, nor even her church.

Yes, it is admitted that it was the climate which carried the negro to the south, to a climate for which he was better suited. And I am going to say that if the negro is wise, he will still consider the climate before he moves away from the land of sunshine, the land of cotton blossoms, sweet potatoes and watermelons, to a land where they come near to having nine months of winter with the thermometer often down to 40 below and coal selling for $20 per ton, and sometimes not obtainable at that.

I know that the negro has his problems. We all do, but if he is wise he will stay with the people who understand him and love him best, and welcome him most.

I would not be hard on Boston, or New England either. As I understand New England and Boston, I love them more, and as they understand us they love us more. And I believe that some day we'll understand.

H. L. BROWN,
Assoc. Sec'ty. Y. M. C. A.
East Deerfield, Mass., May 16, 1923.

The Term Negro

(Crusader Service)

(Note: The editor of this paper assumes no responsibility for the views advanced in the following article by Dr. Campbell. These views are given here merely in recognition of bias held by many against the use of the term Negro as our racal designation. Within the next month articles presenting both viewpoints—for and aganst—will be run in these columns for the information of our readers.)

This unique implication, Negro, is the ugliest civic misnomer without a parallel applicable to any race. Convince me to the contrary if any man can.

Ethnologically, all races of mankind have been so inexplicably amalgamated, that any attempt to prescribe racial limitation by delineation is a miserable failure. The Bible is the oldest or most ancient ethnological authority. And from the earliest Bible times, until now, races and people have been designated geographically, with this exception Negro. See the origin of the term. Then think of the ridiculousness of it all. Thus:

Italians are from Italy. Greeks from Greece. Russians from Russia. Japanese from Japan. Chinese from China. Mexicans from Mexico. Hebronites from Hebron. Jews from Judea and Jerusalem. Ethiopians from Ethiopia, etc., ad infinitum. Negro from where? No geographical location.

It is quite evident that this abominable nomenclature has no geographical location as other races or people. The Bible never termed this mis-named race Negro. Why should the American people, black or white, be so married to this term? Why should this name be fastened upon

...le dark people scattered abroad or at their original homeland today? It is used as a mark of reproach now as it begun in slavery. It is the product, residue and remaining odium of slavery. Any man of color, regardless of his present position, who cannot see his way to relinquish the use of Negro as a noun should be brushed aside from leadership. The word is bad enough as an adjective. Why should people of African descent alone be classified by a foreign language adjective? If you say white American then say black American, since we are speaking English and to hades with the abominable odium Negro; and some lingual fool claims that the word should be capitalized!

Du Bois Is Praiser of Segregation

Philadelphia, Pa., July 6.—In this city, early scene of his labors, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, well known author, is a fallen idol.



Dr. DuBois

Before a large, cultured and determined audience of progressive Race men and women assembled in Wesley church Dr. DuBois came out flatfooted for segregation and the rule of Jim Crow. We have segregated hospitals, separate churches, race lodges, insurance companies advertising racial identity, our own undertakers, and finally graveyards where only our blood is buried," declared the critic of Booker T. Washington, "and I, therefore, glory in separate schools."

The audience acted as if the fire department had turned the ice water hose upon it.

Dr. DuBois had been advertised to speak against segregation, and particularly against the effort to make the Cheyney school a Jim Crow retreat.

The speaker took the other route. One of his utterances that cold-watered his listeners was this: "Stop fighting Cheyney and Hill; let them alone. We must hang to segregation to save our Race."

Hill is principal of Cheyney, which citizens of the state claim is a Jim Crow school, and which they are opposing.

For an utterance less unpatriotic than that Booker T. Washington was read out of the society of respectable men by Dr. DuBois.

As the author went along his audience could see that his opposition to Booker T. Washington in the life time of the great leader was built on jealousy.

Dr. DuBois, who boasts of his Harvard degree, is really a product of Fisk university, class of '88.

"I am proud of Jim Crow schools," declared the "champion," "because my daughter is a product of one."

Likewise Dr. DuBois, although he never owned it until recently.

The speaker was handled without gloves and with large hands by J. Francis Lee, Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes, Attorney G. Edward Dickerson, Dr. J. Wesley Bailey and Rhoda Tilton. Each speaker expressed surprise that Dr. DuBois, supposed champion of equal rights and identical opportunities for our children, could fall from grace with so much ease and self-satisfaction.

The audience refused to respond to the invitation to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the collection plate looked like a pauper's oath when the offering was called for.

His magazine, Editor DuBois said, is a segregated proposition, and will continue to be so.

Philadelphians might call in other noted leaders to sound the toscin when big ideas are to be pressed, but it will be a long time before this city pins its faith again to DuBois.

To the statement of the speaker that his views were inherited from his grandfather one of the speakers said he would like to meet the grandfather of a man who had so many views on one matter.

SOUTH MUST LEAD IN FIGHT ON RADICALISM

Official Exposes Moscow Fund to Work Among Negroes.

NATIONAL UPRISING, HOPE

Thousands of Spies Throughout America, Under Direction of Soviet Authorities Fostering Strikes to Aid in Revolution.

Commercial

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., May 2.—An appeal for the south to take the lead in starting a back fire to quench the flame of hatred and anarchy which is being fed and fanned by un-American forces, was made in an address before the opening session of the 27th annual convention of the Interstate Cottonseed Crushers' Association here today, by Wade H. Ellis, of Washington, D. C., assistant attorney-general of the United States during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, recently counsel for the Senate's foreign relations committee in its investigation of Russian affairs, and at present a member of the American Bar Association's committee on law enforcement.

Speaking on "The Opportunity of the South in the Face of National Perils," Mr. Ellis declared that the south is the most natural and appropriate section in which to start a counter movement against radicalism in America because of the racial purity and political traditions of the southern people and because of the fact that the south has only recently struck her stride in great industrial development, and any interruption of her growth "would be a calamity from which the whole world would suffer."

"World Shell-Shocked by War."

Declaring that the whole world had been shell-shocked by the World War, Mr. Ellis said that there is a disposition everywhere to re-examine the basic principles of society and that there are those who believe that every institution we have heretofore respected is wrong. Demagogues in every land, he said, are preaching the doctrine of class terrorism and it is the duty of the sensible, level-headed men and women of America to stand shoulder to shoulder and beat back this attack upon orderly government.

"As counsel recently for the foreign relations committee of the Senate in the investigation of Russian propaganda in the United States, I have had some occasion to study the spread of radicalism and I want to say very seriously, consciously measuring my words, that I believe if all the facts were marshaled and reported to the people the information would amaze and startle the country," Mr. Ellis said. "I donbt if there are very many people who know that there are nearly four hundred periodicals, daily, weekly or monthly, with a combined circulation of approximately five million, which are openly or covertly advocating violent sedition and insurrection, by force and arms, against the government of the United States."

Great Communist Strength.

"I doubt if many people know that the combined numerical strength of the communist party of America, the so-called workers party, the I. W. W. and all the extreme left wings of the various revolutionary groups in the United States, is probably greater today than the total vote cast for the socialist candidate for president a few years ago. I doubt if very many people believe a fact which is well known to government agencies, that many of these organizations are financed and controlled directly by Soviet authorities in Moscow, and that their purpose, frankly avowed in Russia and known to hundreds if not thousands of spies and representatives in this country, is to take advantage of every opportunity, by fostering strikes and otherwise, to provoke a revolution in the United States. Don't imagine they are without money, and don't imagine they are without brains. Men of the type of Martens, who was a self-appointed Soviet ambassador to this country, and who was deported because of his activity in stirring up revolution; and Lenine and Trotzky and Tchitcherin and Zinovieff, are cunning, conscienceless tyrants who have seized power from a weak and supine peasantry, and stolen millions in money and treasure from a rich aristocracy and a powerful church."

American Negroes in Moscow.

"I have myself seen the minutes of the last Congress of the third internationale held at Moscow only a few months ago, and there were present four American negroes, proud of their membership in what they call the 'African blood brotherhood,' and representing to their bolshevik leaders that they could enlist people of their race in the United States to join in a world wide revolution. They openly discussed the plan for organizing what would be called a central committee of action and candidly debated whether that would be in Georgia, Louisiana or some other southern state. And this meeting in Moscow appropriated $400,000 to be devoted to the one cause alone of fomenting an uprising among the negroes of the United States."

Mr. Ellis declared that there are two classes of people among our own citizenship who are more dangerous than the reds. He called them the pinks and the yellows. Mr. Ellis described the pinks as being the parlor bolshevists, many of whom are weak-minded men and women of wealth and high social station, who go in for radicalism as a fad, and who are contributing annually millions of dollars, some of it consciously and some unwittingly, to aid in the subversion of the government which protects them. The yellows he described as being cowardly mob followers among the politicians who are willing to compromise vital principles and who, although they know better, are ready to advocate any measure which they think will please the envious or the ignorant. It is leaders and legislators from the latter class, Mr. Ellis said, who make such proposals as the one which recently escaped enactment by a narrow margin in Wisconsin to abolish the state militia, and the pending bill in the West Virginia Legislature making it unlawful for any owner of a coal mine to hire a guard to protect his property.

Travel Notes: The Race Problem Moves North.

To find the color problem in its full intensity do not go to Mississippi, in which the Negro outnumbers the whites and in which large masses of him are held in an economic subjection not many degrees removed from serfdom; but try Chicago, which sixty-five years ago was pouring out troops to fight for abolition.

Chicago has been acquiring her Negro problem (or, as the Negro might look at it, her white problem) since the world war put labor at a premium. The southern colored man moved into northern cities, including Chicago, for the simple and elemental reason that he desired more pay. The northern white employer invited him, and even sent agents into the south to plead with him to come north, for the reason that he wanted a supply of docile and muscular labor.

The northern white employer's interests, however, did not jibe with the northern white worker's notion of what was right and proper. So there was friction in the packing industries and in other occupations in which Negroes were put to work with white men. There was also friction in the residential districts in which the Negro, having the human desire for a roof to cover his head, had secured lodgings. As the brotherhood of man was far from being realized, even in Chicago, the arrival of the darker skin was the signal for the departure, in high resentment, of the more or less light-colored skin. In 1919 the white man's indignation at the Negro for being black, or for being at all, led to riots in which lives were lost and property destroyed.

When calm had been restored, a commission was appointed to investigate, and its findings have been embodied in two large volumes. Perhaps the report of the Chicago race commission is the best work of its kind that has been done in America.

But the volumes of the race commission sit upon shelves in libraries and newspaper offices, collecting dust. And Chicago's Negro population has grown, since 1920, from one hundred thousand to probably as much as one hundred and ten thousand.

In the south, where the white man asserts himself to be "the Negro's best friend," custom has sanctioned segregation and imposed a recognition of the white man's domination. Chicago has no such tradition upon which to fall back. There the Negro cannot be compelled to "keep his place." Even though he has no desire to mingle socially with the white man, he is not under the necessity of admitting, at every turn of the road, that he is the white man's inferior. He has all the rights guaranteed under the constitution to white men, or, rather, such of them as are readily accessible to white men of a depressed economic status. He votes. His vote is sought by politicians. And the tension grows, although people do not publicly speak of it.

I do not know of any solution, unless it be along the lines of the southern Commisison on Inter-racial Relations, which has brought black and white together in the "black belt" to confer on matters which affect them both. But until these racial problems are satisfactorily adjusted, America must be not a realization, but an experiment.

ROBERT L. DUFFUS.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

FOR WHAT SHALL THE AMERICAN NEGRO CONTEND?

Sheild M.E. Rev. Quarterly Review

By Rev. A. C. Cook.

Individua's, without any expressed desire, or personal request, may be forced to accept conditions or live under environments that will prove embarrassing; but because of the force of circumstances, they take their medicine mildly or uncomplainingly. But as they multiply and are elevated from all angles, they naturally show their development through some medium that races, wea nations, will be forced to recognize.

The colored group was brought to his country for the purpose of becoming developers of the dense woods of this country (i. e. the south).

As time passed on the Negro was mpressed with certain characteristics of his master. Among the many, I mention his desire to populate and serve the white man's God. Though poorly clad, apparently, they were at ease and assumed a position as watchmen. They were not conscious of what good things there were in store for them in the future. We realized that civilization had its birth in Egypt where great pyramids were builded, her fine arts, sphinxes etc., were in evidence. Still, as a matter of fact, this civilization was passing, and a new civilization was to take its place. Xerxes and Artaxerxes were pre-eminent figures in those days, but their sun had to go down. When Egypt passed, a more powerful civilization than she came on the stage. I refer to Greece. She gave the world Solon, Alexander the Great, the warrior, Demosthenes, the orator Xenophon, her historian, Socrates, her philosopher, who was styled "the walking school of Greece," and many others.

Her literary and many other advantages caused her to become selfish. She boasted of being the monarch of all that she surveyed, and her supremacy could not be overcome, and that all power was in her hands. But God, with an unseen eye was watching the destiny of His people. When conditions became intolerable Greece collapsed. So soon as she had crumbled Rome came on the stage of action. She had her good emperors and her bad emperors. Caesar, being one of her best emperors boasted of finding it built of brick, but of leaving it built of stone. He said he could stamp his feet upon the ground and an army would rise there from. During this reign, the Son of God came into the world. She, too, ruled the world, and there was no civilization at this time, in existence so far as she knew that could subdue her. God finally frowned upon her, and she became a nonentity.

This civilization was followed by the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon civilizations. The latter, a Christian civilization. Hence the American civilization. She became great by means of her extensive commercial endeavors, agricultural industries, human tarian ventures and her democratic form of government.

This nation's power amongst nations of the Orient became of such magnitude, that wealth or a greed for money has become her paramount desire.

For two hundred and forty-four (244) years the Negro group in the south was apprenticed by a civilization or people that knew not what the final outcome would be.

In 1865 he stepped out of slavery as a freedman; and having served as a producer of wealth, being forced world to be conversant with our political, economical, social, educational, and moral desires.

We contend that we are entitled to the best this country has to bestow; and to that end, we invite the great minds of the present day to join us.

(5th.) Race peace officers in purely race territory. We concur with Bishop Clement in his suggestion that the Knoxville, Tennessee idea should become nation-wide.

This country should be willing to trust this privilege into our hands since we have been tried in so many walks of life and have rung true.

Many racial clashes might have been averted had members of our own race group been permitted to watch the trend of things, and thus apprehend the guilty party.

This, the land of the free, and the home of the brave, must wake up to this necessity; or else she will be weighed in the balances and found wanting.

America upright, America awakened, spiritual America, altruistic America, America with higher ideals, and noble aspirations, reach hither your strong arm of hope to a fearless and faithful group, who demand that you lay your cards on the table, and go before the world and make known, that you mean to be fair to all groups. The Orient is watching thee, small nations will imitate thee, large nations will adore thee and the world will respect thee more.

SHAW VERSUS MILLER.

The Independent has given a lot of time and space to the All Race Conference or Sanhedrin Council. We have given it considerable time and attention, because the condition of the race deserves a united front—and organization of all of its forces, with a view of the several agencies co-ordinating together for the general uplift of our group in America. We are not interested in who calls the conference or who suggests the idea. We are simply interested in getting that class of representatives of the race together, which is truly representative of the minds and thought of our people. We take the position that the race has been misled and exploited long enough by a self-constituted leadership. We are hopeful that some day we may get race representatives together who are not so much leaders, but are men, who represent the thought, character and opinion of our group in this country—men who understand the fundamental that honor does not come to man for what he receives from others, but that honor comes as a logical sequence for what man gives out to others in service. 8-23-23

The Atlanta Independent

So our one object in discussing the All Race Conference has been to awaken a consciousness among our people of the character and thought of the men who pose as our race leaders. We believed, to start with, that Kelly Miller was sincere in his effort to serve his people and to get together a set of men who place service above a dollar, and we were fearful that he had capitulated to the professional leadership idea, which is of little concern to the public. The public is not interested in who calls the meeting, but in the character, and purpose of the meeting. Dr. Shaw writes us very largely to inform us that the attempt of Dean Miller to answer our criticisms was futile and unsatisfactory, and did more harm than good, and as president of the promoting organization, the United Front Conference, it was his plain duty to come to the rescue of Dr. Miller and answer the questions that we had raised, and thus the letter published in another column of this paper is the effort of Dr. Shaw to make adequate answer where Dean Miller had failed.

We will not go into the argument of Dr. Shaw, for the reason he raises no new issue, and does not adequately meet the issues already raised by us, and merely expresses his opinion and submits his opinion of our criticisms for argument. We commend the spirit in which he addresses us, and believe very largely in his sincerity.

Dr. Shaw shows very ably his responsibility for the All Race Conference, and strips Dr. Miller entirely of the claim that the All Front Conference adopted his idea; and that we are in error to credit Dean Miller with the thought, when in fact, the idea was enunciated by the Equal Rights League long before Dr. Miller published his idea. Dr. Shaw further explains that Kelly Miller, having failed to answer us satisfactorily, he takes up the cudgel in the interest of the cause. There is no need of our criticising things or the charges that Dr. Shaw brings against us as erroneous, for the reason we would merely be expressing our opinion of his saying, as he was expressing

In harmony with the league's idea, he was appointed chairman pro tem over the executive committee with power to proceed with the organization of the conference under the name of an All Race Conference instead of the Sanhedrin, as Dr. Miller was pleased to call his movement. Atlanta Ga.

Thus, arises a controversy between Dr. Miller and Dr. Shaw as to the authenticity of the conference idea, which is of little concern to the public. The public is not interested in who calls the meeting, but in the character, and purpose of the meeting. Dr. Shaw writes us very largely to inform us that the attempt of Dean Miller to answer our criticisms was futile and unsatisfactory, and did more harm than good, and as president of the promoting organization, the United Front Conference, it was his plain duty to come to the rescue of Dr. Miller and answer the questions that we had raised, and thus the letter published in another column of this paper is the effort of Dr. Shaw to make adequate answer where Dean Miller had failed.

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Dr. M. A. N. Shaw, president of the National Equal Rights League and disabuses our mind of the originality of the Miller idea.

Dr. Shaw shows by evidence, which he submits in the form of resolutions, that in the meeting of the National Equal Rights League in July, 1922, he the head of the league was ordered to call all civic organizations together for the purpose of securing their co-operation in an effort to bring about such a conference as would ally all racial organizations to pull for the general uplift of the race. We were of the impression that Kelly Miller called these race organizations together in New York until Dr. Shaw informed us in an article, which we publish in another column of this issue, that in obedience to the resolutions passed by the National Equal Rights League, July, 1922, he caused the several organizations to meet in New York March, 1923, and not Dr. Miller. And these several organizations organized the permanent United Race Front Conference, for the purpose of promoting the general welfare of the race throughout the nation, and that Kelly Miller was invited to present at this meeting with the idea, and that the action of the conference was not an endorsement of Mr. Miller's program, but was an endorsement of the idea which originated in the Boston meeting of the National Equal Rights League in July, 1922. Dr. Miller's idea being

his opinion of our sayings, and opinions are not always logic or true.

We asked Dean Miller certain questions which he failed to answer, but Dr. Shaw, recognizing the importance of the questions, and that a satisfactory answer was essential necessary to the success of he conference, answered so far as he was personally concerned. We asked Dr. Miller to give us; First, the name of the president and secretary of five of the institutions forming the United Front Conference, the time and place of their election and the number of their membership. Second, their headquarters, occupation, if they had any visible means of support which Dr. Miller understood us to be asking about the moral character of the individuals, which concerns him but little. But Dr. Shaw gives us an account of himself as president of the National Equal Rights League. He tells us that he has three professions: pastor of the Twelfth Street Baptist Church Boston, for twenty-five years, and from which he makes a salary that a Negro editor would be proud of; that he was a practicing physician, at which he made another salary of which an editor would be proud, and that he was a politician, having worked on both sides of the fence, sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican, and that he was a property holder in Suffolk, Norfolk and Middlesex Counties, Virginia.

This was the kind of information we asked Brother Miller for, feeling that if Brother Miller was going to call upon the public to give him $5,000.00, it was his duty to tell the public the character and class of men who would use this money and the purposes for which they would use it. Dr. Shaw comes clean. We have not time to go to Virginia to examine the registrar's book, but we take the good doctor's word.

It is not necessary for Brother Trotter of the league to explain what he does, for everybody knows of the Boston Guardian and of Monroe Trotter. But nobody knows who are the members or officers of the African Blood Brotherhood, the Friends of Freedom, Jernegan's Race Conference or the International Uplift League, their occupations or where they live. This is the information we asked Brother Miller for; not for the moral status of the men. We presumed that if they are race leaders, as they advertise themselves to be, that they are men of good moral repute among their neighbors where they live. So it appears to us that unless Dr. Miller makes a better showing for the All Race Conference, Dr. Shaw had better displace him or place somebody else in charge of the publicity end of the affair, because Dr. Miller has successfully pleaded guilty to the charges we preferred against him for personal gain and self-aggrandizement.

The Negro.

Numbered among our population are some 12,000,000 colored people. Under our constitution their rights are just as sacred as those of any other citizen. It is both a public and a private duty to protect those rights. The congress ought to exercise all its powers of prevention and punishment against the hideous crime of lynching, of which the negroes are by no means the sole sufferers, but for which they furnish a majority of the victims. 12-7-23

Already a considerable sum is appropriated to give the negroes vocational training in agriculture. About half a million dollars is recommended for medical courses at Howard University to help contribute to the education of 500 colored doctors needed each year. On account of the migration of large numbers into industrial centers, it has been proposed that a commission be created, composed of members from both races, to formulate a better policy for mutual understanding and confidence. Such an effort is to be commended. Everyone would rejoice in the accomplishment of the results which it seeks. But it is well to recognize that these difficulties are to a large extent local problems which must be worked out by the mutual forbearance and human kindness of each community. Such a method gives much more promise of a real remedy than outside interference.

NEW MIDNIGHT FROLIC.

Negress Jazz Composer to Sing at Lyric.

The management of the Lyric theater announces it will stage another Midnight Frolic for white patrons Friday night. 12-29-23

The headliner on that night will be Ida Cox, singer and composer of jazz music, whose rendition of her own songs on graphophone records has already attracted attention. Singing and dancing by Pugh and Barbour and by Seels and White will be a feature. Watts and Willis will entertain with stories in Southern dialogue. The doors will open at 11 and the curtain is due to rise at 11:15.

Invitations may be obtained in the lobbies of the big downtown hotels or at the circulation counters of any of the newspapers only.

SALEM, N. C. Journal

DEC 9 1923

THE NEGRO PROBLEM

The negro problem in the south is discussed in the Century magazine for December by Frank Tannenbaum with the same frankness he has employed in studying, in the pages of that magazine, the conditions in southern prisons, the effect of the single cotton crop and other topics of importance to those south of the Mason and Dixon line.

Mr. Tannenbaum believes the only practicable way to meet the problem is to encourage migration of the negro to other parts of the country, and to encourage the immigration to the south of foreign white labor. His reason is that in this way the negro problem will become a national one, the south will be relieved of its preoccupation with the negro, and efforts that soon will be made to keep negro labor in the south will benefit the condition of the black man and improve the attitude of the white man toward him. The influx of new white blood, Mr. Tannebaum believes, will be equally beneficial even though it break down some of the present pride of race that is possessed by southern whites.

In speaking of the preoccupation of the south with the negro, Mr. Tannenbaum writes, "One might really say that the trouble with the south is that it has not trouble enough. It suffers consciously from only one major affliction: it has only one great fear. It has only one great topic of conversation, it has only one great center of emotional excitation, only one scapegoat. What the south needs is more trouble, so that it could diversify its passions, its fears, its hates and see them a little more reflectively, a little more passively, a little more objectively."

He continues, "The present relation must be upset by the introduction of new factors, new elements. The south needs to stop being afraid of the negro. That, however, will occur only when the specter of negro dominance disappears. Destroy once and for all the fear of negro preponderance, and the whole scheme of negro baiting, negro hatred, negro complex, lynching and terror, will go by the board, and the elimination of this fear is the real problem that the far-seeing people of the south must undertake. This is a specific problem, which can, I believe, be achieved."

Migration of negro labor and a gradual substitution of immigrant white labor is the solution presented here. "The communities relieved of the fear of negro dominance will strain themselves, as they are already doing in places, to keep the negro by giving him better schools, better homes, better conditions of life and labor, a better social status. All these factors are bound to react powerfully upon the attitude toward the negro. You can't really hate people whom you put yourself out to serve.

"The migration of the negro will have other far-reaching consequences. It will, if there is any intelligence in the distribution of this large mass of colored workers be a very important factor in breaking down the self-righteous, holier-than-thou attitude on the part of the rest of the country. It will make the negro problem a national problem rather than a sectional one. It will give the north and the west an opportunity to exhibit the greater wisdom, intelligence, kindness, that they have been boasting of; it will put their protestation of good faith to the test of experience, and from indications already available it is very doubtful indeed if they will do better with it than the south has done."

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Board of Missions for Freedmen.

Dr. Clarence E. McCartney, chairman of the standing committee, addressed the Assembly in behalf of the work of the Freedmen's Board and submitted the recommendations of the committee, the principal one of which called for the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill. Dr. McCartney said that this committee had been referred to as an unimportant one but that he was glad to be chairman of it since his father had assisted Negroes in escaping from slavery through the "underground railway," and in the attic of his father's home there was always a room for Negro students. He called attention to the fact that the Negro population of this country was being shaken now as it had not been for a generation, making more earnest efforts in their behalf necessary. He said that there was a very popular society now whose chief business seemed to be to keep the Negro in his place, which place was not that given him in the New Testament. He was of the opinion that if we were to honor the men who are working for Jesus Christ, the chief place should be given to those who were working for Negro welfare. Dr. Gaston, secretary of the board, called attention to the fact that the board was finishing its twenty-three years of work, in all of which there had never been a deficit. Its work is to be done from this time forward by the Division of Missions for Colored People of the National Board of Missions. The discussion of the report was greatly enlivened by contributions to it of colored members of the Assembly.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

AUG 28 1923

THE NEGRO SCANDAL SHEET

It is not unusual that now and then one runs across a sensational journal published for Negroes. Some white people publish such "newspapers," and it would be surprising if no Negroes did. One suspects that the "some white people" are really the ones who are getting out the Negro scandal sheets; no skunk was ever more low-down and mean than a yellow-streaked white man.

For instance, there is the paper called The Chicago Defender. When it comes to reeking in slime, it takes the cake over all slime-reeking journalistic upheavals that have come to our attention heretofore. There is nothing intelligent about its meanness—no phosporescent brilliance that has been discovered in some of the mud that these papers never fail to wallow in. Its appeal is so sordid and its case so badly made out that the intentional inaccuracies are the most prominent part about it.

In mentioning the Chicago paper, it should be said in justice to the average Southern Negro that he doesn't swallow very much of the kind of talk that The "Defender" puts out on its sales counter. There are, of course, in every race those who satisfy a particular abnormal, degraded craving and appetite with just this sort of stuff, and there are those demagogues and false leaders that make use of it for selfish purposes. About the same vicious thing is done in our own race as regards politics; it would be passing strange if the example set did not bear fruit in the race that watches and imitates.

So it is really unnecessary to become excited over the following article in the Chicago paper "devoted to the welfare of the colored race" and which article is a comment on an editorial in the New Orleans States:

What are your privileges North?

Here, by the side of white people of intelligence, fair play and honor, you have the privilege of sending your children to school nine months instead of three; riding on trains and cars like humans, casting a vote in a government you are taxed to support, and going into courts of law without fear of the rope and torch.

Breathe and die in the South. Live and breathe in the North.

Only a heart of scandal, a heart of hate against God's free North could have written this:

"All that the Northerners want out of you is your labor and they do not care what becomes of you outside of that. There is no age-old sentiment in the breasts of the white people of the North towards you, such as is held by the Southern white people towards the Negro."

Call out the fire department!

Watch the "age-old sentiment" in action. Weigh, measure the "sentiment" held by the Southern white people towards the Negro.

That sentiment keeps you in rags, maintains the chain-gang and the convict camp; drags your daughters into the ditch of shame, kicks and cuffs your sons, lies against your name, drives you as if you were cattle, and sends word North, East and West that you will not work.

God once choked the life out of slavery. Again he must come and choke slavery out of the life of Dixie.

The North cares nothing for you? Question the hypocrites and blasphemers, question them by God's truth in New Orleans.

What "sentiment" built New Orleans university and Straight?

Whose money, whose sacrifice, built every Negro college South?

The North has given millions for your education in the South, while the White South has not given even $10,000 in 60 years for your education.

Come North and pay back; come and pay for Northern blood spilled for your freedom and Northern money spent for your education.

But for the North a spelling book would still be a stranger to your eyes and the cotton patch and corn field your only playground.

"Your advancement in much quicker and easier in the South than it would be in the North," Southern Colored people are told by the great New Orleans paper.

Your advancement into a Jim Crow car it not only quicker in Dixie than in the North, but immediate. Ask for a ballot and you are requested to look down the barrel of a cocked gun.

Nail a final lie: "Even the Northern Negroes do not receive the Southern Negroes with open arms and hospitality," says the States.

Nine-tenths of "Northern Negroes" are Southern by birth or immediate ancestry.

The only arms wider open for the Southern Negro than those of his Northern brother are the arms of the calaboose in Dixie. The only hospitality warmer is that of a Southern mob making its black victim feel at home under trying circumstances.

Tell the States to advertise that henceforward Southern people of color may vote, ride as human beings up and down the railroads, have their daughters protected in the courts from white despoilers, send their children to school nine months in each year and the Chicago Defender will help in the campaign to keep the Negro South, if he wants to stay there.

Until then keep coming out.

Better a dunghill for a home in the free North than a mansion on St. Charles Street in New Orleans.

The Final Shot: "The colored people have a wonderful opportunity to achieve and advance in the South," is the States' farewell.

In the North Colored people have a wonderful opportunity to be free, to dress up, learn from the only American White people who know A from bullfoot and give the Ku Klux Klan hell as it gives him.

That used to be racket, but it don't go now!

The "Defender" doesn't seem to be very well versed in facts concerning the South. No defense of the section is needed; the Negroes in the South know wherein they are justly treated and wherein they are not. They are considerably better posted than the defending editors up in Chicago. But one interesting remark might be touched upon. The paper says: "The White South has not given even $10,000 in 60 years for your education." The other day we asked a highly intelligent Negro educator, the head of the Albany normal school, for the figures on the amount spent this year by North Carolina for Negro higher education. Without a pause, he responded that the State is expending $600,000 for one Negro college alone, and some $900,000 for the other Negro colleges in that State.

Some colored man seems to be wrong; and we think he lives up in Chicago.

As to the Negro exodus, it is an excellent thing for both races and both sections.

An Ohio Effort To Incite Racial Prejudice Exploded

"Editor Constitution: In a recent issue of "Sergeant Dalton's Weekly," from Winnfield, La., there appeared this notice:

"Columbus, Ohio, March 28.—Robert Russa Moton, president of Tuskegee institute, in a speech here has declared that the negro was in America to stay and if anybody had to get out, it would be the white man who would have to go."

A marked copy of this weekly has been mailed to Principal Moton and a large number mailed to different people over Macon county and over the south.

Naturally our white citizens, supposing that the quotation was a correct report of the address, felt bitterness against the speaker. It was only recently that the publication came into my hands. I was sure that these words, if said at all, when taken in connection with the full address, would produce a different impression. I had heard Dr. Moton speak on several occasions in Alabama, and read his remarks as he toured Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia on his "Good Will Tours" where he spake to thousands of whites and blacks.

On every occasion he sought to create a better spirit of co-operation among the races, and I was so sure that the circulation of this report was not only doing him injustice, but was unfair to those whites who believe that he is honestly trying to help both races, and that it would tend to injure the influence of that great school, founded by one of the truest friends that the south ever had, that I felt it my duty as a trustee, and as a southern white man, to get a true copy of the speech and to give it to the press, and I append the copy of a letter written to one of the prominent editors of Alabama who had asked if this language was said by him.

"March 31, 1923.

"Mr. Walter F. Miller, Editor The Colbert County Reporter, Tuscumbia, Ala. Dear Sir: I appreciate very much your letter concerning the report of my address in Columbus, Ohio. In reply I wish to say that my address in Columbus, as in other cities of the middle-west, was on 'Inter-Racial Co-operation' and I emphasized the good feeling which existed between the races in the south and the remarkable progress which the negro had made in the past sixty years through the co-operation and support of white people in every community.

"Relative to the point referred to in your letter, my exact statement was as follows:

" 'There are a great many people who say that two races cannot live together in peace and progress, but the white people and colored people have been living together in America, and particularly in the south, in rather close and helpful contact for some three hundred years. While there have been difficulties, the two races have continued to live together for all time, or at least for as long a time as any of us need to worry about. The negro loves America and does not want to leave, and deep down in the heart of the white man, especially of the southern white man, there is no desire for the negro to leave this country. Thus with the negro wanting to stay and the white man likewise desiring him to stay, no power on earth can drive him away. There is in America kindness enough, patience enough and Christianity enough to enable both races to live together in this country, and especially in that section from which I come—the south—in harmony and prosperity, and each can, and I believe will, be of the largest possible service to the other.'

"The preceding is my exact statement and I have used it scores of times, as it expresses my opinion of this question. I am frank to say that the report to which you called my attention is a distortion of my statement.

"Again let me thank you for writing to me concerning the dispatch and calling my attention to the distortion of my statement.

"Very truly yours,

(Signed) "R. R. MOTON,
"Principal."

I believe that the white people of the south have only the kindest feelings for the law-abiding negro, they have all along since his freedom helped to build his schools and churches and are still helping him in thousands of neighborly ways. And I know hundreds of the most intelligent negro leaders of the south, and, like Booker T. Washington and R. R. Moton, they teach and live sobriety, industry, peace and love for their neighbors and neighborhood. And it would be unwise and un-Christian if we allow ourseives wrought up over any sort of a race propaganda.

C. W. HARE,
Attorney-at-Law.

Tuskegee, Ala., April 30, 1923.

AN EXPLODED CANARD.

On this page appears a communication from C. W. Hare, an attorney of Tuskegee, Ala., and a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, puncturing a sordid morsel of racial propaganda sent out from the capital city of Ohio relative to an alleged remark there of Robert R. Moton, president of this negro institution of the south that the late Booker T. Washington made great and famous.

Dr. Moton, who succeeded to the head of Tuskegee after the death of its founder, has promoted and sought always to develop the same spirit of helpful co-operation between the races that Dr. Washington promoted.

Naturally, therefore, when a dispatch from Columbus, Ohio, where he had spoken on April 28 on "inter-racial co-operation," charged him with having said "the negro is in America to stay and if anybody has to get out it will be the white man to go," those of the south who saw it accepted the report as a sinister distortion, coming out of the north, to fire racial prejudices in the south, and without foundation or fact to sustain the statement that Dr. Moton had used any such expression.

Among those who very promptly investigated was the editor of the Colbert Reporter, of Tuscumbia, Ala., and Dr. Moton's reply, which is incorporated as a part of the communication from Attorney Hare, published elsewhere, not only proves convincingly that he made no such statement, but he made no statement that could possibly be construed by the bitterest foe of racial amity as meaning or suggesting any such thought, or otherwise leading an auditor to draw any such inference.

What the Tuskegee president did say as to the two races can live in the south in harmony and prosperity and each can be of the largest possible service to the other."

It is significant that this new attempt to incite racial prejudice —in Ohio, where the negro population is already heavy, and to which state a substantial proportion of the negro exodus from the south is supposed to pilgrimage.

But, whether this particular libel

Race Problem — 1923. United States.

AUG 28 1923

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For instance, there is the paper called The Chicago Defender. When it comes to reeking in slime, it takes the cake over all slime-reeking journalistic upheavals that have come to our attention heretofore. There is nothing intelligent about its meanness—no phosporescent brilliance that has been discovered in some of the mud that these papers never fail to wallow in. Its appeal is so sordid and its case so badly made out that the intentional inaccuracies are the most prominent part about it.

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That sentiment keeps you in rags, maintains the chain-gang and the convict camp; drags your daughters into the ditch of shame, kicks and cuffs your sons, lies against your name, drives you as if you were cattle, and sends word North, East and West that you will not work.

God once choked the life out of slavery. Again he must come and choke slavery out of the life of Dixie.

The North cares nothing for you? Question the hypocrites and blasphemers, question them by God's truth in New Orleans.

What "sentiment" built New Orleans university and Straight?

Whose money, whose sacrifice, built every Negro college South?

The North has given millions for your education in the South, while the White South has not given even $10,000 in 60 years for your education.

Come North and pay back; come and pay for Northern blood spilled for your freedom and Northern money spent for your education.

But for the North a spelling book would still be a stranger to your eyes and the cotton patch and corn field your only playground.

"Your advancement in much quicker and easier in the South than it would be in the North," Southern Colored people are told by the great New Orleans paper.

Your advancement into a Jim Crow car it not only quicker in Dixie than in the North, but immediate. Ask for a ballot and you are requested to look down the barrel of a cocked gun.

Nail a final lie: "Even the Northern Negroes do not receive the Southern Negroes with open arms and hospitality," says the States.

Nine-tenths of "Northern Negroes" are Southern by birth or immediate ancestry.

The only arms wider open for the Southern Negro than those of his Northern brother are the arms of the calaboose in Dixie. The only hospitality warmer is that of a Southern mob making its black victim feel at home under trying circumstances.

Tell the States to advertise that henceforward Southern people of color may vote, ride as human beings up and down the railroads, have their daughters protected in the courts from white despoilers, send their children to school nine months in each year and the Chicago Defender will help in the campaign to keep the Negro South, if he wants to stay there.

Until then keep coming out.

Better a dunghill for a home in the free North than a mansion on St. Charles Street in New Orleans.

The Final Shot: "The colored people have a wonderful opportunity to achieve and advance in the South," is the States' farewell.

In the North Colored people have a wonderful opportunity to be free, to dress up, learn from the only American White people who know A from bullfoot and give the Ku Klux Klan hell as it gives him.

That used to be racket, but it don't go now!

The "Defender" doesn't seem to be very well versed in facts concerning the South. No defense of the section is needed; the Negroes in the South know wherein they are treated and wherein they are not. They are considerably better posted than the deriding editors up in Chicago. But one interesting remark might be touched upon. The paper says: "The White South has not given $10,000 in 60 years for your education." The other day we asked a highly intelligent Negro educator, the head of the Albany normal school, for the figures on the amount spent this year by North Carolina for Negro higher education. Without a pause, he replied that the State is expending $600,000 for one Negro college alone, and some $900,000 for the other Negro colleges in that State.

Some colored man seems to be wrong; and we think he lives up in Chicago.

As to the Negro exodus, it is an excellent thing for both races and both sections

"March 31, 1923.
"Mr. Walter F. Miller, Editor The Colbert County Reporter, Tuscumbia, Ala. Dear Sir: I appreciate very much your letter concerning the report of my address in Columbus, Ohio. In reply I wish to say that my address in Columbus, as in other cities of the middle-west, was on 'Inter-Racial Co-operation' and I emphasized the good feeling which existed between the races in the south and the remarkable progress which the negro had made in the past sixty years through the co-operation and support of white people in every community.

"Relative to the point referred to in your letter, my exact statement was as follows: 'There are a great many people who say that two races cannot live together in peace and progress, but the white people and colored people have been living together in America, and particularly in the south, in rather close and helpful contact for some three hundred years. While there have been difficulties, the two races have continued to live together for all time, or at least for as long a time as any of us need to worry about. The negro loves America and does not want to leave, and deep down in the heart of the white man, especially of the southern white man, there is no desire for the negro to leave this country. Thus with the negro wanting to stay and the white man likewise desiring him to stay, no power on earth can drive him away. There is in American kindness enough, patience enough and Christianity enough, patience both races to live together in this country, and especially in that section in which I come—the south—in harmony and prosperity, and each can, and I believe will, be of the largest possible service to the other.' The preceding is my exact statement and I have used it scores of times, as it expresses my opinion of this question. I am frank to say that the report to which you called my attention is a distortion of my statement.

"Again let me thank you for writing to me concerning the dispatch and calling my attention to the distortion of my statement.

(Signed) "Very truly yours,
"R. R. MOTON,
"Principal."

I believe that the white people of the south have only the kindest feelings for the law-abiding negro, they have all along since his freedom helped to build his schools and churches and are still helping him in thousands of neighborly ways. And I know hundreds of the most intelligent negro leaders of the south, and, like Booker T. Washington and R. R. Moton, they teach and live sobriety, industry, peace and love for their neighbors and wise and un-Christian if we allow ourselves wrought up over any sort of a race propaganda.

C. W. HARE,
Attorney-at-Law.
Tuskegee, Ala., April 30, 1923.

AN EXPLODED CANARD.

On this page appears a communication from C. W. Hare, an attorney of Tuskegee, Ala., and a trustee of Tuskegee Institute, functioning a sordid morsel of racial propaganda sent out from Columbus, Ohio relative to an alleged remark of Robert R. Moton, president of this negro institution of the south that the late Booker T. Washington made great and famous.

Dr. Moton, who succeeded to the head of Tuskegee after the death of its founder, has promoted and sought always to develop the same spirit of helpful co-operation between the races that Dr. Washington promoted.

Naturally, therefore, when a dispatch from Columbus, Ohio, where he had spoken on April 28 on "inter-racial co-operation," charged him with having said "the negro is in America to stay and if anybody has to get out it will be the white man to go," those of the south who saw it accepted the report as a sinister distortion, coming out of the north, to fire racial prejudices in the south, and without foundation or fact to sustain the statement that Dr. Moton had used any such expression.

Among those who very promptly investigated was the editor of the Colbert Reporter, of Tuscumbia, Ala., and Dr. Moton's reply, which is incorporated as a part of the communication from Attorney Hare, published elsewhere, not only proves convincingly that he made no such statement, but he made no statement that could possibly be construed by the bitterest foe of racial amity as meaning or suggesting any such thought, or otherwise leading an auditor to draw any such inference.

What the Tuskegee president did say as to the negro race living in America, and particularly in the south, in co-operation with, and in helpful contact and service with the white race, is what every right thinking and understanding white person, and what every sober, industrious, law-abiding negro thinks and speaks every day — that "the two races can live in the south in harmony and prosperity and each can be of the largest possible service to the other."

It is significant that this new attempt to incite racial prejudice should have originated in the north —in Ohio, where the negro population is already heavy, and to which state a substantial proportion of the negro exodus from the south is supposed to pilgrimage.

But, whether this particular libel

An Ohio Effort To Incite Racial Prejudice Exploded

"Editor Constitution: In a recent issue of "Sergeant Dalton's Weekly," from Winnfield, La., there appeared this notice:

"Columbus, Ohio, March 28.—Robert Russa Moton, president of Tuskegee institute, in an address here has declared that the negro in America to stay and if anybody had to get out, it would be the white man who would have to go."

A marked copy of this weekly has been mailed to Principal Moton and a large number mailed to different people over Macon county and over the railroads, have their daughters protected in the courts from white despoilers, send their children to school nine months in each year and the Chicago Defender will help in the campaign to keep the Negro South, if he wants to stay there.

Until then keep coming out.

Better a dunghill for a home in the free North than a mansion on St. Charles Street in New Orleans.

The Final Shot: "The colored people have a wonderful opportunity to achieve and advance in the South," is the States' farewell.

In the North Colored people have a wonderful opportunity to be free, to dress up, learn from the only American White people who know A from bullfoot and give the Ku Klux Klan hell as it gives him.

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As to the Negro exodus, it is an excellent thing for both races and both sections

should have originated in the north or south does not make any especial difference. There are elements in both sections seeking mischievously at all times to arraign race against race, religion against religion, nationality against nationality, even section against section, and individual against individual; and the quicker the strong arm of the law, through its constituted arms of enforcement, puts down every effort to incite intolerance, the quicker will the ideals of the advanced civilization for which the world war was fought be realized.

In the meantime, it must not be overlooked that the negro belongs to the south and is a part of the south. His best friend is the southern white man.

Discuss Problems of Negro Race

The progress of the negro race in the last 60 years was lauded by speakers at the 24th annual session of the Negro National Educational Congress held at Washington. Senator Spencer of Missouri said this record could be surpassed during the next half century by the unceasing application of patience, education and prayer. "Be patient when some states act unjustly with you," he warned, "for the time will come when the rights of American citizens, white or black, will be safeguarded by the entire nation. Remember Lincoln and practice patience, suffering injustice if necessary." Senator Fess of Ohio declared that there is no deeper or more sincere loyalty to America than that found in the negro race. "We don't find bolshevism among the negroes," he remarked; "we don't find anti-government movement among the negroes, nor do we find anything among them that is un-American. When I stop to realize the short time that the black men have been citizens and think of the progress they have made in that time, I know there is nothing in the world that can equal it." He rapped the Ku Klux Klan by contending that "any organization which denies the black race what it wants for itself is un-American."

President Harding was unable to attend but sent a letter in which he said that the education of the negro is "precisely the right approach to the great problem." He wrote: "The same might be said of every other race or nation but it is particularly true of the colored people because they have been so little favored with educational opportunities and therefore have a great deficit in this regard to be made up." Letters were also read from the governors of Montana, Iowa, Illinois, Oklahoma, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Kansas.

Senator McCormick of Illinois, referring to the lynching question, declared that "once the Christian people in America are awakened to the evil that has been going on within their country, they will go far to put an end to it. Commenting on the employment of negroes in the U. S. treasury department, Harley Speelman, registrar of the treasury, said in employing so many he was only doing his duty and that he was highly pleased with their work.

The negro race should concentrate in some place where it can gain economic and political control, in the opinion of Rev. Henry Callis of the African M. E. church. He remarked that Virginia logically belongs to the negro and that the race should seek to control that state. He said if the negroes would talk less and work more, in 25 years Virginia would be in their hands. "No race can become great that has not got its feet in the soil," he continued. "Negroes should work the truck farms, prune the orchards, dredge for oysters and manufacture the products in that state. The white people are waiting for some negro that has backbone enough to lead his people to political control. A few negroes with a few thousand dollars could start such a movement." He called attention to President Harding's Alabama speech in which the chief executive said: "I see no way for the black man but to fall in behind the white man until such time as he can control the legislators."

Any move to change the designation "negro" should be thwarted according to John Painter of Colorado. "I am proud of the name," he told the session; "we sprang from it, we are it and we can't get away from it, and the thing for us to do is not to change it but to work to make it mean the best in citizenship." As a result of a recent trip around the world in which he studied the conditions of the black and brown races, Rev. Charles Stewart of the African M. E. church told his hearers that no country in the world gives the negro better opportunities than the United States. He said that if the negroes build homes, become producers, seek education and elevation America will stand ready to recognize them as good citizens. Dr. Stewart declared that since Booker T. Washington there has been no man of whom it could be said "he represents the negroes." He warned against the negro dabbling in petty and cheap politics. "Politics of the right sort should be encouraged," he said, "but the grafting, vote-buying variety should be stamped out, and the sooner it is done the better off the race will be."

In discussing negro secret societies, Miss Maggie Walker, president of a negro bank at Richmond, declared such organizations are beneficial and there are not enough. However, Prof. J. E. Johnson of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial School, Prentiss, Miss., believes there are too many and that they put too much expense on the race. Gov. Sweet of Colorado sent a telegram to the convention inviting negro farmers from the South to work in his state. The session went on record as favoring "identical education for white and black youths" and declared its faith in the U. S. congress. 9/24/23

J. Silas Harris, of Missouri, who was elected president of the congress, argued that the future does not hold out much hope for the race unless a better relationship is established between the whites and blacks. He said that the present relationship is precarious. A resolution of the convention concluded: "We unalterably declare our faith in God and the religion of Jesus Christ as the saving element of the race, of the nation and of humanity."

Race Problem—1923
United States.

NOW MY IDEA IS THIS!

Daily Talks With Thinking Philadelphians on Subjects They Know Best

PHILADELPHIA EVE. BRIDGE
FEBRUARY 19, 1923

MRS. ANNE BIDDLE STIRLING
On a Better Mutual Understanding of Two Races

THE extraordinary migration of Negroes from the Southern to the Northern States which began a few years ago has created some difficult problems for both sections of the country, and these can only be solved by a better mutual understanding of the races, says Mrs. Anne Biddle Stirling, chairman of the Inter-Racial Committee of Philadelphia.

"Since about 1912," said Mrs. Stirling, "the white men of the South, especially the business men, have begun to realize the fact that the Negroes, upon whom the South is chiefly dependent for its labor, were leaving that section in very large numbers and coming to the North for a variety of reasons. The situation has recently reached the point where the industries of the South are menaced for lack of the necessary workers.

Huge Migration During War

"About 1915 and all through the period in which the United States was involved in the World War about 500,000 Negroes came North. Immigration from foreign countries had been cut off and the industries of the North regularly imported free of cost the Negroes of the South to take the places in industry of the white men who had gone abroad or who were engaged in war work.

"This was the real beginning of what has since proved to be an extraordinary migration northward. There had always been the fear of lynching and the appreciation on the part of the more intelligent of the Negroes of the lack of educational and other opportunities for their children, and the industrial crisis brought about by the war simply speeded up this great migration.

"The South soon became aware of the situation and did everything in its power to stop it, but with only partial success. The Chambers of Commerce of the large cities and the educated and far-seeing men of the South declared that the only practicable way to stop this wholesale leaving was to make the South attractive to Negroes; if this were not done the North would get them and the South would not have the necessary labor to conduct its industries. There were men in the South who had tried to solve the problem from the moral and religious standpoint, but this method had met with but little success.

The Atlanta Plan

"Finally the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta adopted what is now known as the 'Atlanta Plan.' This, in brief, was to insist that through the courts and the other legal machinery of the South full justice be done the Negro; to make immediate and radical changes in the housing condition of the Negro families; to provide for safe and comfortable public traveling conditions for them, and to fulfill the obligations of the stronger race toward the weaker one in the matter of educational facilities.

"The work in Philadelphia began in 1919, when I was appointed chairman of a committee of fourteen at the Yearly Meeting, and we first took up the matter of lynching. We made an intensive study of the causes and responsibility and soon came to the conclusion that the North did not know anything about the Negro. They knew, of course, that there were educated Negroes; they did not know them, nor where they were.

"The educated Negro is retiring and usually keeps closely to his own race, for which he is doing a great work; it is only the ignorant and pushing representatives of the race who come closely into contact with the white and therefore it is this kind by which the whites usually judge the whole race.

The Philadelphia Committee

"In 1920 the Philadelphia Inter-Racial Committee was established, and we called into our conferences two highly educated Negroes and found them to be exceedingly intelligent, well informed and altruistic men. The first meetings were on various points, such as segregation, social equality and the like, but were largely devoted to getting acquainted and to showing the representatives of the other race that we meant well and wanted to get all the light that we could upon their situation and their problems.

"We also had to find out in these early meetings whether we could work with their ideals, and, somewhat to the surprise of some, we found these to be pretty much the same as our own would have been in a similar position and that these ideals were perfectly reasonable. Where people were unreasonable it was because they did not know anything about inter-racial matters.

"At the next meeting the committee was doubled in number, and we tried to make it absolutely undenominational and include representatives of all religions. Then some members of the federated church organization asked me to tell them about the movement, and we got thirty members more from that body.

Different from Southern Job

"We took in southeastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, but people came to us from six States. There will be an inter-racial conference here in April which will be largely attended.

"Our job is very different from that of the South in the whole matter, largely because of a great division of sentiment. We are not affiliated with the Southern movement, but are constantly in close touch with it. In the South Mr. James H. Dillard is at the head of the movement, and he knows more about the whole situation than any other man in the United States.

"There are now 600 inter-racial committees in the South, and their method of procedure is, wherever danger threatens or there is bad feeling between the races, the representatives of both whites and Negroes get together and go over the whole situation and decide what is the best method to follow. Usually this has been very efficacious in preventing serious trouble and in restoring good feeling.

"These men are getting the women together, and forming them into State committees, and women are sent out to tell what must be done to save the women and the children of the Negro race from exploitation.

An Erroneous Viewpoint

"Our findings, in pursuance of our campaign against prejudice, were that the great majority of the white people cannot think straight on the Negro question. We have paid virtually no attention to it since the Civil War; we thought of them only as servants and did not know by experience that there were any highly educated Negroes.

"No race in the history of the world has made such a jump in the acquirement of a higher civilization in sixty years as have the Negroes of this country since the Civil War, but the majority of the white race do not know anything about this. This and other things of importance to the well-being of both races it is our aim to teach, and surely it needs to be taught.

"Our idea is to have some sort of a yearly meeting in which the whole matter, which vitally involves two races, may be discussed with profit to both. There is no doubt that in the constant influx from the South, which has now been going on for some years, there is a certain proportion of young Negroes who are decidedly tough and who come North with the idea that they are going to the land of promise where they can do just as they please. These constitute one of the great problems before us.

Interpreting the Races

"There is no doubt that these young men are a menace to the good order of a community. They think that they are free, but what they actually demand is not freedom, but license, and the great trouble is that there is at present no place where they can be taken in.

"As a result of this there are occasional gruesome happenings, such as have occurred at Coatesville and at Wilmington within the last decade or two. Every industrial center where the migrants congregate in large numbers should have an Inter-Racial Committee, which will take the necessary steps to interpret the races one to the other. This is the logical and proved method of meeting such a situation.

"This work should be carried on throughout the State, and every year delegates from each of the communities should hold a convention of at least two days, at which the captains of industry and other leaders should talk things over in a frank and friendly manner.

"It is easily understood why the people of the North have not taken up this very important matter, but the time has now arrived when it must do so for the benefit of both races. The question has now passed beyond the bounds of a local matter and become a national problem."

The Old Grouch I found peculiar interest, remarked Demosthenes McGinnis, in the story in Saturday's EVENING PUBLIC LEDGER of the man who got into the wrong house and proceeded to undress and was severely beaten before he was allowed to establish his identity. If it serves to induce builders to quit building houses in row, the beating will not have been in vain. There is nothing more depressing than a walk in some of our residence districts where the houses all look alike, alike flat, stale and unprofitable to everybody but the landlord. Far otherwise is downtown Philadelphia, as delightful as some of the outlying districts are depressing. Some day, let us hope, houses will again be built with artistry and good taste.

NEGRO CONFERENCE IN LOUISVILLE

Kansas City Star
3/24/'23.

200 DELEGATES FROM 20 CITIES AT NEGRO CONFERENCE

The Kansas City Star

Two hundred or more of the leading Negro city pastors of the Methodist Episcopal Church will gather in Louisville, Kentucky, from May 9th to 13, to discuss the problem facing the church and the race in northern and southern cities, and to arrive at means of their solution. The conference will be held under the auspices of the Bureau of Negro Work, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. W. A. C. Hughes, Director of the Bureau, will preside. Dr. I. Garland Penn, Jr., will be conference host.

The Conference will make a special study of the movement of Negroes from South to North, noticeable during and since the World War. It will consider the results of this migration upon southern agriculture, southern cities, and upon the cities and industries which the Negroes are entering in the North. The trend of large numbers of Negroes away from the rural sections into southern cities with the new problems of congestion, public health, housing, church crowding and school crowding, will also be considered. At least one session will be devoted to a consideration of Negro health in urban centers, and those health problems connected with the moving of thousands of people to a more northerly climate.

The four-day program now being arranged by Dr. Hughes will include some of the leading men of the Negro race, inside and outside the church. Bishop Robert E. Jones, of New Orleans, the first Negro bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will have a prominent part on the program. About twenty of the largest cities in the country will be represented by delegates.

This is the second conference of Negro city pastors to be held by the Bureau of Negro Work. The first was held last year in Atlanta, Georgia, where for the first time in the history of Methodism religious leaders of both North and South met to discuss their particular city and racial problems. Some valuable plans were projected at the Atlanta meeting and have been in the process of being carried out since that time. They include: the organization of "city missionary societies" in all cities having three or more Negro Methodist churches, for the purpose of helping the weaker parishes; the use of church buildings seven days in the week as social and educational as well as religious centers; the adoption of programs of recreation, health and sanitation lectures, class instruction in industrial arts and kindred subjects.

OWENS DENIES BIBLE AND BACHS PICKENS.

Messenger Editor in March Issue Makes Statement Supporting Views of Contributing Editor.

(Crusader Service)

New York, March 24.—Resenting the storm of disapproval evoked from many ministers throughout the country by the sentiments contained in his article in the February Messenger in which he disavows belief in a material hell and in most of the fundamental beliefs of Christians, Dean Pickens promises to reply in a forthcoming issue of the magazine. 3-31-23

That the Dean is not alone in his views is proved by the statement of Chandler Owen, editor of The Messenger, in the March issue in which the boldly states that "we accept no Bibles or creeds." Mr. Owen, whose disbelief is even more sweeping and general than that of Prof. Pickens will soon start on a lecture tour and is scheduled to speak on "Is Salvation Really Free?" as one of many radical subjects he will deal with. Many preachers have announced their intention to deny their churches to the Dean and it is expected that even more drastic action will be taken against Owen, who, curiously enough, solicits engagements in churches on his Western speaking tour this Spring. Owen who is regarded as a Black Ingersoll in radical circles in New York is noted for his extreme views in opposition to Christianity and all forms of revealed religion.

KEEPING THE SOUTH SOLID

In the current number of *Collier's Weekly* there appears an article by a country editor of North Carolina, who announces that he dares speak for the younger generation of the South. This editor whose name is W. O. Saunders, publishes a weekly paper at Elizabeth City, N. C. Measured by the rooted standards of the white South Mr. Saunders would be styled broad-minded and progressive. He thinks that the South is bored by its own solidarity and tired of being caled solid, but "its political life is still largely influenced by old men, many of whom were early maimed in mind and spirit, hopelessly embittered by a bitter past." He further admits that "the most sinister influence is the Ku Klux Klan, the extent of which organization no one exactly knows."

Having thus indicated the extent of Mr. Saunders' broad-mindedness and progressiveness, it will prepare us to hear, even if it strains belief, that the South "isn't as solid as it appears to be." He says on this point:

> Even among the older heads I can point you to leaders of industry and finance who vociferously proclaim their Democracy in municipal, county and state elections and quietly vote for Republican "protection" in a national election. And the South generally today is stirred by a spirit of revolt and independence which manifests itself in countless splits and factions in the Democratic party itself.

Notwithstanding this admission of Democratic disintegration, the North Carolina editor deals this damper to the aspirations of the "Lilywhite" Republicans, who hoped to profit thereby. He says:

> The Republican party can never break the Solid South so long as the race issue lives, because the Republican party has so far committed itself to the Negro that it cannot break with him now. The Republicans in the South may declare themselves "Lily White," but the Republicans in the North do not dare; they have got to coddle the Negro to hold the Negro vote and have a little solidarity of their own; and the Negro vote must be paid for with offices. The Negro knows exactly what he wants in politics, and he is a hard trader. When he doesn't get what he wants, he bolts, as was evident in several Eastern States in the recent November election.

This involutary tribute to the political sagacity of the Negroes in the North from such a source is to be viewed with suspicion. Mr. Saunders' object is undoubtedly to magnify the importance of the Negro vote in the North, thus creating jealousy and confusion in Republican ranks and making its seperation not only possible but permanent.

Coincident with this attempt at political strategy from North Carolina, has been the setting adrift of certain straws of Southern expression calculated to mollify or cajole racial sentiment favorable to the South. First among these straws was the "Mammy monument" project, started by the Daughters of the of the Confederacy with the approval of Congress, for the erection of a memorial to the black mammies of the South at Washington, D. C. Then came the South Carolina legislature with a proposition to pension those Negroes who served their masters, while the latter were fighting for the Confederacy. Unusual publicity was given in the newspaper accounts to the funeral of a faithful black employee in a Southern city, which was attended not only by his white employer, but by the city officials and best white citizens. Special newspaper publicity has been given to the action of ex-Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, when as Director of Railroads during the World War, he maintained the principle of equal wages for black and white railroad employees. The fact that Mr. McAdoo is one of the leading candidates for the Democartic nomination for the Presidency may have nothing at all to do with the revival of this creditable attitude on his part.

These various straws, taken in connection with Mr. Saunders' contention that "the South is all dressed up for adventure, but has no inviting place to go," would indicate that the South is counting on the division of the Negro vote as a preliminary to this adventure. The South has invited this division in its municipal elections, both for city officials and for the issue of improvement bonds. Now it looks as if it would carry the principle a step further and apply it to State, Congressional and Presidential elections. The Negro has always been responsive to fair treatment in other lines, and if a fair deal in politics is offered him, the time is propitious for it.

UNITED-FRONT RACE ORGANIZATION MEET

TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK CITY MARCH 22ND, 23RD, CHIEF OFFICERS OF 5 EQUAL RIGHTS BODIES WITH KELLY MILLER INDIVIDUALLY AS AUTHOR OF A SPLENDID CALL — BOSTON MEETING FOR ON-TO-NEW YORK AT 12TH BAPTIST CHURCH MARCH 21, 1923

On March 22nd and 23rd in New York City will be held the Initial Conference of the United Race Front Movement by Organization working for protection and rights for Colored Americans.

The call is one issued by the national president of the National Equal Rights eague in accord with the vote of the eLague at its annual meeting in Boston last July, Rev. M. A. N. Shaw of Boston. When Prof. Kelly Miller issued his call for a united race convention, Rev. Shaw consented to collaborate with him, and invite him to this preliminary conference of the chief officials of the 5 leading bodies oon equal rights, the National Race Congress, National Asso. for Advancement of Colored People, African Blood Brotherhood, Universal Uplife League and Equal Rights League.

Cyril Y. Briggs of the African Blood Brotherhood is the executive secretary for the first initial conference March 27, 1923.

On-to-New York

The local Boston, Mass., meeting to send officials of the National Equal Rights League to this conference, and the only meeting will be held on Thursday night, March 21st, in the 12th Baptist church and should be crowded. This is the most promising issue for race unification ever attempted in the history of our race.

Booker T. Washington Was Right

"Dr. Booker T. Washington knew, and the Negro as a race knows that the economic problem lies at the very heart of the welfare of any race. The possibility of honest bread is the noblest possibility of civilization and it is the indispensible condition of thrift, probity and truth. No people can do what is right, or love what is good, if they cannot earn what they need." This statement is one of the many new evidences of a conscience stricken South. This statement is part of a speech made by Milton E. Fies, vice president of the DeBardeleben Coal Company, before the annual meeting of the Alabama Mining Institute at Birmingham. This company may have for years practiced what they heretofore, perhaps, were afraid to preach. However the entire speech is unusually strong and is well worth reading by thoughtful students of the subject.



HON. "CHARLIE" ANDERSON
Veteran office-holder, lucky to land old place under Harding at last—Harding's only outside D. C.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes Advises Non-Resistance Policy As Aid to Negro

Dr. John Hayes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, in the heart of the theatrical district, and nationally known for his radical views on religion, spoke to a large congregation, representing the membership and friends of the Harlem Community Church, at Renaissance Casino on Sunday night, May 13.

Dr. Holmes' subject was "True Religion, the Salvation of the Negro." After telling ho wreligion had kept the Negroes hopeful during the dark days of slavery and had played a large part in securing their freedom, he spoke at length on the things he considered as the fundamentals of true religion, enumerating a belief in God, a belief in the kinship of all men, and love as some of these fundamentals. He concluded his address by saying that he considered it suicidal for the Negro race in America to fight the many injustices heaped upon it by hating the people who do them and by matching physical force against them. He recommended the example of Gandhi in India to the colored races in America and declared that only by non-resistance and by doing good unto those who despitefully use the Negro could a full measure of justice and equality be gained.

Others on the program were the Rev. and Mrs. Ethelred Brown, who sang a duet, and Mrs. W. A. Domingo, who rendered a piano solo.

RACE PREJUDICE IS BUILT UPON MYTH

Says North and South Must Work Together In The Solution of Problem.

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C., June 1.—"No longer can the south be left to solve the race problem," said Graham R. Taylor, of Chicago, speaking before the closing session of the national conference of social work in session here, pointing out that by migration it had spread to a national question, and "the north can no longer point the finger of scorn at the south's violence toward the Negro."

Race prejudice, Mr. Taylor said, will not be diminished, even though the Negro may become further advanced, until the white people have learned to overcome many of the prejudices now held against the Negroes, which in some instances, are founded upon a background of myth, misunderstanding and, misinformation. Indeed, the advance of the Negro may bring with it the increase of prejudice unless time-honored white prejudices are combatted, with the result that the present-day race problem and its solution must "start with the whites," he declared.

Miss Laura J. Abbott, of the U. S. Department of Labor, was elected president of this organization. Many prominent colored social workers representing some 20 organizations, were present, among them being Eugene K. Jones, J. R. E. Lee, Charles S. Johnson, Jesse O. Thomas, Monroe N. Work, E. T. Attwell, George E. Haynes, Miss Beulah Terrell, Miss Hazel Lyman, Miss Bondine Lee, David Jones, William R. Conners, John T. Clark, Miss Willie Brown, Miss Alice Hull, John C. Dancy, Jr., A. J. Allison, William M. Ashby, Gordon H. Simpson, Maurice Moss, Mrs. J. F. Horne, R. L. Elzy, J. H. Hubert, Miss Eva Bowles, Miss Anna L. Holbrook, Miss Anita Williams, Mrs. Sarah Fernandis, and Forrester B. Washington.

Race Problem – 1923.
United States.

NEW YORK HERALD
JUNE 3, 1923

Says Some U. S. Problems Can't Be Solved

Among These Sir Basil Thomson Includes the Negro and the Automobile

By SIR BASIL THOMSON, K. C. B.
Former Director of the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard

EDUCATED Americans are alive to the gravity of the social problems that confront the nation. One or two of these are insoluble, and therefore, like wise men, they do not allow them to disturb their sleep. Foremost, of course, is the negro problem. It is unthinkable that the negro can be absorbed, and the comfortable belief entertained by some that tuberculosis and other ills to which the negro is peculiarly susceptible is preventing the increase of the race is a fallacy. The problem will have to be left to posterity to deal with.

The Ku Klux Klan movement is probably only a passing phenomenon. It has nothing in common with the old Klan, except the name. The old Klan rescued the South from the carpetbagger, and helped to unify the country in those dark hours that followed the civil war; the new Klan professes to wage war against modern social evil, but in reality it fosters animosity against the Roman Catholics, the Jews and the colored people. It can do no possible good, and it may do much harm. Its use of the mask opens the door to the adoption of disguse by violent criminals who will not be slow to copy the form of the Klansman's mask when they have old scores to settle. It is a danger which the Klansmen should have been the first to appreciate if they really valued their good name.

Some unthinking people have likened the movement to the Italian Fascist Movement, but the Fascist works openly and scorns the use of masks. The Klansmen's defense for the mask, or rather the defense of those with whom I have talked, is that some people are shy of joining a movement, however much they approve of its objects, if they have to come out into the open. One would have thought that recruits so destitute of moral courage were scarcely worth enrolling. I venture the suggestion, which I make without any disrespect to the Klan, that without the masks there would be no recruits.

Mistake to Treat Ku Klux as a Joke.

We do not all, like St. Paul, put away childish things when we become men. Children love "dressing up." In European countries the grownups indulge this harmless weakness by donning glittering uniforms, wigs and gowns and the other trappings of court and official life. Americans have no such outlet for the subconscious instinct, but they get much satisfaction out of masks and passwords and the secret nocturnal ritual provided for them by the Klan.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to treat the movement as a joke. No movement that condemns the law by taking the law into its own hands is to be treated lightly. But it would also be a mistake to pay it the compliment of passing special legislation to deal with it. The existing law is good enough provided it is enforced, for whenever the Klan proceeds to the execution of its sentences it must necessarily bring itself within the scope of the ordinary criminal law and the police can deal with the individual members of it. I feel sure that if it does not find a better and more logical program the Klan will die a natural death, and therefore there is no room for serious uneasiness, even though ministers of religion and certain highly placed persons are members of it.

I think that the "dope" problem, serious as it is, will be solved. In Europe people are working on it with some success. The severe sentences passed upon traffickers in England have had the effect of running up the price until drugs are beyond the reach of all but the well to do. This has not abated the evil altogether and the present plan is to control the traffic at its source through a committee working under the League of Nations. Most of the commercial product comes from Germany; the present German Government is not adverse to helping to control it and in due course cocaine and the more dangerous heroin and its kind will be rare and difficult to get. That is the only satisfactory solution, for people will always be found to run the risk of arrest for so lucrative a traffic.

The increase in the number of automobiles in the United States has produced a crop of problems of which some seem quite insoluble. I was told that there are thirteen million cars on the road, and I can well believe it. In England the number is drastically regulated by an annual tax of $5 per horsepower, which amounts in the case of a Ford car to $110 a year—nearly one-third the value of the car. Automobile owners in England have also to pay anywhere from 50 to 60 cents a gallon for their gasoline, and the automobile is therefore beyond the means of a poor man. The police in large cities are quite obdurate about parking and owners who ride to their offices in automobiles have to take a chauffeur with them to bring the car back. In America parking has become an institution, and it is too late to go back.

Our Traffic Problem Is More Difficult.

But where is it to end? If the streets of some middle West town are to remain open for traffic some contrivance like a huge garage—amply provided with elevators—will have to be erected in the business sections. That will go only a little way toward solving the traffic problem, which becomes more difficult every day. The traffic police do their work admirably in most cities, but in New York the problem is far more serious than anything we have in London, and it is handled with great skill. The system of towers on Fifth avenue is ingenious, but it is not perfect, for there are many times in the day when the main stream is automatically held up for traffic from the side streets when these are empty. After careful examination of London from the point of view of the traffic towers, we came to the conclusion that in a city with so many converging streams of traffic they would be a hindrance rather than a help.

The automobile is affecting social life profoundly in all countries, but in none so much as in America. It has of course given birth to a new breed of crime, from the automobile theft to the robbery under arms by gangs from distant towns, who make elaborate plans beforehand and use the stolen automobile to get away with their plunder.

If they have come from over the border of a neighboring State and the police have evidence against them, the cumbrous and antiquated procedure of extradition from one State to another has to be put in motion; and yet, with all of its problems for the police, if the automobile were to be the means of breaking down the parochialism which seems to be inherent in the system of government by States it will have done a service which cannot be measured. This parochial outlook struck me very much as I went West and South. One notices it in the newspapers as well as in conversation.

Two cities such as Cincinnati and St. Louis are not in the least concerned in the affairs of one another; still less are they interested in New York and Chicago, and very little indeed in the proceedings in Washington or in the European capitals. The enormous distances between city and city are doubtless the cause of this. Each city depends for the formation of public opinion upon its own newspapers, and there is no corrective in the shape of a metropolitan newspaper circulating in all parts of the country, as in England and most of the western European countries—indeed, with the exception of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Literary Digest* and perhaps the New York *Times*, no newspaper can be said to circulate far outside the borders of its own State. For a country so vast it is unfortunate that the political capital, Washington, and the commercial capital, New York, should both lie on its extreme Eastern shore; the wonder is that so vast a country should be held firmly together as it is by the one bond of being American.

That bond is insoluble. The weak point, as it seems to me, is the insistence upon State rights and the impatience against Federal legislation and Federal control. I am told that this feeling is not as strong as it was, but I confess that I thought it stronger than it ought to be. The wisdom of those who framed the Constitution could not foresee how mod-

ern facilities for communication would develop, and how injuriously diversity of laws in such matters as divorce, succession to property, punishment for crime and extradition would affect the well being of the community. The agitation for State rights seems to be based upon the fiction that the United States is still a confederation of separate entities whereas it has become one undivided country which can no longer wrap itself in splendid isolation now that the economic system of the world knows no frontiers.

A traveler from another country will notice in the West and middle West a certain feeling—it cannot be described by so strong a word as jealousy or even disapproval—toward New York. She is coming to be regarded as the idle pleasure loving sister whose fashions set the virtuous stay-at-home family in a flutter of secret envy and open disapproval. When all of the institutions of the country ought to be making for whole hearted unity, the university of laws in the State legislatures seem to be tending in the opposite direction. In a country so huge, with local interests so diverse, the principle of local self government must of course be maintained, but it ought not, I suggest, to extend to matters that are of universal application such as those I have mentioned. The principle of State rights has already had to yield to organizations such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, and before the country is much older, doubtless it will be found that further concessions have to be made.

Taxation Is a Cause of Grumbling.

I was amused to hear my American friends grumble about taxation: it reminded me of home. In the view of any Englishman the Americans do not know what taxation is. Long may they remain in happy ignorance, for if they had to pay income tax on the scale exacted in the British Isles their constitutional good nature might break down.

After traveling the length and breadth of the land I have ceased to be surprised at the despair of the Russian Communist of ever converting the country to the creed of Karl Marx. There was a time, not many months ago, when people became seriously alarmed at the growth of radicalism under the red flag. The fact is, as compared with other countries America is a paradise for the artisan. In no other country in the world can the skilled workman afford to ride to his work in an automobile; in no other country can he enjoy such opportunities for improving his position. The whole temper of the people is individualistic, and it is difficult to imagine a condition of things, even in a passing wave of commercial depression and unemployment, which would incline them to consider the experiment of collectivism. The radical agitator may succeed in winning followers among the foreign born; these, in spleen at their powerlessness, may resort to outrage, but the intelligence of the mass of the American people will remain sane and unimpaired. Sporadic outrage would be no new thing—and if it s[hould] come it would have the effect of ing public opinion to the danger it is running in undermanning its police.

I learned in the middle West the proper way for conducting public charities. I was first introduced to the Community Chest in Cleveland, where a fund amply sufficient for all the charitable needs of the city had already been collected. The great merit of the system lies in the discouragement it gives to the bogus or doubtful charity, for its promoters cannot hope to collect money independently and before they can draw upon the Community Chest they have to satisfy a vigilant and expert committee that their accounts are properly kept and that their funds are properly expended. I wish that the system could be introduced into England on the model set by Cleveland—it would certainly be unpopular among the wrong kind of people.

Avoids Burning Question of Prohibition.

I have no impressions to give about prohibition, because I saw very little of it, and also because it is a burning question—a question so incandescent in some parts of the country that I should not care to touch it with my naked hands.

America is passing through a period of great material prosperity, but the sky is not cloudless. The industrial pace seems to me to be too hot to last. Though individualism may be a safeguard agai the foolish creed of the extreme Socialist, it is impossible to believe that it is to go forever unchallenged. Labor is bound to assert itself as a class, and a class that will demand recognition as a political party; when that comes the struggle will be the graver for having been so long delayed. Then people will look back on these days much as we in England look back on the '80s and '90s as a time of plenty and profound peace, which, of course, they were not. Fortunately for humanity there is one thing in the world which is as old and unchanging as the hills, and that is human nature, which may be scored by torrents and swept by floods, but will always emerge when the waters have subsided with all its familia. outlines unchanged.

Every Englishman Should Travel Here.

A tour through the United St ought to be part of the education of every Englishman, just as no American should consider his education complete until he has taken a tour through England, avoiding the hotels which cater for American tourists. Nothing is so humbling to the insular pride to which we are all subject, or so disinfecting to the mind. It is always a shock to find that our own country has something still to learn, when we were brought up to believe that its only mission was to teach, but it is the kind of shock that is much needed in these days. Whether we like it or not our two countries seem destined in the future to police the world together, and when that time comes mutual respect and admiration are going to make our task the easier. A true knowledge of one another is the first step; the other things will inevitably follow.

I count myself happy to be among those few Englishmen who have learned to know and love the Americans in their own home, to have made many friends among them and to have realized what an enormous force they will be in molding the destinies of the world in the generations to come.

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This is the second article of what America taught him. By Sir Basil Thomson. The third and last will appear next Sunday.

JANUARY 28, 1923

SOUTHERN CULTURE.

THE TIMES has spoken in praise of those admirable periodicals, The Reviewer of Richmond and The Double Dealer of New Orleans. While hospitable to Northern writers, they have the larger merit of bringing out a native and original talent. They are part of a literary and artistic renaissance that is going on in many Southern States. The Poetry Society of Texas is a strong co-operator in this revival. Savannah, Jacksonville and some other cities have poetry societies whose intelligent activity and influence are acknowledged. These people are no dabblers and poetasters. They are producing high and serious work, much of it of undeniable beauty and felicity.

The Year Book of the Poetry Society of South Carolina, founded in 1920, records a real achievement not only in poetry but in all the sister arts. In Charleston the Carolina Art Association, which has a beautiful building of studios and galleries, conducts a successful Winter art school. To this association is due the All-Southern Exhibition of Paintings, which has become a highly regarded experiment in American artistic life. A year or two ago Miss ALICE R. HUGER SMITH'S water colors of the Carolina "low country," shown in various cities at once interested critics in Charleston art. The Charleston Museum, through its children's classes in painting, modeling, and so on, is broadening the revival and preparing it for the next generation. The Charleston Musical Society and the Musical Art Club bring the famous Symphony Orchestra and concert performers to that city every year.

o colleges of the State hold annual al festivals. Original with Charles- as the

negro gathering for the purpose presenting and preserving racial spirituals" and folk-songs. Through the co-operation of both races large choruses were drilled in the city and quartets and soloists assembled from the Sea Islands and coast country. This concert, which was widely attended by students and lovers of folk-lore as well as of music, was an inspiring success. It is hoped that the movement will result in an annual folk-song convention.

South Carolina has its "little theatre" the Town Theatre of Columbia. We must mention the honorable part alued contemporary:

> Through the co-operation of The State, Columbia's daily newspaper, with the theatre, the idea of an uncommercialized drama has been, we believe, carried further than any other similar movement in America. The plan which has been evolved is briefly this: The State offers substantial prizes to winners in drama contest. The winning plays are presented at the Town Theatre by casts of "student actors" who are given free, practical instruction in acting. The plays are then taken on tour to towns within the State. The author receives the customary royalties for such performances, and at the same time secures critical expression from various types of audience. Thus the play is written, produced and presented before several audiences, without a commercial step in the process, while those aspiring to the careers of actors are given an opportunity to secure training and actual experience of dramatic life at no expense to themselves. The Town Theatre is also ready to welcome poets, musicians nad lecturers on the arts, and acts as a centre of art for Columbia and its surrounding country.

This is only a little of the fruitful effort of the Poetry Society and the other workers for cultivation in the arts. The society offers prizes for poetry. In this Year Book are included poems, some of them by distinguished Northerners, some of them signed by famous Palmetto names, PINCKNEY, RUTLEDGE; one prize poem by a RAVENEL. A new choir of young, genuine South Carolina "makers and singers" is heard. Yet a little while ago we Northern folks thought of HENRY TIMROD and PAUL HAYNE as the only South Carolina poets; and knew them usually only as names. The literary and artistic revival in the South has come swiftly. It is unforced. spontaneous, strong, and gathering strength.

Race Problem—1923
United States.

McCord's Bulletin

The Atlanta Independent

In 1900 Georgia made goods worth 94 millions and North Carolina 85 millions. 5/4/23

In 1920 the Georgia product was 692 millions and that of North Carolina 943 millions.

5/7/23

—Blue Book, Manufacturers' Record.

Georgia not only has more land, more people and more railroads, but has more capital, more labor and more varied resources than any other Southeastern State.

It has the greatest technical school in this section, with graduates heading some of the greatest industries in the United States.

Its capital is the center of vast commerce, the market and source of supply for a great region, the financial center of the Southeast, Southern Headquarters for telephones and telegraphs and the great national industries. Here is the leadership of great movements in the South.

Why, then, does a smaller State, long behind us in manufacturing, forge ahead of Georgia with a third larger product?

H. Y. McCORD.

Above we are publishing a bulletin gotten out by Mr. McCord, a member of the Wholesale Dealers firm of Stewart & McCord, in which Mr. McCord asks certain questions relative to the economic progress of North Carolina and Georgia. He recites that in 1900 Georgia manufactured goods worth ninety-four millions, and North Carolina goods worth eighty-five millions. He recites that in 1920 Georgia manufactured products were six hundred and ninety-two millions, and that of North Carolina nine hundred and forty-three millions, and asks the question, "Why does North Carolina, a smaller state, in twenty years forge so far ahead of Georgia, a larger state, with greater resources and economic possibilities."

Mr. McCord says that Georgia has more land, more people, more railroads and more resources than North Carolina, yet North Carolina leads her in manufactured prod[illegible] by 251 millions in twenty years. In 1920 Georgia led No[illegible] Carolina by nine millions in manufactured goods, but in a score of years North Carolina steps ahead of Georgia 260 millions.

Now, the answer is not far-fetched. While North Carolina is seeking to promote the general interest of all of its citizens by its educational program, Georgia, in her effort to keep half of her citizens in ignorance and idleness, is defeating the other half of what is rightly theirs—the best educational advantages and the best and most profitable opportunities to work. Abraham Lincoln said it was impossible for the Union to stand half free and half slave, and Georgia had as well understand, as North Carolina has already understood, that the state cannot reach its highest usefulness and keep pace in the production of wealth with her sister states, with half of her people educated and the other half in ignorance.

North Carolina has no dual educational program or system of education. She is relatively as liberal in the appropriation of money for the education of the black child as she is for the education of the white youth, and the state that pursues any other policy than of a liberal education for all of its people must necessarily lag, not only in intelligence and character, but in both production and distributio[illegible] of wealth. For the higher education of the black youths in North Carolina, North Carolina appropriated more than one million and a half dollars. It appropriated for one school, the leading Negro institution in the state, located at Greensboro, this year $601,000.

Georgia has appropriated nothing for the higher education of the Negroes in this state, and has not appropriated anything for them, so far as our information goes, since we have had a university system. The little pittance that is paid for the maintenance of the excuse of a school we have at Savannah, and the two secondary schools we have at Albany and Forsyth does not use up the appropriations made by the Federal Government from the Landscript Act, the Morrell Fund, the Smith-Lever Fund or the Smith-Hughes Fund The state of Georgia obtains far more money from these Federa[illegible] sources than she pays out for the higher industrial or technical education of the Negro. The industrial education provided for the Negroes by the state is little better than no education at all, and there is no provision made by the state for the technical or commercial education of the Negro.

North Carolina provided every kind of education for Negroes that it provides for white people, because it believes that education is a far better investment than ignorance. North Carolina believes that it is far better to spend money for the education of its youths than to spend it to maintain them in idleness and in prison.

The second answer to Mr. McCord's question is that lawlessness prevails in the state of Georgia to a degree not excelled by any state in the Union, with the possible exception of Texas. In mob law and industrial oppression, Georgia leads. The migration of the Negro from the South to the North is far greater in Georgia, and Georgia has lost more economically from this standpoint than all the other southern states together. Georgia is derelict in the maintenance of law and order. She is derelict in the education not only of the black youth, but of the white youth. The white youth is not furnished such an opportunity and equipped as he should be to make him the most useful and helpful citizen, and the provisions made for the education of the black youths is only an excuse on the part of the state to rake in money from the Federal Government and to tax the citizens of Georgia for the support of the whites' education.

The state, like the individual, which is engaged in k[illegible]ing a part of its people down, loses much effort that it might spend in uplifting all of its people up. The man who undertakes to hold another fellow [illegible]ill have to s[illegible]wn with him, if he succeeds in his purpose, [illegible]d the same philosophy [illegible]me of the state.

The answer is not far-fetched, and if Mr. McCord would study [illegible]efully and painstakingly the conditions that surround him here in [illegible]nta and throughout the state the a[illegible]r is apparent.

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Migration Spreads

"No longer can the so
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said, pointing out that by
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Dwelling at length upon findings
the Chicago commission, the speak[illegible]
decried the unwillingness of the whites
to become familiar with negro thought
and pointed out that while practically
every negro read some white newspapers, white readers of the colored press
were few.

Time after time during the course of
the Chicago investigation reports concerning negro crimes were repudiated,
Mr. Taylor said, maintaining that the
origin of the reports in many instances
rested on the inherent prejudices
against the race. Most white people
form their judgment of the negro from
a servant or some other unrepresentative member of the race, he said.

Johnson Raps Misconceptions.

Charles S. Johnson, a colored man
who served as associate executive on
the Chicago commission, also vigorously attacked the misconceptions which
the white people have for years maintained against his race, and cited
voluminous statistics to refute the assertion that the negro was mentally inferior, inherently immoral or invariably criminally inclined. Popular
brands of fiction surrounding the activities of colored persons were having
their effect in forming the white opinion of the race as a whole, he said.

"THE BIRTH OF A RACE"

"THE Birth of a Race," by Mr. A. M. Chirgwin, which appeared in the London Quarterly Review, represents a masterly summary of the Booker Washington movement, the Garvey movement, the Du Bois movement and a masterly grasp of the Asiatic, West African and South African situations. The closing sentences ably sum up the article: "Due to many causes, ranging from segregation laws to higher education, the Negro is beginning to perceive in himself the arousal of a new and mighty thing. Many factors seem to be conspiring to force upon him the realization that he is not a hanger on to white civilization, but a member of a people with a destiny. The Negroes are achieving race consciousness. A new race is being born."

The U. N. I. A.

Mr. Chirgwin is not overfriendly to Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and yet he recognizes their importance. Mr. Chirgwin says of Marcus Garvey: "It is as foolish as it is easy to dismiss with impatient gesture this man and the movement he represents. . . . The movement is numerically large, but not morally significant. Its importance here is that it reveals the extent to which race consciousness has developed among large sections in Afro-America." We are inclined to believe that if Mr. Chirgwin were to take his cue from personal visits to the U. N. I. A. mass meetings instead of from the words o critics he would find the U. N. I. A. morally significant. As it is he recognizes the U. N. I. A. as a tremendous spiritual fact whicl must be reckoned with.

Next week we will give an elaborate review of this significan article and also a review of "The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcu Garvey."

Pola Negri Gets a Wallop.

In a double column editorial in the Houston, Texas, "Mayfield's Weekly," Editor Mayfield goes into journalistic convulsions because of the photo-play, "Bella Donna," in which Pola Negri is starring, and which portrays a dark-skinned Egyptian making love to a white English woman on the banks of the Nile.

But listen at the Colonel. Writing of the picture he says:

> "It is a brazen propaganda for social equality. It is a stench in the nostrils of the Southland and an affront to the Caucasion race.'"

Colonel Mayfield must also be a Jew-baiter and a friend, at least, to the Ku Klux Klan, for he continues:

> "So help me God, that foul and blasphemous lie was sent over America by the depraved and conscienceless Jews of Hollywood. And that is but the beginning of the Jewish assault upon social equality. They hate the Ku Klux Klan; they have no interest or love for the Gentile race, and the batteries of their tremendous power are turned on social equality. They will send out kindred pictures of Pola Negri's * * *. They will have white men wildly infatuated with saddle-colored women; they will do anything under God Almighty's sun to degrade the Protestant people."
>
> "Read white sons of the South—read it and reflect. The South has never been safe from the Negro rape fiend. We have hung them by their necks, we have burned them at the stake, and still no woman is safe beyond their husband's rifle."

Yes, many white sons of the South will read that editorial and reflect. In Texas especially, where white men have so often invaded the sanctity of Negro homes and brushed aside their own barriers of social equality to such an extent that it is hard to tell who has or has not Negro blood in their veins; they will reflect on the deeds of their fathers that made these conditions.

Since the whites of the South have little to fear from the Negro forcing himself socially on them, and since they have been able to deal so efficiently with the occasional rapist, thanks to the rope and the torch, what have they to fear?

Is the memory of their past misdeeds with colored women haunting their souls and driving them insane on this question, or are they afraid that their own women will bolt and take a fling now?

A NEGRO STATE

THE South and West already have some pioneering builders of Negro cities. A State is not an impossibility. Certainly it would afford a solution to many of our problems. It woulld give an opportunity for Negroes qualified in every way to fill any position in government, to exercise their talent and satisfy their ambition. A State would have force at its command to bring together the extremes of Negro thought and action, and make them work for the good of all. Negro citizens of the State would be compelled to invest their capital in business and industrial enterprises on a large scale. Goods would be made and distributed in the markets of other states and throughout the world. Negro clerks, bankers, engineers, skilled and unskilled workers in commercial and industrial enterprises would be a necessity and become a reality in large numbers. They would be pushing and helping each other in their ambition to rise higher and higher. Negro schools and educators would have more freedom and independence in the development of Negro intellect. The Negro creative instinct would become aroused and active, and the race would enjoy a splendid opportunity to cultivate and develop its own special characteristics and talents without discouragement or hindrance.

UPON WHAT MEAT DOTH THESE CAESARS FEED?

OUR American environment has produced a crop of Negro "leaders" some of whom in their perfectly natural thirst for power, appear to believe they have been Divinely called to sit in judgment on the utterances and actions of others. They believe themselves nominal rulers of their 12,000,000 brothers and sisters of color. Their conceit and arrogance have no bounds. They think the Negro world must move forward with their thinking and advice, or go backward if its people display regard for the thinking and program of others. Everybody must bow to their will. Over-zealous in their talking on public platforms, they disregard all rules of politeness in private conversation. Their fool vanity is running riot with their reason. They damn every Negro "leader" whose program differs from theirs—stamp him sycophant, traitor, liar, hypocrite and fakir, if he belongs to a different school of thought, and they raise hell in general. Everybody else must curse out the white race as often as the "Caesar's" want it done, and must do it in words pleasing to their exquisite taste. If not, the "leader" failing to do so is "disloyal to the race." Again we ask, "Upon what meat doth these Caesars feed that they have grown so great?"

These over-lords feed out of the hand of charity—Christian tolerance. We have no industrial organizations, no commercial organizations, no manufacturers organizations, no great business organizations of our people. We are not rooted and grounded in material prosperity like the Anglo-Saxon race in whose system we are living. Manufacturing, business, commerce, industry and agriculture are the essentials of civilization. Every organization of Negroes in America, and every Negro official of any one of these organizations is directly or indirectly sustained by the prosperity and progress of the white man's economic system.

These "leaders" who have arrogated to themselves the power to supervise the utterances and programs of their rivals, are like so many beggars fighting for the bones thrown out from the kitchen doors of the rich. They show their unfitness for freedom by the persistence with which they try to suppress the thinking and talking of others who happen to think differently from them. Differing with a man in thought and principle does not necessarily imply that he is a fool, a sycophant and a coward. But the man who differs with him may express his differing in a manner to imply that he is a more malignant evil than the one he stamps as sycophant and coward.

N. Y. C. SUN
MAY 9, 1923

Negro Says Equality Talk Lured Him From Home

George Johnson, 24, of 319 West Thirty-ninth street, who admits he came to this city recently from a large plantation in Louisiana on the strength of glowing reports of conditions in New York, confessed yesterday in General Sessions that he has changed his views. At the same time he made it plain his advice to Southern negroes who feel that they are "underpaid and underfed" would be to stay "down home."

Not long after he had landed in New York, according to the story he told the court, Johnson and another negro, Julius Brooks, 27, of 8693 Eighteenth avenue, Brooklyn, also lately from the South, found themselves without work or money or prospect of either.

That explains why there were boring a hole from the hallway at 454 Seventh avenue into the clothing store of Hyman Bernstein, when Patrolman William L. Rode of the West Thirtieth street station happened along. Both pleaded guilty and were sent to Elmira for indeterminate periods.

Before they were sentenced, they explained that "down South" they had heard wonderful stories about New York being a place where whites and blacks were on a common social and industrial footing.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

MAY 19 1923

It Seems to Me

By Heywood Broun

Bad habits are generally evil things and, for that matter, so are most good habits. Arnold Bennett seeks to put habits in their proper place in "How to Make the Best of Life" (Doran).

"Beware of absolutely fixed habits," he writes. "They are nearly always the sign that the sense of proportion has gone or is going, and that one part of the mental organism is flourishing at the expense of another. Fixed habits become ruthless; in the end they will demand terrific sacrifices from their rivals in the organism.

"You may read in the paper such an item as the following: 'Mr. Joshua Crath died yesterday at the age of eighty-eight. He was to the end a prominent member of the choir of Winchester Cathedral, and it was his boast that he had not missed a single service for seventy-six years.'

"The record is appalling. Not to miss services is laudable on the part of a chorister, but not to miss a service for seventy-six years is a crime against the humanity in one's self. It is plain that after Mr. Joshua Crath had done, say, twenty-five years without a break, his life must have been reduced to one sole object—not to miss services in Winchester Cathedral. The habit of not missing services in Winchester Cathedral, must have come to occupy the throne of an autocrat in his organism. The conscience of Mr. Crath's organism was that habit, and it had no other conscience. Every family and social consideration was judged by one standard: Will attendance at the services in Winchester Cathedral be interfered with? If so, away with it!"

The most famous habit to be brought to public attention lately is Mr. Everett Scott's custom of playing short stop, a habit which he has kept up more than 1,000 consecutive times. But in the promulgation of the achievement a certain injustice has been done to Mr. Scott. The emphasis has been placed on the fact that he has played shortstop 1,000 times without a break. This overshadows the information that he has played the position exceedingly well and has led his league innumerable times in fielding.

That, after all, is the important point about Bennett's mythical Joshua Crath. If he sang well it may have been important that he missed not a single service in seventy-six years, but, if the contrary were the case, the long distance record may well have been an affliction rather than a blessing.

Speaking of injustices, we have received a letter of protest from Sidney Blackmer, who plays Captain Absolute in the Equity production of "The Rivals." In reviewing the performance we expressed the opinion that he did not play well on the first night.

"With that feeling of having listened to a dissertation on roast pig and being the pig, I beg leave to squeal a little," writes Mr. Blackmer. "Last evening I got up from an annoying attack of 'La Belle Grippe' and laryngitis, and with fevered brow and aching throat opened in 'The Rivals.' Feeling the dramatic side of it keenly, as actors do, you know, not caring whether the fever went up as the play went on—or whether the morrow would bring a relapse, as it surely did—I did my darndest. I couldn't hear much—but I did hear the ladies talking down front—and that didn't help you or me very much in enjoying the evening.

"But now, in defense of 'odorous comparisons': I stood my ground, as Absolute is, a 'feeder' and 'feeders' always stand their ground. I missed no cues, but found myself painfully deprived of important speeches because other cues were missed. And Arthur Hopkins never directed me in anything except the way back out of his office. Yours right out, Sidney Blackmer, Fahrenheit 101."

The fact that acting becomes a compulsory habit to which the player must yield on the scheduled evening, whether ill or well, undoubtedly works some hardships. And columnists are up against the same handicap. For instance, we don't feel at all well to-day.

However, Arnold Bennett is in excellent health and he writes concerning education in the same book from which we have already quoted:

"We shall learn from geography the importance of environment, and from history the annoying but useful truth that all acts have consequences, and that those consequences cannot be escaped. Also, that society is forever moving on, evolving out of something into something else; that there is nothing final or absolute; no goal, but a succession of goals; that everything is always in a state of flux or change, and that this is the very essence and meaning of life!"

All of which may be true, but not in New York State, where youngsters are taught that the Constitution of the United States was the last word in the science of Government and that it was drawn up by a set of supermen free from any single mental or moral weakness.

We haven't seen all the plays in town, but among those which crossed our path, we have had the most fun out of "Rain," "Merton of the Movies," "You and I," "Zander the Great," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Adding Machine," "7th Heaven" and "The Last Warning."

Thirteen readers have written to commend the use of the first person singular instead of the plural in this column. We thank them.

As a matter of fact, we intend from now on to be both singular and plural. "I" is best for confidences and distinctly personal reflections, upon the rare occasions when they are brought into "It Seems to Me," but when there is a need to be vindictive and disagreeable, "we" is the obvious choice, since it gives the writer the air of attacking in numbers.

Some phases of the Southern point of view toward the Negro we find distinctly puzzling. We sat next a Georgian at the performance of the Ethiopian Art Theatre the other night and he shared our enthusiasm for the first play on the bill, which is called "The Chip Woman's Fortune."

"But of course," he added, "these actors aren't really Negroes. All of them have white blood."

When the Negro achieves success in the arts, the smallest admixture of white blood is noted and the credit is duly assigned to the Nordic race. But when he rides on a railroad train below the Mason and Dixon line one drop of Negro blood is sufficient to place him definitely in the ranks of the black race and put him in the Jim Crow car.

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PITTSBURG PA TIMES
JANUARY 29, 1923

"Humiliating and Degrading."

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, has come to the conclusion that the Fifteenth and Eighteenth amendments to the Constitution never can be enforced. He analyzed the "revolt" against Negro enfranchisement in the South and against prohibition enforcement, which he declared to be nation-wide, in an address before the Ohio State Bar Association. He dragged in the Fifteenth Amendment simply to support his argument with respect to unenforceability of the later one which, he said, is opposed by men and women "as a forcible, an immoral and tyrannical invasion of their private life and personal conduct." Dr. Butler sums up the situation thus:

> No one who is familiar with the practical workings of our political system would expect either the Fifteenth or the Eighteenth Amendment to be repealed within measurable time. So far as one can see, therefore, we are shut up to the alternative of their attempted enforcement by soldiers, and police and special agents, and detectives and spies, or to their abrogation over a large part of the land by local initiative and common consent. Either alternative is humiliating and degrading.

There is ground for disputing the analogy which Dr. Butler draws between the two cases, but there must be quite common agreement that the existing situation is "humiliating and degrading." Nor will it be made less so by condemnation of the fact without constructive suggestions for remedying the condition. Violation of the law is encouraged by those who, while deprecating disobedience, insist that prohibition is wrong and hold out the prospect of legislation destructive of the constitutional enactment. It is absurd to say the law cannot be enforced with a reasonable degree of efficiency when enforcement measures so far have been notoriously inadequate. The sources of supply on which the small offenders rely have not been closed as they should be. Raids on retail dealers that yield a few pints of liquor are spectacular but of little account. While the producers of beer and the warehousemen whose places are bulging with whisky are able to deliver their illegal wares enforcement will be a good deal of a farce.

Furthermore, those people who are so sure on the stump that the majority of the American people who can make their will known are opposed to prohibition would, if they had the courage of their convictions, undertake by legal process to repeal the Amendment. They know they would be defeated. And defeat would mean the strengthening of enforcement legislation to the point that their wilful disobedience would become more difficult. The rights of minorities are as sacred under the Constitution as are those of majorities. There should be no room for misunderstanding of the rights of any where prohibition is concerned.

Spirit of The Press

Negro and the South

From Norfolk Ledger Dispatch

Beyond doubt the colored people of the south are moving to other sections in the hope of bettering their condition. This is but natural. The only way to combat it, as Prof. Moton says, is to give them here the things they are moving to obtain in so far as it is possible to do so. As a matter of fact, many of the inducements held out to them to go north or west have proven chimerical, but there is no doubt that some reforms for the benefit of the colored people should be made in the south. One of the most important is the matter of living conditions. In a large number of cases they are not what they should be by any means. The southern states as a rule, are awake to the value of education and the facilities for the colored race are undoubtedly getting better. The climate of the south is far more suitable to the race than that of the north, and they are much happier here. For their ultimate good they should remain here and join forces with the white race to get here the betterments for which they are now making a doubtful move.

THE CASE OF PROFESSOR KERLIN: CRUCIFIED.

When the court at Lexington, Va., decided against Professor Robert Kerlin, in his suit for damages against the Virginia Military Institute for summary dismissal because his conduct in writing in behalf of colored prisoners in Arkansas, he was crucified on the cross of white supremacy in the South.

Since the settlement of Virginia, except for the brief regime following the Civil War, the sessions of the General Assembly have engaged themselves in enacting laws to keep the colored people in subjugation and slavery.

One reason why there are more Virginia colored people distributed over the United States than there are any others, is because of the steady stream of migration for the past 300 years. White men carried or sent their colored families into the Northwest Territory after the Revolution to escape the persecution of free colored people. Colored people themselves have left in streams through the centuries.

Tyranny, open or subtle, has characterized the state administration. The whole South has followed Virginia's lead in controlling and limiting its colored citizens.

He is a wonderful man who dares to move in behalf of our oppressed people, unless he simply contributes money, in which case the banks and business absorb it and its minor benefits filter through to those for whom it was intended.

Professor Kerlin had lived so long in the atmosphere of the beautiful ideals which find their way into the white man's literature, that he had lost recognition of the outstanding characteristics of greed, domination, cruelty and partial justice by which he has become the world's administrator.

No man who knows the plain meaning of our language and compares it with the technical twists of decisions against the oppressed and their friends who happen to seek justice in the courts, can doubt the final outcome.

When a nation departs from the ideals of its founders the decay of that nation has begun; injustice is its odor and disaster its evidence.

Professor Kerlin's case marks an epoch in the progress of American disrespect for law.

KELLY MILLER SAYS

Why Professor Kerlin Was Compelled To Employ Colored Lawyers—— Northern Farm Lands Beckon Southern Farmers

* * * *

Professor Kerlin

Professor Kerlin is a Southern white man of letters and liberal ideas. He occupied the chair of English in the Virginia Military Academy, Lexington, Va., for a number of years.

His literary curiosity led him to make a study of the outgivings of the Negro mind in cultural form. Like all other Southern white people, he was acquainted with the Negro only on the lower level of household and domestic familiarity. There can be no honest expression of sentiment or sincerity of soul under the constraint of servility.

Professor Kerlin undertook to study the movements of the free and untrammelled mind of the Negro through the medium of his newspapers. The revelations opened up a new world of suggestion as to the real Negro soul, which turns itself wrong side out when it is unconscious of the presence of a critical or unfriendly eye.

He decided to follow the leading of this new ray of light. This led to the study of Negro poetry which still further revealed new and unsuspected angles of the Negro mind. He discovered that the Negro possesses not only the appreciation of beauty, but also the power of expressing this appreciation in literary form. "The Voice of the Negro" is not a catalogue of grievances, or a list of complaints, but the cultural expression of the feeling of the race in terms of poetic excellence.

It is easy to imagine the surprise of a Southern white man at such a discovery. The traditional attitude of his class expects only the animal reactions of the field hand and domestic servant, but looks not for artistic genius or expressional excellence. An individual instance might be shunted aside as a monstrosity hardly expected to recur. But Professor Kerlin found such indications widely distributed among various authors who strove to cultivate the poetic art.

He was not hesitant or grudging in the expression of appreciation and praise. He disclosed his discovery to the members of the faculty of his school and the cultured society of the college town They gave their cautious assent with a mixed feeling of curiosity and surprise. Professor Kerlin's interest deepened with his knowledge

He sought a wider audience. He began to appear before colored gatherings to tell of the hidden treasury which he had found. This step naturally led to animadversion upon the manhood claims of the Negro. He had the temerity to appear at a meeting of the N. A. A. C. P. and appeal for a square deal of the people who are struggling for simple justice and human recognition.

This was at Detroit, if my memory serves me right.

Swift as the wire would carry the word, the report was flashed back to the authorities at Lexington that Prof. Kerlin had turned Negrophile, and was advocating race equality.

This was of course more than the traditional Virginia attitude of mind could endure. It upset the tradition of the elders and removed the landmarks which the fathers had set. Professor Kerlin's connection with the college was ruthlessly severed.

Of course there was no argument of the merits of the case. Those intrenched in power, but who are doubtful of the tenableness of their position, never argue. It is a word and a blow. "It is against our policy, and we need no further defence." Prejudice pays a tribute to truth by refusing to consider the merits of the case. The moral position of the South, from the beginning until now, has been wholly indefensible.

Whenever they attempt to justify their attitude, the intellectual and moral hollowness of their position is quickly revealed. There is not a right minded white man in the South today but who is ashamed of the discredited arguments which their fathers advanced in defence if human slavery. The apologists for Negro suppression today show the same paucity of moral and intellectual resource. Tillman and Tom Watson could only asseverate, assert and swear. Those who feel forced to defend the wrong side of a moral issue are indeed to be pitied.

The Professor was summarily dismissed and sought occupation in the North.

Ill fares that land whose genius and conscience is drained away by reason of local intolerance.

A brief chapter in the story still remains. Professor Kerlin sued the trustees for non-fullfilment of contractual obligations. He could not find a qualified white lawyer in Virginia to undertake the case. Herein is the narrow-minded intolerance of the South self-revealed. This high-minded Southern professor selected competent colored attorneys to handle the case, not as a studied affront to Southern prejudice and tradition, but simply because the declination of white jurists consults made this course necessary.

Professor Kerlin is a high type of American manhood that believes in the freedom of speech and the rights of man. It is easy to believe that he is typical of many a Southern man of liberal impulses who chafes under the galling gyves of provincialism prejudice, and who would, if he could, gladly free himself from the bonds of soul blighting prejudice of race.

RECOGNITION OF NEGRO'S PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., May 16, 1923.

Editor The Advertiser:

Allow me to make the following statement:

Many of our southern white friends have recently sought to express in some tangible way their deep gratitude for the unselfish devotion of our mothers (slavery-time negroes) and our fathers—even though no monument to them has been suggested—who were just as loyal to their owners as were our women.

It is felt that it would not be out of place also if more were said of the first and second generations of these same negro people. Have they not a sense of honor that is equally high and well tempered to meet the present conditions as was true of their mothers and fathers in their day and time? It is not thought opportune to praise individual negroes to the extreme and at the expense of the race. The mass of negroes will discount such, but in a broad and impartial way, set forth facts on the progress of the race as a whole in South in the past twenty-five years. If the negro is needed to help develop this section (which is commonly conceded), it is suggested that in their own way the daily white papers of the South carry on a system of publicity, setting forth some of the many good traits and virtues of the "new" southern negro as a racial group at the present time, as for instance:

(a) Home ownership; (b) education; (c) religious growth; (d) business; (e) professions; (f) the negro in the world war; (g) the negro as farmers, mechanics, common laborers, etc.

The white South could tell these stories more accurately than anybody from the outside. They know that the negro responds more quickly to praise, encouragement and fair treatment than any other separate racial group living among white people.

Most of the southern states are putting on advertising campaigns to attract white farmers from other sections into the South. Similar methods might be employed to help keep negro labor here which the South already has.

It is believed that through such campaigns much good can be accomplished. It is also thought that no other agency can do as much constructive good at the present time as the southern press towards welding the friendship of the two races, for indeed there is much distrust and misunderstanding existing now, and the negroes who are going north in large numbers are carrying, by word of mouth, a kind of news that is destined to do harm to this section of the country for many years to come, unless certain counteracting forces are set in motion at once. In order to be effective, the desired change must first come from within.

T. M. CAMPBELL.

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

Race Co-Operation

IN making out a program for the All-Race Conference the selection of a keyword was of utmost importance. The committee deliberated at great length to make sure that no mistake was made. It was at once seen that it would be needless to parallel the programs of our usual conventions and organizations. The anecdote of Abraham Lincoln was brought into play. When the great War President consented to meet representatives of the Confederacy as to some compromise basis of ending the war, Mr. Lincoln insisted on only one word. He said to the Southern representatives: "If you let me write Union at the top of the page, you may write any thing you please underneath." The committee decided to write co-operation at the head of the program and felt that this was of far greater importance than anything that could possibly be appended below that caption. It was in this wise that the keyword of the conference came to be adopted. Co-operation is absolutely essential to race salvation. If we were united in aim and objective, we could ask whatever we would and it would be granted unto us. There is neither the power nor disposition in our civilization to deprive eleven million American citizens of their just deserts if they demand them with one united voice. But as long as we proceed by divided counsel, our numbers but add to our weakness. Divide and conquer is a motto as old as human oppression. The overlord always seeks to dominate the underman by keeping him divided. To quote from myself: "The white man hopes to keep us under by keeping us asunder." He has played this game successfully from time immemorial. Will he be permitted to play it to the end? The salvation or damnation of the race depends upon the answer. If the intelligencia of the race cannot devise a statesmanship which will lead the race to unity of aim and purpose in things essential to racial welfare, then our higher education is a failure and leads to no desired end.

VIEWS and REVIEWS

By James Weldon Johnson, Contributing Editor.

PAUL D. CRAVATH ON SEGREGATION.

Cleveland, Ohio, papers last week in giving an account of a speech made by Paul D. Cravath at a dinner of the Union Club reported Mr. Cravath as saying:

> "The only solution of the Negro Problem is complete segregation and the building up of a seperate Negro society. To do this it is necessary that we educate Negro leaders to build and maintain that society."

This is no new doctrine and it deserves attention only because of the man by whom it was enunciated. Paul D. Cravath is chairman of the Board of Trustees of Fisk University. Mr. Cravath's father was the first President of that University and it is probable that Mr. Cravath received his earlier education at Fisk.

Present at the dinner were Dr. Wallace Buttrick, chairman of the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation; E. M. Williams, president of the Cleveland Board of Education; and a number of leading citizens of Cleveland. Dr. McKenzie, the president of Fisk, was also present.

Mr. Cravath is a great lawyer and, naturally, has had opportunity to study the Negro question. How he can arrive at such an absurd judgment as he seems to have made is difficult to understand.

But even if Mr. Cravath does not understand it, thinking Negroes do understand that complete segregation means nothing more or less than a permanent secondary status for the Negro in America, and that the Negro will not accept. There are only two choices for the Negro in America—either full and unlimited American citizenship or a permanent and unalterable secondary status. He must either rise to the one or fall to the other. There is no middle ground. If the Negro either accepts or has forced upon himself complete segregation he need never expect to participate in the common rights of American citizenship. The two things are self-contradictory.

Of course, the solution of the whole thing is the rating of men by their individual worth, character and abilities.

This statement by Mr. Cravath is a strange one coming from the chairman of the Board of Trustees of one of the great Negro universities. We shall watch and see what reply the Board of Trustees of Fisk University will have to make to it.

The Negro Sanhedrin

Some criticism has been waged against the term "Sanhedrin." A good Baptist brother came to me in some excitement, and demanded that the word be changed, as in the minds of many the most significant meaning of "Sanhedrin" is that it was the body that condemned our Lord. The official name is "All-Race Conference."

> Sanhedrin is a sort of rhetorical synonym which more easily fixes the movement in the popular imagination. The term originally was applied to the highest Jewish Court, composed of the leaders and elders of Israel. In 1806 Napoleon Bonaparte called a Sanhedrin of the Jews in his wide dominion and requested them to formulate stated relations with the gentile world, in all matters wherein they functioned apart. The outcome of this deliberation laid the basis of dealing of the Jews with the Gentiles down to the present time.

The Negro Sanhedrin is calculated to assume something of the sense and significance of its Israelitish prototype. By the way, I notice that a call has recently gone out for an all-Jewish Conference. The scriptures are daily being fulfilled: through the seed of Abraham shall all the nations of the earth be blest including even the sons of Africa.

That Uncle Tom Negro.

We have quite enough of the Uncle Tom Type of Negro in America. There never was any mandate for him in this country as judged by its ideals of equality and freedom for all. Yet we have never been without him. During the days of Negro enslavement there may have been some excuse for him. There certainly is no such excuse for him today. Indeed he is only in demand by those white people who would like to perpetuate the class distinction for which the enslavement of one human by another has always stood. The days of slavery art over and both Uncle Tom and his would be master are mischievous anachronisms, which darken counsel and militate against wholesome and indispensable understanding between the races.

The Uncle Tom Negro is marked by his painful politeness, flattery, and self segregated fawnings. He usually has his hat under his arm in the presence of white folk. He is obsequious in his gestures and seems ready to jump over the moon at the suggestion of his white master. He has a long line of idiotic flattery always on top and meets a smile or a reflection on his manhood or a swift kick from a white man with a skulking that puts the traditional yellow dog to shame. He is always wanting something. In fact he is a professional beggar ready to lick spittle personally or to sell his entire family or race for a mess of pottage.

Now there is no objection to any man's being polite, considerate of others and modest in spirit. Indeed there is no excuse for any Negro not being a gentleman any time or place. He can be upstanding, respectful, and self-respecting withal. These qualities coupled with sincere, honest, intelligent purpose wll always win respect and admiration. Against these things there is no law. Nor can there be. It is wholly in the province of every Negro to have people respect him, whether they like him or not.

One of the detestable features of the Uncle Tom Negro is his colossal hypocrisy. He is not so inherently polite, nor does he respect white people more than other Negroes. He is just playing the game. He knows most white people are usually full of conceit and he capitalizes it for profit. He knows in his own heart that he is a consummate liar. So does the white man who like to be "Uncle Tommed" and doesn't mind paying the bill. He praises this racial sycophant to the skies gives him tlaborate space in the white press and parades his most silly twaddle as words of profound wisdom to be laid seriously to the heart by the entire Negro race.

Uncle Tom is found in all ranks among us from some of the few remaining slave-time Negroes to be presidents of some of our Negro Schools in the South. At all times he is a public nuisance. He does not represent any manly Negro or group of Negroes. He has never made any permanent contribution to his Race and cannot because he predicates all things on expediency rather than truth which makes men free. His monkey antics and oracular Negro stories calculated to tickle the ears of the white man at the expense of the Negro, constantly humiliate and hinder us. May his tribe hastily decrease.

—Indianapolis Freeman.

DR. DUBOIS AND SEGREGATION

THE Crisis editor, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, has created excitement in the house of his friends, by stating facts in that plain blunt manner which characterizes some of his utterances. Some of them are up in arms and others fallen in spirit, because the N. A. A. C. P. mentor said plainly, "I, therefore, glory in separate schools." They were startled, amazed, disturbed and disordered by the confession of the erudite editor of the Crisis. Careful thought upon what the Crisis editor said, would enable every dissatisfied auditor to accept the truth stated by Dr. DuBois and share his glory without dissent.

Every Negro who amounts to anything in America, is what he is because he is first of all things a man of Negro blood. Few would have the chance to be what they are, if they were white. J. Francis Lee, Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes, Attorney G. Edward Dickerson, Dr. J. Wesley Bailey and Rhoda Tilton are enjoying the opportunities and advantages of being Negroes. If they were white, it is doubtful if either one of them would be known outside of the neighborhoods in which they reside. Imes is a Negro preacher with a Negro congregation. Attorney Dickerson, Dr. Bailey and perhaps all the others get most of their profit and joy out of life because of the fact of segregation—voluntary or involuntary.

DuBois was right when he said: "We must hang to segregation to save our race." Without segregation, American Negroes would be nothing—absolutely nothing today. It matters not what they may say or whom they may denounce for believing and saying so, it is a fact walking nude and unashamed in America. Negro ministers, teachers, journalists, physicians, lawyers, business men and laborers would have small chance in life without segregation. Their opportunities are slight enough with it. Because of segregaton, American Negroes have ministers, teachers, journalists, lawyers, physicians, business men and other representative characters whose lives and careers are an inspiration to the present generation and will be to those folllowing.

Dean Kelly Miller's All-Race Conference Makes Progress Select Date, Approve Program

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)
By NORMAN L. McGHEE

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21.—Dean Kelly Miller's All-Race Conference Program has been making progress even though there has not been much publicity lately. When the movement was launched in New York City under the general direction of the temporary United Front Conference composed of the National Equal Rights League, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the International Uplift League, the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Race Congress, a Committee on the All-Race Conference with plenary and final powers was designated. This committee has been holding meetings regularly for the purpose of arranging for the conference.

Committee on All-Race Conference

The committee is as follows: Dean Kelly Miller, chairman pro tem; James F. Bowie, secretary pro tem; Dr. M. A. N. Shaw, James L. Neil, Maurice E. Spencer and Wm. Monroe Trotter, representing Equal Rights League; James W. Johnson, Robert W .Bagnall, Richetta G. Randolph and Prof. L. M. Hershaw, the N. A. A. C. P.; R. B. Moore, C. V. Briggs, W. A Domingo and Otte E. Husiwoud, the African Blood Brotherhood; A. Phillip Randolph and George Schuyler, the Friends of Negro Freedom; Dr. D. N. E. Campbell, the International Uplift League; Prof. John R. Hawkins, the A. M. E. Church; Miss Nannie Burroughs, the Baptist women; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, the National Federation of Colored Women; James A. Cobb, the Legal Fraternity; Dr. A. M. Curtis, the Medical Fraternity; Henry P. Slaughter, the Fraternal and Benevolent Orders; J. Finlay Wilson, the Negro Press; Norman L. McGhee, the College Fraternities; Rev. D. D. Turpeau, the M. E. Church; Eugene Kinckle Jones, the National Urban League; Channing H. Tobias, the Y. M. C. A.; Dr. George E. Haynes, the Federal Council of Churches; Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Negro Business; Rev. W. H. Jernagin, the National Race Congress; Hon. Phil H. Brown, Negro Labor; Prof. G. C. Wilkinson, Negro Education; Rev. E. D. W. Jones and Rev. H. J. Callis, the A. M. E. Z. Church; Dr. Julia H. P. Coleman, the Negro Business Women; Rev. George D. Bullock, the Lott Carey Convention; Mrs. A. F. Hilyer, the Y. W. C. A.; and Rev. G. T. Long, the C. M. E. Church.

Method and Purpose of—Representation in Conference

The purposes and methods of the Conference have been discussed in all details and certain basic conclusions have been reached. These conclusions being that the All-Race Conference shall be held during the week of November 5, 1923. This is in accordance with the resolution that the meeting be held prior to any of the national conventions to be held during the year of 1924. It was also decided that instead of attempting to have a mass convention that the basis of representation be a flat assignment of ten delegates and ten alternates to all national organizations engaged in race activities; that the program of the Conference be arranged around special commissions so that definite study might be given to all subjects of racial interest instead of discussing them in mass convention. Co-operation is to be the key-word of the Conference which is to be a kind of "Super-Council" or "Super-Senate" of Negro organizations. Each organization under this program will elect delegates who will seek at the Conference to "legislate" in certain given directions for the benefit of the race.

Program of All-Race Conference

The general outline of the program is as follows: Monday, November 5th, 1923, Registration, Credentials, Home Assignments, etc.; beginning Tuesday, November 6th, and occupying the entire week various discussions based upon co-operation for race betterment will be conducted by the commissions representing the church and religious, fraternal and benevolent, educational, business and industrial, social workers, civil and political, women workers, health improvement, inter-racial relations and cultural organizations. The final session will be devoted to the report of the commission on plan and scope of a permanently organized race co-operative movement.

Invitations From Cities Desiring Conference

Pittsburgh, Atlantic City, New York, Louisville, Boston are among the cities planning to extend invitations to the Conference to hold its sessions in their city. Dean Kelly Miller will be pleased to receive word from other cities wishing to entertain the Conference. On a tour covering practically the entire country, beginning June 11th, Dean Miller, the Father of the All-Race Conference, will give out first-hand to the people the purposes and method of the Conference. It is hoped that every member of the race will avail himself or herself of this splendid opportunity to get a clear understanding of the workings of this movement.

Officers—Committees

Prof. John R. Hawkins, financial secretary A. M. E. Church, has been elected treasurer with power to select additional members who will constitute the Committee on Ways and Means. Mr. James F. Bowie, Washington, D. C., has been elected secretary prot tem; Mr. James L. Neill, corresponding secretary pro tem; Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Washington, D. C., has been elected chairman of the Press Committee with power to select additional members, who are Prof. L. M. Hershaw, Hon. Phil H. Brown, Norman L. McGhee, James F. Bowie and James L. Neill. It has been decided to elect an Administrative or Executive Committee to function during the summer months in order that everything will be in readiness for the meeting next fall. The sessions of the Committee on All-Race Conference have been characterizd by a spirit of profound appreciation of the momentous task ahead and by a subordination of everything except co-operation for the general good of the race.

DR. DUBOIS AND SEGREGATION

THE Crisis editor, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, has created excitement in the house of his friends, by stating facts in that plain blunt manner which characterizes some of his utterances. Some of them are up in arms and others fallen in spirit, because the N. A. A. C. P. mentor said plainly, "I, therefore, glory in separate schools." They were startled, amazed, disturbed and disordered by the confession of the erudite editor of the Crisis. Careful thought upon what the Crisis editor said, would enable every dissatisfied auditor to accept the truth stated by Dr. DuBois and share his glory without dissent.

Every Negro who amounts to anything in America, is what he is because he is first of all things a man of Negro blood. Few would have the chance to be what they are, if they were white. J. Francis Lee, Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes, Attorney G. Edward Dickerson, Dr. J. Wesley Bailey and Rhoda Tilton are enjoying the opportunities and advantages of being Negroes. If they were white, it is doubtful if either one of them would be known outside of the neighborhoods in which they reside. Imes is a Negro preacher with a Negro congregation. Attorney Dickerson, Dr. Bailey and perhaps all the others get most of their profit and joy out of life because of the fact of segregation—voluntary or involuntary.

DuBois was right when he said: "We must hang to segregation to save our race." Without segregation, American Negroes would be nothing—absolutely nothing today. It matters not what they may say or whom they may denounce for believing and saying so, it is a fact walking nude and unashamed in America. Negro ministers, teachers, journalists, physicians, lawyers, business men and laborers would have small chance in life without segregation. Their opportunities are slight enough with it. Because of segregaton, American Negroes have ministers, teachers, journalists, lawyers, physicians, business men and other representative characters whose lives and careers are an inspiration to the present generation and will be to those folllowing.

Dean Kelly Miller's All-Race Conference Makes Progress Select Date, Approve Program

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)
By NORMAN L. McGHEE

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 21.—Dean Kelly Miller's All-Race Conference Program has been making progress even though there has not been much publicity lately. When the movement was launched in New York City under the general direction of the temporary United Front Conference composed of the National Equal Rights League, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the International Uplift League, the N. A. A. C. P., and the National Race Congress, a Committee on the All-Race Conference with plenary and final powers was designated. This committee has been holding meetings regularly for the purpose of arranging for the conference.

Committee on All-Race Conference

The committee is as follows: Dean Kelly Miller, chairman pro tem; James F. Bowie, secretary pro tem; Dr. M. A. N. Shaw, James L. Neill, Maurice E. Spencer and Wm. Monroe Trotter, representing Equal Rights League; James W. Johnson, Robert W .Bagnall, Richetta G. Randolph and Prof. L. M. Hershaw, the N. A. A. C. P.; R. B. Moore, C. V. Briggs, W. A Domingo and Otte E. Husiwoud, the African Blood Brotherhood; A. Phillip Randolph and George Schuyler, the Friends of Negro Freedom; Dr. D. N. E. Campbell, the International Uplift League; Prof. John R. Hawkins, the A. M. E. Church; Miss Nannie Burroughs, the Baptist women; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, the National Federation of Colored Women; James A. Cobb, the Legal Fraternity; Dr. A. M. Curtis, the Medical Fraternity; Henry P. Slaughter, the Fraternal and Benevolent Orders; J. Finlay Wilson, the Negro Press; Norman L. McGhee, the College Fraternities; Rev. D. D. Turpeau, the M. E. Church; Eugene Kinckle Jones, the National Urban League; Channing H. Tobias, the Y. M. C. A.; Dr. George E. Haynes, the Federal Council of Churches; Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Negro Business; Rev. W. H. Jernagin, the National Race Congress; Hon. Phil H. Brown, Negro Labor; Prof. G. C. Wilkinson, Negro Education; Rev. E. D. W. Jones and Rev. H. J. Callis, the A. M. E. Z. Church; Dr. Julia H. P. Coleman, the Negro Business Women; Rev. George D. Bullock, the Lott Carey Convention; Mrs. A. F. Hilyer, the Y. W. C. A.; and Rev. G. T. Long, the C. M. E. Church.

Method and Purpose of—Representation in Conference

The purposes and methods of the Conference have been discussed in all details and certain basic conclusions have been reached. These conclusions being that the All-Race Conference shall be held during the week of November 5, 1923. This is in accordance with the resolution that the meeting be held prior to any of the national conventions to be held during the year of 1924. It was also decided that instead of attempting to have a mass convention that the basis of representation be a flat assignment of ten delegates and ten alternates to all national organizations engaged in race activities; that the program of the Conference be arranged around special commissions so that definite study might be given to all subjects of racial interest instead of discussing them in mass convention. Co-operation is to be the key-word of the Conference which is to be a kind of "Super-Council" or "Super-Senate" of Negro organizations. Each organization under this program will elect delegates who will seek at the Conference to "legislate" in certain given directions for the benefit of the race.

Program of All-Race Conference

The general outline of the program is as follows: Monday, November 5th, 1923, Registration, Credentials, Home Assignments, etc.; beginning Tuesday, November 6th, and occupying the entire week various discussions based upon co-operation for race betterment will be conducted by the commissions representing the church and religious, fraternal and benevolent, educational, business and industrial, social workers, civil and political, women workers, health improvement, inter-racial relations and cultural organizations. The final session will be devoted to the report of the commission on plan and scope of a permanently organized race co-operative movement.

Invitations From Cities Desiring Conference

Pittsburgh, Atlantic City, New York, Louisville, Boston are among the cities planning to extend invitations to the Conference to hold its sessions in their city. Dean Kelly Miller will be pleased to receive word from other cities wishing to entertain the Conference. On a tour covering practically the entire country, beginning June 11th, Dean Miller, the Father of the All-Race Conference, will give out first-hand to the people the purposes and method of the Conference. It is hoped that every member of the race will avail himself or herself of this splendid opportunity to get a clear understanding of the workings of this movement.

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Race Problem—1923.
United States.

BINGHAMTON N. Y. SUN
MAY 11 1923

WHY NOT BE FAIR?

Some phases of the Southern point of view toward the Negro we find distinctly puzzling. We sat next a Georgian at the performance of the Ethiopian Art Theater the other night and he shared our enthusiasm for the first play on the bill, which is called "The Chip Woman's Fortune."

"But of course," he added, "these actors aren't really Negroes. All of them have white blood."

When the Negro achieves success in the arts, the smallest admixture of white blood is noted and the credit is duly assigned to the Nordic race. But when he rides on a railroad train below the Mason and Dixon line one drop of Negro blood is sufficient to place him definitely in the ranks of the black race and put him in the Jim Crow car.—Heywood Broun, in the New York World.

Booker T. Washington said once upon a time, "The Negro blood is the most potent blood there is. You may take a man with ninety-nine parts of white blood and one part of Negro blood and invariably he is declared by the white race to be a Negro. According to white reckoning one drop of Negro blood is far stronger than ninety-nine drops of white blood."

It is a common assertion of men of white blood that all that is fine and good in the Negro from a white man's standpoint is due to any Caucasian blood he may possess. This, of course, is not true. Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the poet, was a full-blooded Negro, just to mention one man of color who became distinguished without the help of an infusion of white blood.

The Negro has capacity to be very much of a man without any Aryan sanguinolent. It is due the white man's assumed but not always proven sense of superiority that he will not—particularly if he be a Southerner—admit that anything good can be discovered in a black man which does not trace to the causes which have mulattoed him. Facts that are demonstrable do not bear out this assertion, but the lie is still persistent among white folks of a certain inferior grade. They assert it with great emphasis for the purpose of proving not only the superiority of their own race but the inferiority of the black race as well.

It is easily shown by statistics gathered by the United States Government that during the half century of freedom the colored man has known he has shown capacity as a business man in many branches of commerce and manufacture, and that he has administrative ability the ownership of businesses that range through the whole mercantile and fiscal catalogue proves beyond dispute.

The great trouble is now and has been ever that a voluble and ignorant white contingent has always loudly denounced the Negro race individually as well as collectively. The comparative silence of the rest of the whites in this country has seemingly given assent to the untrue assertions of the ignorant Negro baiters. Common justice demands that the bald truth be told.

There is not on record in all history a more wonderful chapter of human achievement than that which tells of what our colored population has accomplished in educational, ethical, industrial and intellectual ways since the shackles of slavery were stricken off and the light of education has been let in. And what the colored man has achieved has been in the face of great obstacles gratuitously and maliciously erected in his thorny pathway by the gross injustices of the self-styled superior race which has so grievously wronged him for centuries. How any white person with sensibility can have the heart to put out anything but a helping hand to the man of color has been one of the greatest of mysteries to us. They need it so badly and they deserve it so richly from those who have for centuries wronged them so deeply!

ALL RACE CONFERENCE

The Atlanta Independent

Possibly a year ago Professor Kelly Miller got it into his head that a great race conference, representative of the thought and character of our group, would prove a helpful step in the solution of our problems. Because of the high character of the man, the movement took the name "Sanhedrin." 8-9-23

About April 23rd, certain superficial organizations, composed of self-selected race leaders, met in New York and took over the Kelly Miller idea and named it All Race Conference, naming Professor Miller chairman pro tem. These self-constituted leaders named the personnel of the committees over which Professor Miller is permitted to preside, selected the organizations to be represented in the All Race Conference and allotted the number of delegates to each. Atlanta

Without disagreeing with the wisdom of Professor Miller's Sanhedrin Council, we took the position then, and adhere to it now, that no good could come out of any movement dominated by the same old gang of professional politicians and self-constituted leaders of fake organizations which had misled and exploited the people for the last twenty-five years. To which Brother Miller dissented, and denied that he had been disposed of by giving him a minor place in his own movement, and that the Conference would not be hand-picked, but purely representative in personnel and character. The public is familiar with the discussion that has gone on between us and Brother Miller, and is advised that Brother Miller admits that we are substantially right. Read his communication in this issue.

We charged that the men who took over Professor Miller's idea were patent-back, self-constituted leaders, and that their motives were ulterior; that their religion was graft, and they had taken over the Sanhedrin to head off any good it might do and leave them free to exploit and mislead the people.

First, let us examine the record of the movement so far made:

(a) Kelly Miller surrendered his movement, body and boot, to six organizations, only one of which has a bona fide following.

(b) These self-constituted leaders changed the name of the movement, elected themselves the executive committee, with Kelly Miller as chairman pro tem., in exchange for the surrender of his "Big Idea."

(c) These self-constitutes then proceeded to handpick the organizations entitled to representation in the **All Race Conference,** and placed the burden of raising the graft upon the shoulders of Brother Miller, through a membership selling scheme of $5.00 a seat.

(d) The substitution of money consideration as a basic qualification for membership in the conference, instead of the will of the people, as expressed by their suffrage.

If the officers have been chosen, the place selected, delegates handpicked, program gotten out, speakers selected, address written, what is the need of the Conference? There seems to be nothing to do except to complete the budget of graft and adjourn without date.

Let us ask Brother Miller, who seems to think he is responsible for everything, a few questions. Will there be any limit to the number of seats for sale at $5.00 each? What will become of the will of the people, if you have more $5.00 delegates than you do representatives elected by the people? You say you need $5,000.00 to cover the expenses; have you a budget, or are you guessing? You said some time ago that the following civic organizations met in New York and took over the movement with yourself at the head, viz: N. A. A. C. P., Friends of Freedom, Equal Rights League, African Blood Brotherhood, et al.—we don't remember the other two—possibly you do. Excepting the N. A. A. C. P., will you be good enough to give the public the names of the officers of the other five, telling where and when they were elected and the membership of each? Also location of their headquarters and the occupation of their presidents and secretaries, if they have any visible means of support?

If these men met you and took over your idea and are now calling on the public for $5,000.00, the people have a perfect right to know who they are and whether they work or loaf. When you invited these self-constituted leaders to meet you, if you called them, why did you leave Garvey out, and he had a larger personal following than the six invited organizations combined? Did you invite the six organizations to meet you in New York, or did they invite you? If you will tell the people who the men are who constitute the organizations which took over your idea and placed the burden of raising the money to float the scheme on your shoulders, and what their daily occupations are, it will be no more than what the public expects of every honest man who calls on it to support his idea, and may help you sell some seats and encourage the dear people to send some delegates.

Speak out, Chairman Miller.

THE SAME OLD SELF-CONSTITUTED LEADERS.

6/2 8/23

The race is weary of being imposed on and being misrepresented by a self-constituted and self-appointed leadership. It was earnestly hoped that when Mr. Kelly Miller suggested a race conference to look into the economic, social and political welfare of the Negro throughout America, that we would have a representative gathering fresh from the touch of the people. We never dreamed that the same old gang who had misrepresented the race for twenty-five years, would take over Prof. Miller's movement and appropriate it to selfish purposes. But when we see the aggregation of misfits, who have arrogated unto themselves the right to hold the conference, arrange the program, select the officers and the place, and as a clever way of disposing of Prof. Miller give him a temporary office in his own movement, we despair of any good coming out of the movement. In fact, the conference has already been had; the officers have been selected and the address to the people prepared, and all the end that the dictators and self-appointees have for the movement is to fleece

the delegates of a little money and to lay the foundation for the continued exploitation of the masses.

If we are to have such a conference as Mr. Miller had in mind, who appointed the agents of the N. A. A. C. P., the Equal Rights League, The African Blood Brotherhood, the Friends of Freedom and the lesser lights from churches and other organizations to represent the masses? What authority, except self-arrogation, has this bunch of professional leaders to represent anybody? If we are to have a conference that is democratic in spirit and which represents the real people of America, the self-constitutes have not gone about it in the right way. All that was necessary to have such a conference as the public thought Mr. Miller had in mind, would have been for Mr. Miller and a few others, equally as representative as himself, to issue a call, setting out the reasons therefor, and call the representatives of our group to meet in some centrally located place, for the purpose of considering whatever causes or conditions the promoters had in mind, and then permit the conference, itself, as made up of the real representatives of the people to perfect a temporary organization and such other organizations as would serve the best interest of the people of America.

Let the conference outline its program and issue the address to the people, and the only organization preliminary to the convening of the conference would have been a local organization for the purpose of looking out for homes, selecting a place and making such other necessary local arrangements as are necessary to pull off a large gathering or convention of people.

The efforts of these other organizations, which represent nobody except the selfishness of the men who constitute them, is nothing less than an effort to thwart and misdirect the purposes that Prof. Miller had in mind, and the country is deceived that he would become such an easy victim to the intrigues and plot of the self-constituted bunch of race-progress destroyers.

Dean Miller, who is the father of the idea, has become a secondary factor, and the bunch of self-constitutes, who undertake to dictate the policy of the race in all matters, are the big I's; but the race has no confidence in them. They have accomplished nothing for the race, except to remove it further from a full enjoyment of its economic, social and political rights.

The organizations represented by the men who have taken from Mr. Miller his idea, have only one point in view, and that is to keep Mr. Miller from organizing a movement that is constructive in character and helpful in results. These men have done nothing themselves, and their determination is that nobody else shall do anything. What has either of them contributed constructive to the racial character? Each of them is a liability charged against our race, and in no sense stand as an asset in the estimation of those whom we must convince of our worth and usefulness.

These men met in conspiracy in New York. The rank and file is tired of being exploited by a self-constituted leadership. We are tired of a bunch of self-constitutes making capital out of our political afflictions and economic poverty. The race is weary of them and will follow them no further. This gang is a set of destructive agitators, without a constructive program, each in a way, working against the other, and for the first time in the history of these organizations, which consists only of the men who style themselves leaders, have been able to get together on a definite program, and they have gotten together this time because they felt that a conservative man, like Mr. Miller, would challenge the confidence of the American people, and that their organizations, which have for their purpose only, the exploitation of the masses for the benefit of self-styled leadership, would be put out of business, and they had better make a common cause, form a conspiracy to thwart the purposes of Mr. Miller by capturing his convention and turning it into a hot-air circus and a resolution mill.

These leaders are very largely a set of men out of jobs,—clerks, demagogues, agitators, non-property holders and professional self-styled leaders for bread and butter.

Scoffs At Social Equality As a Bugaboo of the Politicians

Home Mission Secretary of the Southern Methodist Church Says There Isn't Any Such Animal and Never Will Be. Tells What South Owes to Its Negro Neighbor.

(By Associated Press)

Lake Junaluska, July 12.—"Social equality is a bugaboo of politicians," declared Dr. J. W. Perry, home mission secretary, Methodist Episcopal church, south, in an address, "What the South Owes to Its Negro Neighbor," before the social service conference of Southern Methodists, in session here.

"It does not exist and no revolution is in prospect to usher it into being. Let us bury it and forget it, and our social relations take their course under the direction of an All-Wise Providence."

Dr. Perry said the declaration of independence in its first paragraph assumes as axiomatic truth the statement that "all men are born equal."

"But," he continued, "to stop with that is to misunderstand the meaning of the paragraph. Soap box orators and corner loafers are often heard prating the untruth of the statement. They say men are not born equal; and they are not, for they are not equal physically at birth, not equal mentally; not equal in social rank. None of which the declaration proclaims. In the discussion of such questions as that before us today is it not true that we of the south are too prone to raise the bugaboo of social equality, as an old mountaineer of my native country when looking at a giraffe in a circus declared, 'They haint no such animule.'"

"The declaration proceeds to define what is meant by equality of birth," Dr. Perry continued, "that all men have certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are rights of which no man can be justly deprived without due process of law.

"Every man has the right to live. He did not bring himself into the world, nor is he responsible for the flag under which his life begins, nor for the race or class to which he belongs. He has a right to live and the duty of a Christian society is to protect him in that right. If the priests and Levites had policed the road to Jericho the work of the Good Samaritan would not have been needed. It could have been traveled in safety. The fact that a road existed which was notoriously unsafe for a peaceable citizen to travel was reproach to the social order of Palestine.

"A very black spot rests upon the character and honor of our country—citizens are too often deprived of life without legal process. The non-Christian world questions our religious faith and integrity as a people because of this. When a scholarly and cultured Hindoo gentleman some time ago was asked by an American for his opinion of the value of our Christion missions, he replied that he did not think a nation whose citizens lynched many black men had any religion to export. Our missionaries in every land meet the same criticism. 'Why do you not stop the fearful crime of lynching and such violence at home before you come preaching a gospel of righteousness to us?' To our credit be it said that the number of victims has been growing smaller each year and that some southern states have practically eliminated it. We owe it to ourselves and to the race which has served us for generations to end the evil in every state. It is the only way to secure justice and insure just punishment for every crime."

"The Christian south is under obligation to provide for the liberty of every man, "Dr. Perry asserted. "No one desires to see involuntary slavery introduced into the country again. . . . If peonage be practiced in a few other countries, it must not be in the Christian south. Thank God! Wherever it dares to lift its head today in all our south it is made to feel the strong arm of the law. And yet has our negro neighbor been accorded in every place the liberty of economic justice?"

Dr. Perry said every man of whatever race deserves the best chance the nation can provide to make himself the best and most useful neighbor and man he can make. The negro brought no tradition of home life from Africa.

"Do we not owe him Christian sympathy and help in the effort to make his home an institution which will contribute to the development of the best traits of character?" Dr. Perry asked. "Is it right to charge him high rent for poor quarters and leave his quarters in filth and darkness? To use his labor for our enrichment and put him to live in a miserable shack which no art could make attractive?

"If he is to make the best man possible he must have the blessing of a pure and holy religion. He is naturally religious. The race does not produce skeptics and infidels. We can learn from these neighbors as we try to help them. Their religious work is carried on under great handicaps. But their loyalty and devotion to their churches is inspiring, and their liberality puts us to shame.

"In 1860 the southern Methodist church had 247 of its white preachers appointed to work among the slaves. Now we are helping to support only 110 colored preachers, and that has not been done for many years. We must establish more contacts with them in their religious life. We can help them in training schools, institutes, and so know them better and give them the chance to know us. Do we not need this as well as they?

"The struggle of the negro race for education, which they must have if religion is to be anything more than superstition, is a story of one of the most heroic struggles in the history of our nation. Have we toted fair with them? Have we not neglected their school houses, or failed to build them? Have we not given them too meager a share of the public school fund?

"Kentucky and Missouri are the only states that show a disposition to treat every child alike. Louisiana spends $23.37 for each white child and $3.49 only for each negro. Even North Carolina, which is leading the whole south in its program for negro education spends $15.37 for every white child and $5.83 for each colored child or nearly three to one. Is that up to the Christian standard of a square deal? Is it wise or right to compel those who want to prepare themselves for the best service in teaching or other forms of service to go to the northern schools for that preparation? But where else could they go? Even the best schools, schools of highest grade for them in the south have not been builded by southern people and are not conducted with southern ideals. Should not the south, the southern Methodist church build for them and in co-operation with them a school in the south where under the best traditions of the south, and with the ideals of the south, surrounded by the balmy atmosphere of the south a negro may be able to prepare himself for any special service to which he devotes his life, and be a trained workman who need not be ashamed?

"The world looks on us today and expects to lead in the way to right relationship," Dr. Perry said in conclusion.

Booker T. Washington Was Right.

"Dr. Booker T. Washington knew, and the Negro as a race knows that the economic problem lies at the very heart of the welfare of any race. The possibility of home and bread is the noblest possibility of civilization, and it is the indispensible condition of thrift, probity and truth. No people can do what is right or love what is good, if they cannot earn what they need." This statement is one of the many new evidences of a conscience stricken South. This statement is part of a speech made by Milton H. Fies, vice president of the Delardeleben Coal Company, before the annual meeting of the Alabama Mining Institute at Birmingham. This company may have for years practiced what they heretofore, perhaps, were afraid to preach. However the entire speech is unusually strong and is well worth reading by thoughtful students of the subject.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

COLUMBIA S. C.

AUG 27 1923

THE RACE QUESTION.

That the United States cannot risk its civilization to oriental immigration, that there is a possibility of civil war between the East and the West in the United States, if the Japanese are permitted to overrun the West, and that the whole problem of oriental immigration to this country might be solved once and for all by a definite stand upon the part of the American government, are some of the high spots in the lecture of Professor William McDougall of Harvard University at the meeting of the Round Table Political Institute, Williamstown, last week.

The view of Professor Williams is not a very new one, but it is far more frank than that of the compromisers for temporary peace at Washington. The Japanese problem is one of the most cogent of race problems, as the Harvard man says, because the compromise of the government on the question a few years ago, sidesteps the inalienable right of every nation to say whom it will admit to its borders. On that basic ground this country will have to ultimately take its stand with its back to the wall.

A complete solution of the problem would be the revision of the immigration laws of this country, so that the census of 1890 would be used to determine the quotas of immigration groups rather than the census of 1910. Since there were but ten thousand Japanese in the United States in 1890, it may be seen at a glance that the Japanese problem would be solved, in that respect, at least, once and for all. This feature of the program was advocated by Professor McDougall with splendid logic.

In offering this suggestion Professor McDougall made it clear that he does not sponsor the restriction of Japanese and all other orientals from the United States on the ground of inferiority but rather on the ground of the incompatibility of stocks. The American people are incapable of assimilating orientals even if oriental immigrants are willing to be assimilated; and since every nation has right to preserve its own civilization, Professor McDougall affirms that the United States must sooner or later definitely take a stand against Japanese immigration.

That deduction does not leave the Japanese diplomat a single peg upon which to hang his hat. It cannot be logically denied. It is a pity that the race discussions at Williamstown could not be so widely broadcast that they would be familiar to the masses of the world. For example, it is a great thing to learn from a master in the field of psychology, a man who has tested his teahing by travel and observation in all quarters of the globe, that race is probably the primary factor in all world affairs. Some of us with different backgrounds think that Professor McDougall stresses overmuch his race doctrine, but he maintains a high argument for his proposition. And the real point is, he gives the immediate as well as future political meaning of race purity and race mingling. He is a scholar and not an alarmist, but just the same he does make a far-seeing person sit up.

Religion is another factor in politics that has been overlooked except in church history, and even there it has been unrelated to the great currents of life. Nationalism, a factor of impending power, has probably come into more assertiveness since the Great War than ever before in history. Many other factors are present in our life, but race is plainly of tremendous importance. We see it here at home.

The other day, Dr. Jesse Jones, one of the best authorities on the negro, spoke at Williamstown. He said the people of Boston are just like the people in Atlanta. The difference of attitude on the negro is not due to the two sections of the country, but to the numbers of that 'different' race. This is the principle —the attitude of a dominant race in a community to a 'different' race is determined by the proportion of the 'different' race to the dominant race. If the proportion is one to three, the attitude will differ greatly from the attitude where the proportion is only one to one hundred.

The problem is to get on with our neighbors and at the same time neither injure their stock nor our own. Can we do that without renouncing our democratic theory, or must we become aristocrats, in both the racial and social sense? If so, whither goes our Christianity, our religion of brotherhood? Nice question, that. And there is immigration. Professor McDougall arouses us by saying that if we had opened our gates to orientals a hundred years ago, by this times we should have two hundred millions of them in this country. What would have happened to our culture, our democracy, our race? Is he right, that our first duty is to close up our country in large part, and develop our nationalism, and by that means do our part in the world? It is another nice problem.

OUR LEGISLATURE'S OPPORTUNITY

The General Assembly or legislative branch of our state will meet in annual session on June 27, 1923, at which time the new Governor will be inaugurated and the officers elected in October, 1922, will go about the duties imposed upon them by a vote of the people nearly two years ago. Of course, at the time the Legislature and Governor were elected they may have represented the views of the people, but at this time, quite two years hence, they do not represent their constituents, for the reason their constituents' views and ideas of government have largely changed.

The Chattanooga Times
6/24/23

But the reason for writing this editorial is to point out to the Governor and Legislature, when it convenes, the opportunity to legislate for the benefit of all the people. Legislation in Georgia for a goodly number of years has been very largely class legislation or race legislation. Legislation enacted by our lawmakers did not contemplate the good of all the people. There has been too much legislation in favor of the white man and against the Negro. Very largely, though, a majority of our laws are fair, so far as enactment is concerned, but in their administration they are misapplied and discriminating.

But there is one question today that is affecting the commonwealth as no other question has in a number of years, and that question is migration, or the movement of a very large class of our working people to the north. Every chamber of commerce, business or social club, among both white and black, is discussing migration and its effect upon the economic welfare of the state; and the Legislature has the opportunity, if it will take advantage of it, to find out the cause and apply the remedy. It is a fundamental that the laboring man in every community is an essentially indispensable asset in the economic welfare of the community or state. Capital can neither increase nor pay a dividend when idle. It must have employment, and the most profitable way to employ capital is to furnish work at a wage above a living level for the working man.

The Negro has most largely been and is the chief labor factor in the south. The south's leading staple product—cotton—is made by the Negro. In fact, the Negro is very largely an agricultural factor, and prospers more, gets along better and makes a better man, physically, morally and intellectually, in the country than he does in town. But the shortsightedness of the white man, blinded with prejudice, has kept him from investing in the Negro as an asset. He has rather regarded him as a liability, and has not given him that care that his relation to the economic, industrial and social order in the south deserves.

The legislature now, facing the crisis that it is facing in the labor situation, has the opportunity to legislate with a view of correcting its economic neglects. The Negro is vitally interested in his own economic welfare, education of his children and his housing condition, and wants more economic opportunities to make a living, have a home and a bank account. He is troubled to the point of unrestfulness about the education of his children. He wants the opportunity to grow out of them useful, helpful and healthy men and women. He wants comfortable schoolhouses to house them in and capable teachers to teach them, not only to develop them in books, but physically and morally. He wants to remain in the south. It is his natural home. He had rather be here than anywhere else, because he knows the soil and the people who inhabit it. He knows the white man, though the white man knows but little of him; but he cannot stay here unless he can earn a wage sufficiently above the living level to educate his children, purchase him a home and to lay a little aside for a rainy day. And he cannot stay here, if he must be forever terrorized by the fear of mob law, lynching

bees, Ku Kluxism, night riders and man regulators. He must have contentment; he must feel safe in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property; he must feel that in the courts his case will be decided upon its merits, and that a white man will have no advantages before the law, by reason of his color, and that he will be put to no disadvantages by reason of his race or color. Confidence must be restored in the black man. The white man must impress him that he is willing to give him a square deal by actually delivering the goods. Public school funds must be distributed, not along the lines of race or color, but in the interest of the youth, and the facilities must be as adequate for the Negro youth as for the white youth. He must have every opportunity for his improvement and development that the white youth has. In fact, there must be an equality in the distribution of public rights, including public school funds among the people.

So the Legislature has the opportunity to stop migration—to check it, at least, until the law-abiding white man and patriotic and law-abiding colored man can appeal to those of our group who are inclined to leave, and persuade them to stop and consider before they pull up stakes and move to a section where they know not the soil, condition or people.

(a) The Legislature has the opportunity to pass an anti-lynch law, adequate legislation to suppress mob violence, and guarantee to every citizen the right and protection to enjoy life, liberty and property unmolested.

(b) To provide ample and adequate school facilities for the education of the Negro youth, substantial schoolhouses, competent, capable, consecrated teachers—men and women of character and learning—not only common schools, but high schools. The state of Georgia appropriates one thousand dollars a year for the higher education of the Negro.

(c) To establish an Agricultural and Mechanical school in every congressional district for the practical education of the Negro, and support said schools in the same manner and in the same way and just as adequately as the twelve Agricultural and Mechanical schools for the education of the white youth in the twelve congressional districts are supported.

(d) To repeal all contract labor laws. Since the state courts and the Supreme Court of the United States have declared them, unconstitutional. Thereby suppressing contract labor and every form of peonage, as now practiced in many parts of our state.

(e) To provide a building code which will have for its purpose the regulation of the building of homes in cities and in country, with a view of improving the health and lengthening the expectancy of the citizen body.

(f) To provide fair elections laws and elect a set of men to administer them who are fair and honest, and permit every elector to vote who qualifies under the law, without regard to race or color.

These suggestions suggest to the Legislature its opportunity to check migration and to restore the black man's confidence in the white man. Nothing can be done to check migration until the white man, by his actual performance, restores the black man's confidence in his willingness to give him a square deal. He must be paid a living wage, given more opportunity to work, and have better treatment on the railroads, street cars and every other place of contact with white men. White men must be more humane in their treatment or conduct toward Negro men and women, if they would have them remain in the south and become each year more dependable as a labor factor.

CAR WASHER AD IN DIXIE PAPER INSULT TO RACE

No Such Advt. in Northern Papers as Rotten Southern Sheets Print for Companies

WANTED—Nigger car washer. No colored gentlemen or loafers need apply. Must have references. Ingram & Co., Asheboro, N. C.

Greensboro, N. C., June 22.—Ordinarily this is a most conservative town. It has a population of close to 45,000 and there are many people, white and black, who would be more than a credit to any community. The Race folks are, for the greater part, sober, industrious and law-abiding. Many of them are skilled mechanics and some are recognized as artisans in certain lines which would mean credit and high salaries if it wasn't for the handicap of color. On the other hand many of the better class of whites show their friendship and esteem by hiring members of our group who are qualified, the fact that low wages are paid them being more a matter of local custom than anything else. Despite these conditions Greensboro and the surrounding territory have given their full quota toward the so-called "migration North" which has been causing so much trouble and worry among the whites throughout the Southland. Here, as elsewhere, the "causes" of the moving is a topic which is daily discussed by the thinking folks whose business and other connections are being affected.

Some Causes

Wise cracks regarding fear of the Ku Klux, references to high salaries paid white compared wtih those given Race workers, housing and sanitary conditions and all that sort of thing are suggested as being the principal reasons of the "getaway" of the thousands who are producing a condition in the South which will force the low-bred rednecks and hillbillies to work. There may be some truth in the suggestion, and then again there may not. Have a look at this clipping—taken from the classified "ad" columns of the Greensboro Daily News—and you may be able to form a better opinion as to why our men and women are kicking the Southern dust from their heels:

WANTED—Nigger car washer. No colored gentlemen or loafers need apply. Must have references. Ingram & Co., Asheboro, N. C.

Everybody in Greensboro knows Asheboro and everybody in Asheboro knows Ingram & Co., a dinky concern in a dinky town; but nobody in Greensboro among the classes of white and Race folks mentioned above considers the wording of this advertisement anything but a dirty insult to our men and women in both towns as well as a piece of poor policy on the part of a so-called "newspaper" that would print anything of the sort. If Ingram & Co. would take on one of the white bums with which both boros are infested they would deserve more credit than they might hope to gain through a rotten advertisement of the kind published in a rotten publication like the News.

Leaving There

Towns supporting newspapers like the News and burgs supporting firms like Ingram & Co. are no fit places for self-respecting, industrious members of the Race. Ads of the kind never appear in Northern newspapers and it is safe to bet that copy of the sort is never submitted for publication by firms in the North, no matter how small and obscure. If Ingram & Co. can get Racial help through such "readers" those who hire out to them are a blamed sight worse than the members of the firm and the dinky, dirty, Race-hating sheets that print their insulting calls for honest aid. There is room for thousands of our men and women throughout the North and an abundance of work at high salaries for them. There are living conditions awaiting them that even the middle class whites of the South do not enjoy. There are schooling conditions in the North for your children such as you have never dreamed of and there are privileges accorded you which, if sought in the South, would mean the knout, the torch or the lynchers' noose. Don't let the Southern whites fool you into believing anything different. This newspaper has told you the truth for many years and we are not lying to you now. All it asks is that you leave the drones behind. Take a look at who is doing the car washing for Ingram & Co. and folks of his stripe. Do this so you can feel assured that you will not be disgraced by a set of barnacles who have no self-respect or Racial pride. Come out. You can't find conditions any worse, and if you are the right sort you will win. There is no other result possible.

DUBOIS FOR SEGREGATION

Audience Resentful; Regard Him as a Knave

In our news account of the address of Dr. DuBois on the "Separate School" we said the consensus of opinion is that Du Bois in an attempt to help rehabilitate his friend Leslie Hill has hurt both himself and the N. A. A. C. P. in this city. And in his volumnous diatribe against the writer which we published in the Journal, Fielding Ford, treasurer of the local branch wrote: "It (lack of loyalty to N. A. A. C. P.) is the same germ that made you (the writer) wind up that disreputable article with the statement that you believed the membership drive in Philadelphia would suffer as a result of Dr. DuBois' address. This idiotic statement is on a par with your report of the address. (Ford's apology is now in order.) Even if it were true, ect., Dr. DuBois is not the N. A. A. C. P." By his last sentence Mr. Ford meant that the people would not hold the

(Continued on Page Eight)

(Continued From Page One.)

N.A.A.C.P. responsible and for that reason withhold their support. Dr. DuBois returned to Philadelphia last Sunday and under a slightly different subject before a packed house, delivered practically the same address, only going further in reiterating his support of Cheney the Jim Crow School. Result—one single new member, and a collection so we are informed, of thont eight dollars. The people showed that they not only held the N. A. A. C. P. responsible and that while they had been only disgusted at DuBois' endorsement of Jim Crow, and had been resentful against him before, now they consider him a knave. We do not reproduce his address here because it is too nauseating a melange with which to regail our readers, who live in the cradle of Liberty and who cannot countenance one definition of Liberty and Democracy for the white and another for the blacks. Just one word as to the question box. Any lawyer or professor of economics, following his profession, can easily answer questions in his particular line for his profession fits him for this very thing. Dr. DuBois' answers were not in the main, free and frank but mostly evasive. We say again that he is totally ignorant on the political situation here as was obvious to those who know it. The Negro here is in no position to bring about a single educational reform by his votes. DuBois is neither a leader nor a sage. Knave better expresses the Journal's opinion of him.

Race Problem—1923.
United States.

TREAT THE NEGRO RIGHT!

The following very timely and most commendable excerpt is from an editorial in The Greenville (S. C.) Piedmont, under the caption "For the negro who stays at home"—

"While thousands of negroes in South Carolina have joined the exodus to the north and west, the bulk of our negro population is still with us and may remain with us. So far as our observation extends, the leaders of the race in the state are staying here and are advising the rest of the colored population to do likewise. Probably many of us have not thought of this phase of the matter, but there are a large number of negroes in South Carolina who are and always have been law-abiding, thrifty, industrious and home-loving, who have been here all their lives and who will probably stay here. Love of the Palmetto State is by no means confined to the whites.

"In recognition of the loyalty and character of these people, as well as to encourage them to remain here, the whites, who control all the machinery of government, ought to see to it now that better schools and better housing, sanitation and streets are provided for the colored population."

As it is in South Carolina so it is in Georgia. Thousands have gone —many of them to their regret— but a great majority not only remained at home but in refusing to be lured by the flattering promises of the labor agents used their influences to prevent the mistakes that were made.

That the negro exodus was a most serious mistake is being daily demonstrated, if the news reports from the congested industrial centers of the north and west are to be believed, and if any reliance can be placed in the hundreds of letters that are coming into the south daily from southern negroes in the north.

The majority of the negroes are law-abiding, industrious, home loving, and contribute their part to the material welfare of the south.

The outstanding leaders among the race, almost to a man, have urged the negroes to remain in the south. At the same time they have urged—and correctly so—a more equitable distribution of the services of government in the interest of the negroes. They are entitled to better schools than they have, as a rule, in Georgia—and no doubt in other southern states. They are entitled to more governmental attention to their housing, sanitation, hygiene, open-air, playground and other services due them as human beings, and as a part of the industrial life of the south.

Says The Piedmont further—

"The average negro school in South Carolina is a disgrace to the state. The buildings are old and miserable, unsanitary, ill-lighted, ill-heated, if heated at all, dirty. Very little is spent on the education of the negro child for teachers and school equipment. The total expenditure in this state for negro schools is almost infinitesimal compared with what is spent for the white schools. The eagerness of the better class of negroes for better schools and their willingness to go into their own slim purses to help them is as pathetic as it is creditable. No man of good conscience and a right sense of justice can contemplate the facts about our negro schools without reaching the conclusion that it is the unavoidable duty of the whites to see to it that the negroes have far better schools."

Perhaps the situation is not as bad in Georgia as alleged in South Carolina, but it is far from being just and equitable. In Atlanta the negro schools are maintained under the same rules of health, air, protection, etc., as are the white schools. The buildings are not ample, nor are they ample for the whites, but the teachers are chosen for giving efficient training.

On the whole in Georgia, however, proper attention is not being paid to public negro education; and in many sections conditions very similar to those referred to by The Piedmont exist.

Says The Piedmont further—

"Equally a reproach to every community and the state are the living conditions of the average negro. Most of the colored population live in hovels, poorly lighted, unsanitary, uncomfortable, unfit for habitation. Conditions of sanitation among them are bad. Better housing would mean better health for them, as well as an incentive to thrift and industry, and more contentment and good order. They have no paved streets. They are entitled to betterment of their lot in all these respects.

"It is high time that the white citizenship take thought of all these wrong conditions and right them. The negroes who have stayed here, who are peaceful, law-abiding, hard-working and home loving, are entitled to more consideration than they have had in the past. Our policy toward them must be broader and more just."

These lines strike deep at the consciences of the people of Georgia as of other states in the south. The housing conditions are not what they should be—the incentives to thrift are not what they should be.

The white people of this state could do no greater service to themselves than to begin a general campaign for improvements in these matters. The healthfulness of negro colonies contributes to the health of the white people. The thrift, industry, contentment, amenableness of the negro population contribute most strikingly to the advantages of the whites. And the converse of these things is equally true.

There is much food for thought in The Piedmont's very timely editorial.

THE NEGRO CONFERENCE.

When the leading colored citizens of Georgia gathered here on July 4, to discuss cause and effect of the migration of their race to the industrial centers of the North and East, their deliberations attracted the thoughtful attention of all white citizens who have the best interests of the state at heart.

It is interesting to hear what the most thoughtful among the African race in our midst have to say in regard to Georgia's attitude toward their people.

In the letter, addressed to "all white citizens of Georgia," but primarily intended for the members of the general assembly, now in session, there is food for serious thought for us all. And there is, it must be admitted, cause, in that letter, for very serious searching of heart and admission of failure for the white race. Honesty can not deny that the Negroes make out a good case on many of the grounds on which they base their claim for better treatment.

Perhaps greatest stress is laid, by the Negroes themselves, on the lack of fair opportunities for education provided by the state. It is stated that out of $750,000 appropriated last year for higher education, only $15,000 of this was for Negro institutions. It is also declared that there is a total lack of agricultural colleges for the Negroes, though there is one in each congressional district for the whites, in addition to the Agricultural College at Athens. And the Negroes with justice ask, "How can the colored farmer adopt profitable, diversified farming, in place of the boll weevil-ruined cotton raising(if you don't teach him how?"

The complaint against the average housing conditions for Negroes, both in the cities and the rural communities, is also well founded. It is useless to point out a few high-class Negro homes and pretend that they are typical. They are not and we only fool ourselves when we shut our eyes to the wretched hovels in which the large majority of the Negroes live.

It would, in truth, be the best investment we could make, to raze these insanitary, ugly, disease and crime-breeding shacks, and provide, in their stead, simple and comfortable homes. The reduction in crime and disease alone would pay the expense in a very few years, even forgetting alutruistic reasons entirely.

While the Negro frankly says he does not want to leave the South, reasonable men can not criticize him for leaving when staying means no education for his children, no comforts for himself and unfair wages for his labor.

The above excerpt is clipped from the Atlanta Constitution, and it is so manly and covers so well what is in the Negro's mind with reference to migration or the movement of the Negroes to the North, the causes and the remedies, until we adopt it as our own sentiments, and want to both congratulate and thank Mr. Howell for the space he gave our address and the editoria analysis and endorsement of the sentiments expressed. We coul not write anything better were we to attempt, and we beg to add o this occasion that it is the mos manly and straight forward edi torial utterance that we have rea in a white daily in years; tha there is no evasion, no dodging, bu a frank statement of the truth a enunciated by the conference. N bolder editorial or braver utteranc could have been made by the Nev York World or any other metropolitan paper than the Constitution made with reference to our State-Wide Conference.

JUL 8 1923

THE NEGRO CONFERENCE

The Negro conference held in Atlanta last week for the purpose of discussion of the situation that the Georgia Colored people find themselves confronted with and the question of how to improve it, resulted in a statement to the people of Georgia, and especially to the Georgia Legislature, which calls for serious and sympathetic consideration. As all of us see most of the time through our own eyes, it is well to occasionally look at the world through the eyes of others. It is especially interesting, as the editor of The Atlanta Constitution observes, "to hear what the most thoughtful among the African race in our midst have to say in regard to Georgia's attitude towards their people."

The report gives recognition to the fact that thousands of White as well as Colored people in Georgia, on account of the ravages of the boll weevil, are without means of earning a living. Add to this situation the fact that the Colored people upon the whole do not know how to practice diversified farming, and you have a real economic tragedy and at least a temporary breakdown. This, of course, is the main reason why so many Colored people are going North, and why so many White people are seeking employment in the cotton mills and other industrial plants.

* * *

The Negro leaders of the Atlanta conference feel that the poor housing conditions on the most of the farms in Georgia make seriously against the health and morals of the Colored people, and that no investment that could be made would be more advantageous to both races than the proper housing of the Negroes. Complaint is also made against the type of overseer whose business it is to get all the work he can out of the Negro and who shows no special interest in the things that will make the Negro better morally and a better citizen.

Special stress is laid on the lack of fair opportunity for educational privileges. It is stated that out of the three-quarters of a million appropriated last year for higher education in Georgia only $15,000 of this was for Negro institutions. This is contrasted with other Southern States, North Carolina having appropriated over a million, Louisiana $500,000, Texas $500,000, Mississippi $400,000, and Virginia $750,000. While these States mentioned are much more generous in their appropriations for the higher education of the Whites than is Georgia, it seems almost unthinkable that with our large Ne-

gro population we would be appropriating such a small pittance as $15,000 for their higher education. While there is a feeling on the part of some against the education of the Negro in Latin and Greek, the higher education that the Negro is asking for is of a practical, agricultural and industrial type that will fit him for usefulness and for teaching these necessary things to the Colored youth. There can be no sound objection on the part of anyone against preparing anyone to become a good worker and a good citizen. To quote the statement of the conference, "how can the Colored farmers adopt profitably diversified farming in place of boll-weevil ruined cotton-raising if you don't teach him how?"

* * *

For years, Georgia has been providing a short-term course at the State Agricultural College for the benefit of the White farmers, where they may learn the latest methods of diversified farming and adapt themselves to the conditions forced upon us by the appearance of the boll weevil. It is just as much a matter of wisdom and foresight as of essential justice that a similar opportunity should be provided for the Colored people. If the Negroes do not have adequate seating capacity in their schools to accommodate great assemblages of Negro teachers and farmers, they do have in their churches, and no doubt they would gladly open these for such assemblages.

The conference seems almost forced to the belief that many of our laws are made primarily to be enforced against the Negro, and makes a plea for equal treatment before the law.

Their greatest source of alarm is mob violence, which they characterize as "the most disturbing menace of all the evil which we now suffer." It is further asserted that "no influence has done more to drive Colored people away from the State, to give Georgia a bad name in the mouths of those who live without its borders, to deter both capital and labor from our State, and to keep up the unsettled conditions of Colored labor here, than the influence of the mob." And "in the midst of it, no Colored person, however honest, industrious and law-abiding, can possibly feel himself safe overnight."

Towards the conclusion of the report, these unusual words are used: "The whole truth is, and you ought to know it, that a very large percentage of us have lost faith in either your willingness now or your intention ever to treat the Colored people justly and to allow them to become a basic part of our civilization." But that those who framed this have not entirely lost faith is indicated by the sentence which then follows—"This faith restored by unmistakable evidences to the contrary would infinitely improve the unsettled conditions among us."

* * *

The more exact truth is that the best elements of the Whites and the Colored do desire right, helpful relationship, and that they have faith in each other. The race prejudice that exists here in the South is not an unusual thing, but one of the factors that always has to be dealt with where races different in color and characteristics live side by side. As one intelligent Negro has put it, wherever the Colored man goes, he is going to take his problem with him.

It is highly important for the best element of Colored people to set their faces strongly against everything that incites fear and suspicion. The case quoted by the July World's Work is illuminating: "In a Kentucky town a bad Negro had shot a Sheriff while resisting arrest, and a mob was forming with intention of raiding the Negro quarters. The Inter-racial Commission nipped the riot in the bud by inducing the Negroes to issue hand-bills deploring the crime and offering a reward for the capture of the guilty man."

If the best Negroes would always take the lead in condemning the crimes that incite special resentment and fear, they would make it much easier for those of us who desire for them every opportunity to become good Negroes and good neighbors. On the other hand, it is highly incumbent upon the best White people to take the lead in condemning and preventing everything that tends to the degradation of the Negro.

Here in the South, we are confronted with one of the big problems of history, namely, how to attain to racial purity and integrity on the one hand, and how to give opportunity and justice on the other. If we solve it, we have done one of the big things in the history of civilization.

One of the leaders of the Atlanta conference was Prof. B. S. Ingram, head of the Negro Industrial School of Macon, who has proven a valuable factor to the sane and conservative forces of his race in the State.

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JUNE 10, 1923

A Negro on Segregation.

Editor The St. Louis Star: Segregation of races has been declared unconstitutional by the supreme court. The Bible tells us that of one blood God made all men and that there is no difference between the Jew and the Gentile.

There are some white people who have forgotten that the Civil War is over and what it was fought for. They have forgotten that the negro was made a citizen and given equal rights with any other citizen. They still look upon the negro as a beast or a thing to be avoided as a contagious disease, and that he has no rights that a white man ought to respect, and at every opportunity they belittle his efforts to better himself. White men do not show to negro women the same respect they do white women. After you have stood back for their women to get on a car they will not wait for any negro woman to get on, but will step ahead of them, as though they were not due the same courtesy. This is a common occurrence, yet these same folks expect negroes to be courteous to their women. The negro problem is not the negro's problem; it is the white man's problem and will always remain an unsolved problem, unless the white man manifests a spirit of tolerance.

PROMINENT WHITE MINISTER DENOUNCES RACE HATRED SPONSORS

Rev. Jesse Bogue paster of the North M. E. Church at the Exchange Club, Friday in the Hotel Lincoln, strongly denounced individuals or groups who would revive race and religious prejudice. Rev. Bogue said: "America demands that all who dwell beneath the protection of her flag and enjoy the prosperity of her land shall forever foreswear allegiance to their native governments. It is equally necessary the hyphen that attempts to connect any citizen with organizations that are divisive of civic liberty, unity and peace shuld be struck from the names of all true Americans.

View of True American

"Every true American grants the same rights and privileges to others which he asks for himself. He stands in daily thought and practice by the national Constitution, all of it, not simply the parts that are egreeable to his personal convenience and taste. He is loyal to the methods as well as the aims of American citizenship and attempts to rule by no invisable empires whatsoever, economic, political or religious. One of the great events in our national life

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was the declaration by our fathers that this country should have full religious liberty. Liberty means exactly what it says—it is not Protestant, Catholic Jewish, Buddist—it is liberty. Every man in America has the full right to worship God according to the way he thinks best. It is deplorable that there should be any revival of religious prejudices or racial hatred in a country founded on freedom of worship and populated by people from all races.

Attempts of Minorities.

"Attempts to interfere in matters of government by highly organized minorities, sometimes open and blatant, sometimes secret and sinister must stop. Those who think this nation subordinate to or the instrument of any particular section, class, bloc, race or sect may well take warning When carried to its logical conclusion the civil war is the answer. Its light reveals the sacrifice which an aroused citizenship will make to preserve national unity when threatened by any menacing movement.

"If I may be permitted a personal word in this club formed for the free exchange of ideas and views, I desire to say that I interpret the work of the Christian minister as that which makes for positive good will between all classes, races, parties, religions and nations rather than that of a propagandist for some particular organization."

BENTON HARBOR PALLADIUM
JUL[illegible]

THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

Respectable and well known colored citizenry of the city write The News-Palladium a congratulatory letter on the way this paper reported the Hall park episode the other evening, in which two armed Negroes attacked a white couple. The letter serves to remind us that we have a permanent colored population that is 99 per cent law abiding. The other one per cent—plus the temporary newcomers and inevitable floaters—are the ones who give the trouble and add to the burdens of the entire race.

The north is rapidly developing a Negro problem that has serious phases. Thousands of colored workers and also non-workers have been leaving the south. In the south the Negro knows how to handle himself. When he arrives in the north he finds totally different conditions and an environment he has never before known. Under the stress of the change he often gets into difficulty. Benton Harbor has had a taste of this in the last year or so. Several shootings, a number of violent deaths, stabbings, etc., have drawn the public's attention to the fact that a lawless element has seeped into the city's colored population. In almost every case of Negro lawlessness locally the offenders have been non-residents.

Respectable and intelligent colored citizens of the city—the old-timers, as it were—genuinely deplore and condemn these offenses by members of their race. How to deal with the problem successfully is their concern as much as it is the concern of the whites. They realize that one bad Negro can offset the good work of a dozen respectable members of their race and so the problem to them is of vital personal concern.

Our correspondents plead for public sanity at times when a member of their race go wrong. They ask the public to judge fairly and to act in a law abidingly. They ask nothing that should not be granted. We in the north abhor and denounce some of the south's methods of handling the Negro problem. As we get more

Race Problem — 1923.
United States.

A POLICE OFFICER STRIKES AN INNOCENT RACE WOMAN IN THE FACE.

Boston Guide Litter Racial Exhibit

When a police officer struck one of the best known and most highly respected race women in the face the other day; he may have vented his own prejudicial spleen and given a degree of satisfaction to those of his ilk; but on the other hand he has simply placed another straw on the camels back of Negro patience and fidelity to Southern rule and unreasonable practices. Of course, hidden securely behind the Fort of his race's white skin; crouching behind the walls of racial antipathy and the might of racial prejudice; he possibly is reasonably secure from the just indignation that his conduct has aroused among our racial groupe. The incident from the facts brought out in court was so unreasonable and uncalled for until it was clearly repulsive to the Judge who dismissed the whole affair. It appears from facts brought out in Court and the subsequent act of the Court that the race woman was not guilty of any crime whatever; that she had in no way violated the law, she had been accused of obstructing an alley in the rear of her premeces and resisting an officer. The Court found that neither of these charges were true, thus declaring that she was perfectly innocent of any wrong doing whatever, and and yet she was forced to the humiliation of being hauled down in the city patrol and to this insult was added the injury of being struck in the face by the arresting officer. The act of this officer of the law was so repulsive until the Ku Klux Klan frowned upon it; and is said to have had present an attorney to see to it that this Negro phobist who was sworn to look after the peace of the city did not himself crush to earth an innocent woman. The unjust imposition of the women of any race necessarilly arouses the feeling and blood of the manhood of that race; for there is no point in the world among the sons of men so tender and vital as the point of their women; touch the womanhood of a race; impose upon the mothers; sisters wives and daughters of any people and that people feels that there is not much left worth living for. The imposition upon the womanhood of a race always bring men to one of three decisions as to what is best to do. (1) Whether to cowardly submit to it and proceed along the line of waiting on the forces of civic righteousness to adjust themselves in the light of justice to all (2) To look out for other localities; to migrate to communities more tolerant and which gives a more liberal interpretation of human rights (3) To yield to the temptation of passion and avenge in blood the insult offered their families. All of these thoughts enter into the mind of men whose women are imposed upon; the most thoughtful people and the most intelligent races have adopted the second expedient viz pack up, sell out, give away leave. There is one thing that is always true with intelligent races that is; thay never remain any where they cannot protect their women. The striking of this race woman in the face means the quiet packing up and leaving the South of thousands of well to do Negroes and their families.

7/28/23

Mencken on the South.

The New York Age 6/30/23

Henry L. Mencken is one of the free lances of American literature. Merciless in the exposure of shams and empty pretensions to superiority he saves his most vitriolic execrations to excoriate the white South, of which he is intellectually an emancipated offspring. So savage are his attacks upon the vaunted pretensions of the South to progress and superiority that one looks intently to find a hidden cause for this rampant resentment of things as they are in "that stupendous region of fat farms, shoddy cities and paralyzed cerebrums," as he describes the section whence he sprung.

How far the South fails to meet the critical standard of such a writer as Mencken is shown by his dogmatic assertion in a recent magazine article, that "it is almost as sterile, artistically, intellectually, culturally as the Sahara Desert. There are single acres in Europe," says this unsparing critic, "that house more first rate men than all the states south of the Potomac." "If the whole of the late Confederacy were to be engulfed by a tidal wave tomorrow the effect upon the progress of civilized men in the world would be but little greater than that of a flood on the Yangtse-Kiang." Shades of Confucius and Vardaman, Dr. Sun Yat Sen and John Sharp Williams, Li Hung Chang and Pat Harrison, which side has the greater cause for protest?

What is needed in the South, according to Mr. Mencken, is a survey of the population by competent enthnologists and anthropologists, before the public problems of that section may be intelligently approached. He gives the myth of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority a hard jolt by pointing out that the chief strain down there is Celtic rather than Saxon, with French, Spanish and German entering into the combination. He even goes so far as to say "it is very likely that in some parts of the South many of the plebean whites have considerable Negro blood," a statement that will be resented on both sides of the line. His final conclusion that "some of the worst blood of Western Europe flows in the veins of the Southern poor white, now poor no longer," is backed up by the testimony of an ancient historian, Philip Alexander Bruce and Fannie Kemble Butler.

In conclusion, Mr. Mencken asserts, with his usual positiveness, that "it is not by accident that the Negroes of the South are making faster progress, economically and culturally, than the masses of the whites. It is not by accident that the only visible aesthetic activity in the South is wholly in their hands. No Southern composer has ever written music so good as that of a half dozen mulatto composers who might be named. Even in politics the Negro reveals a curious superiority."

The essential quality of truth in Mr. Mencken's strictures of the South would account for much of the desperate effort to keep the Negro down. The prejudice based on color is really due to envy and fear of being surpassed in the acquisition of those attributes which make life worth living. The saving of the remnants of civilization existing in the South may be the mission of the despised black race, which refuses to be submerged in the ignorance and degradation reserved for its portion.

The education of the white South along broader lines of tolerance and liberality might take it out of the narrow rut of intellectual sterility into which it has fallen. There is need for missionary effort along these lines by its best thinkers, especially the ministers, editors and teachers of youth.

SOUTH IS SOLVING RACIAL PROBLEMS, DECLARES HOLMES

The Atlanta Independent 8/25/23

Detroit, Mich., August 19.—(Special.)—Rev. B. B. Holmes, president of the Holmes Institute of Atlanta, in addressing the Metropolitan State Baptist association in session at Mt. Olive Baptist church here paid a high tribute to the white people of the south for what they have done for education of negroes and the committee on race cooperation of the leading people of both races which has established a more friendly relation between the races in the south.

"Negroes who are born in the south," declared Holmes, "are superior to those who are born and reared in other sections and are more loyal to their churches, schools and race enterprises. The south furnishes the best opportunities for the colored race to develop from all angles than any other section of the country. No rights are denied them to make a living. In my six weeks' travel and study of the migrated negroes in Boston, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Detroit, I have observed more than 500,000 colored people discriminated against and not given an opportunity to work on account of their color.

Solve Race Problems.

"I will admit that we ha e some irregularit s in the south, but the leading people of both races are trying to solve these problems.

"There are no races upon the face of the globe who have succeeded who did not have obstacles to overcome and problems to solve. The race that expects to succeed by migrating from one section of the country to the other with expectation of attaining success without sacrifice is no good in the south or any other section of the country. I advise the negroes in all sections to stop migrating and settle down and work out their own destiny and success will come. No people can merit the confidence and respect of a city and state who are unsettled and are continually migrating from one section of the country to the other.

"Rev. W. M. Ferrell, C. A. Hill and others made addresses endorsing the work of the Holmes institute. Rev. Holmes will deliver a series of lectures in the city to raise funds for the school.

American Scholars Are to Take Part in Course at Breslau

NEW YORK HERALD JULY 15, 1923

Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia to Speak in Germany on Negro Problem.

Special Correspondence to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Berlin, June 30.

American scholars are to take a conspicuous part in the special course for the study of Americana, arranged by Breslau University for the fortnight beginning June. 25. The two general themes will be "America's Intellectual Life" and the "Relations Between the United States and Germany. The American lecturers will be Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University, who will speak on the "Negro Problem in the United States"; Prof. Thomas C. Hall, formerly of the faculty of the Union Theological Seminary, on the "Historic Foundations of American Political Life"; Prof. W. W. Rockwell, now of Union Theological Seminary, whose theme will be "Religious Life in America" and the Scientific Intellectual Relationship Between America and Germany."

Additional lectures on America will be delivered by men well known in German academic life, among them Prof. Bernhausen, who will speak on "William James and the Significance of Pragmatism for the Religious Philosophy of America"; Prof. Dietrich on the "Economic Structure of the United States," Privy Councillor Kuehemann on the "Philosophy of American Life," Prof. Lehmann on the "American Educational System" and Prof. Ziekursch on the "Political History of the United States and Canada."

Commander William T. Halsey, whose duties as American Naval Attache extend to the three Scandinavian capitals in addition to Berlin, is leaving for Copenhagen this week, accompanied by Mrs. Halsey, to welcome the fleet of four United States battleships, having on board the midshipmen from the Naval College at Annapolis for the yearly practice cruise. The fleet is commanded by Admiral Scales.

Aristocrats Hold Meeting.

The Hotel Bristol was the rendezvous this week of large numbers of the German and Austrian-Hungarian aristocracy and for the moment it seemed as if war and revolution were only a dream and that time had turned back to the pre-war days of courts and kings and their retainers. The outstanding personality was Ferdinand, ex-Czar of Bulgaria, who with his second son, Prince Kyrill, and his former chamberlain, Baron von Weich, came up from Coburg, where he is now residing, and gave a dinner at the Bristol in honor of Gen. Gantcheff, his former courtier. Archduchess Isabella (nee Duchess of Croy) was in Berlin en route to the hereditary castle of the Croy family at Duelmen in Westphalia, accompanied by her daughter, Princess Gabriele, and Princess Isabelle of Salm-Salm. Here they met Duke Albert of Schleswig-Holstein who had motored over from Castle Primkenau in Silesia and Prince Julius zu Lippe coming from Dresden. Stopping at the Bristol this week was also the Italian Ambassador to Copenhagen, Signor Salvatore Barzillai, returning to his post.

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Bode of New York, who were guests at the Busch-Tauscher wedding, have left the Hotel Adlon for Bad Kissingen, where Mrs. Bode will take the cure. They expect to return to America on the Aquitania in July. Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Jaeckel, who were also of the wedding party, have left for Frankfurt, the former en route for Baden-Baden, while Mrs. Jaeckel will take the cure at Bad Gastein. Their son, Mr. Theodor Jaeckel, at present American Consul in Bordeaux,

has been transferred to Hamburg and will arrive in Berlin some time in August to pay the customary official visit to the American Consul-General, Mr. William Coffin.

American and German friends of Mme. Gadski-Tauscher participated in a housewarming and birthday fete given at her new villa in the Zehlendorf suburb of Berlin. The presence of a number of Mme. Gadski's operatic colleagues enabled the guests to listen to an impromptu musical program of distinction. The hostess was heard in well known numbers from her repetoire and also in conjunction with Mme. Niessen-Stone and Baron von Kleydorff. Among those who came in during the afternoon and evening were Secretary of State Dr. Albert and Mrs. Albert, Commander and Mrs. William F. Halsey, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Bode and Mr. and Mrs. Hugo Jackel of New York; Mr. William Rycken and Mme. Busch-Rycken, Baroness von Kleydorff and her daughters and Director Krass of the Krupp concern, with which Capt. Tauscher is connected. Mrs. Felix Wilekes of New York presided at the tea table.

Mr. Reilly at Bristol.

Mr. Arthur Reilly of the American Consular Service has been at the Bristol this week en route from Warsaw to Norway.

The American contingent is displacing the European traveling public in the lounges and restaurants of the large hotels on Unter den Linden. As the swallow senses the return of spring, so the return of Americans in conspicuous numbers is believed to be due to some occult knowledge that a sharp and favorable change might be expected in the financial atmosphere, and in this they have not been disappointed, as Berlin is for the moment the cheapest capital in Europe. Just how long it will remain so is a question to which the oracles as yet have given no answer.

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DEVELOPMENT BE PARALLEL, HE SAYS

GREENSBORO [illegible] Index

Bishop Kirkman G. Finlay Gives Sound Advice at Race Conference

AUG 3 0 1923

The white and negro races must look forward to parallel development, declared Bishop Kirkman G. Finlay, of the Upper South Carolina Diocese in an able address before the Inter-Racial conference last night. Bishop Finlay stressed the fact that the race question was not peculiarly a problem of the South's but was world wide. Neither white nor negro race wants racial equality and racial equality is not desirable for either race, he pointed out. There will never be racial equality in the commonly accepted sense and the races will each make progress parallel with each other, but not interfering with each other's development.

Bishop Finlay pointed out causes of friction between the races and stressed the need of greater efficiency for the colored race.

The following synopsis of events at the conference yesterday was prepared by the publicity committee:

At the colored conference the program for Wednesday was well carried out. Mrs. J. R. Cain of Columbia gave the devotional, basing her well chosen remarks on John 15.

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The splendid work which these trained state agents are doing is receiving a great deal of appreciation among the earnest, intelligent colored women who are in attendance.

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At the close the colored leaders rose and one after the other gave approbation to the Bishop's remarks, and finally took a rising vote of thanks.

A collection was taken in order to try to raise the last $2,000 necessary on the colored hospital. Professor Beadle stated that if this comparatively small amount is not to be had at once that operations on the building will have to be suspended. The white friends of this project are asked to take this matter under consideration and do what they find it in their hearts and purses to do in helping the cause.

Program for Tomorrow.

9:45 to 10:15—Devotional by Mrs. G. W. Gardner.

10:15 to 11—Milk and milk products, by E. P. Gulledge.

11 to 11:45—Prenatal and Obstetrical Care, Miss Elizabeth Woodson.

11:15 to 12:05—Talk on Tuberculosis by Dr. Isadore Schayer.

12:05 to 12:30—Bible Talk, Prof. H A. Beadle.

1:30 to 3 p. m.—Use of Commercial Patterns. Mrs. E. A. Reynolds.

3:00 to 3:15—Rest.

3:15 to 4:15—Basket making.

4:15 to 4:30—Vesper service. Rev. E. A. Fuller.

830—Pageant under direction of W. H. Hilyard of Brewer Normal school at Mt. Pisgah church.

INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

JUL 21 1923

THE SOUTHERN NEGROES

The assertion of negro leaders at a conference in Georgia that the negroes do not wish to leave the south is based on good evidence. Seldom does any considerable body of people wish to leave the country of its birth and upbringing except for urgent reasons. The tendency of most people has always been to stay at home and enjoy the society of relatives and lifelong friends. The lure of gold, the desire for religious freedom, the quest of adventure, or the demand for a mere living may operate to uproot families from their native environment and drive them into new surroundings, but if there is food, shelter, liberty, community spirit and some degree of prosperity, the desire for peace and comfort surpasses any temptation to move.

Last month a similar conference was held in Mississippi. In reply to a request from planters and other white leaders with whom they conferred on the migration question, negro leaders said that the negroes were leaving Mississippi for the north because "the negro feels that his life is not safe in Mississippi." The negro leaders asserted that the state was spending twenty times as much for the education of white children as it was spending for the education of negro children, that there were more than 1,000 high schools for white children in the state, and only one for negro children, and that as against 800 rural consolidated schools for white children the negro children had none.

Much of the economic distress of the negroes in the south is due to the fact that sixty years ago the race had practically no property, and it obtained its freedom in an era of southern despondency and poverty. Racial animosities that are expressed in a policy of keeping the negro ignorant will, however, have to be overcome before the negroes can be satisfied. As long as they are ignorant they are easy marks for unprincipled leaders, often of their own race. Certainly when they give, as their main excuse for migrating, a desire to enable their children to benefit by schooling, they challenge the white south and arouse the sympathy of all Americans.

[illegible] AUG 1 1923

The South and the Negro

Remarking that in the South the negro has been regarded as "about equally a social problem and an economic necessity," the New York World goes on pointedly to say:

"Often the fact that the negro is an economic blessing has been lost sight of in the irritation naturally felt by communities which consist of two mutually antagonistic layers. The race problem has overshawoded the question of the negro's usefulness, but once the negro leaves, his importance to the cotton-growing States looms suddenly large. His importance as the only labor supply of the South for any purpose begins to outweigh all his disadvantages." Turning to the negro arrived in the North in large numbers, the World as pointedly adds: "He brings along with him his status as an economic blessing and a social complication. Wherever he goes he is both welcome and unwelcome. His problem is not solved by the exodus. It is merely scattered and shifted."

Friction, now and then, between two widely different races inhabiting a common territory is almost inevitable under the best of circumstances, as the North will find and, indeed, has already found. But it can be avoided and for many years has been avoided in the city of Winston-Salem, where thousands of colored people live and work and enjoy the blessings of civilized society in as much peace and contentment as the average white citizen enjoys.

But even in those sections of the South where there is friction, where the two races have not yet learned how to live together as well as they have learned their lesson in citizenship in Winston-Salem, it is highly probable that but for a grave political error the "economic blessing" of the negro would have been more generally recognized and the "social complication" his presence involved would have proved less irritating. The error referred to was foundly humiliated by their former slaves under the direction of white aliens and the protection of Federal bayonets. It was during that dark period in American history that the franchisement of more than enough whites to secure an easy black majority in every community.

In consequence, during a period varying from five to ten years in the eleven States of the defunct Southern Confederacy, the Southern whites were misgoverned, robbed and pro-

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But even in those sections of the South where there is friction, where the two races have not yet learned how to live together as well as they have learned their lesson in citizenship in Winston-Salem, it is highly probable that but for a grave political error the "economic blessing" of the negro would have been more generally recognized and the "social complication" his presence involved would have proved less irritating. The error referred to was the insistence of the radicals in Congress, after the Civil War, on the sudden gift of manhood suffrage to the negroes together with the disfranchisement of more than enough whites to secure an easy black majority in every community.

In consequence, during a period varying from five to ten years in the eleven States of the defunct Southern Confederacy, the Southern whites were misgoverned, robbed and profoundly humiliated by their former slaves under the direction of white aliens and the protection of Federal bayonets. It was during that darkest period in American history that were sown the seeds of inter-racial enmity which are still bearing fruit after fifty years, and which promise a continuing fruitage even after a century has passed.

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Race Problem — 1923
United States.

DEAN KELLY MILLER'S ~~ALL-RACE~~ CONFERENCE MAKES PROGRESS.

Washington, D. C., June 29.—Dean Kelly Miller's All-Race Conference Program has been making progress even though there has not been much publicity lately. When the movement was launched in New York City under the general direction of the of the temporary United Front Conference composed of the National Equal Rights League, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the International Uplift League, the N. A. A. C. P., and the National Race Congress, a Committee on the All-Race Conference with plenary and final powers was designated. This Committee has been holding meetings regularly for the purpose of arranging for the Conference.

Committed on All Race Conference.

The Committee is as follows: Dean Kelly Miller, Chairman, pro tem; James F. Dowis, Secretary pro ten; Dr. M. A. N. Shaw, James L. Neill, Maurice E. Spencer, and Wm. Monroe Trotter, representing Equal Rights League; James W. Johnson, Robert W. Bagnall, Richetta G. Randolph, and Prof. L. M. Hershaw, the N. A. A. C. P.; R. B. Moore, C. V. Briggs, W. A. Domingo, and Otte E. Husiwoud, the African Blood Brotherhood; A Philip Randolph and George Schuyler, the Friends of Negro Freedom; Dr. D. N. E. Campgell, the International Uplift League; Prof. John R. Hawkins, the A. M. E. Church; Miss Nannie Burdoughs, the Baptist Women; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, the National Federation of Colored Women; James A. Cobb, the legal Fraternity; Dr. A. M. Curtis, the Medical Fraternity; Henry P. Slaughter, the Fraternal and Benevolent Orders; J. Finlay Wilson, the Negro Press; Norman L. McGhee, the College Fraternities; Rev. D. D. Turpeau, the M. E. Church; Eugene Kinckle Jones, the National Urban League; Channing H. Tobias, the Y. M. C. A.; Dr. George E. Haynes, the Federal Council of. Churches; Dr Emmett J. Scott, Negro Business; Rev. W. H. Jernagin, the National Race Congress; Hon. Phil H. Brown, Negro Labor; Prof. G. C. Wilkinson, Negro Education; Rev. E. D. W. Jones and Rev. H. J. Callis, the A. M. E. Z. Church; Dr. Julia H. P. Coleman, the Negro Business Woman; Rev. George D. Bullock, the Lott Carey Convention. Mrs. A. F. Hilyer, the Y. W. C. A.; and Rev. G. T. Long, the C. M. E. Church.

Method and Purpose of—Representation in Conference.

The purposes and methods of the Conference have been discussed in all details and certain basic conclusions have been reached. These conclusions being that the All-Race Conference shall be held during the week of November 5, 1923. This is in accordance with the resolution that the meeting be held prior to any of the national conventions to be held during the year 1924. It was also decided that instead of attempting to have a mass convention that the basis of representation be a flat assignent of ten delegates and ten alternates to all national organizations engaged in race activities; that the program of the Conference be arranged around special commissions so that definite study might be given to all subjects of racial interest instead of discussing them in mass convention. Cooperation is to be the key word of the Conference which is to be a kind of "Super-Council" or "Super-Senate" of Negro Organizations. Each organization under this program will elect delegates who will seek at the Conference to "legislate" in cedtain given directions for the benefit of the race.

TWO FRIENDLY CRITICISMS.

The Daily News recently has received two letters which interest it exceedingly. The writers have one thing in common—each is a friendly critic of the Daily News. In everything else they are about as widely separated as they well could be. One is a conservative southern woman in her sixties, the other a radical northern man in his thirties. Their attitudes on pretty nearly everything are diametrically opposed to each other; but they both land heavily on the Daily News, and as we think the matter over, we are forced to the rueful confession that they are both partially right.

One, the southern woman, declares that she hears the Daily News accused of cynicism (we deny that) but for her own part contents herself with the statement, which cannot be denied, that "the tone of the paper is critical." The northern man, on the contrary, remarks "an overemphasis on the negro problem to the point where it amounts almost to an emotional fixation, so that there is a lack of sufficient emphasis on other problems. . . . Now it seems to me that the only way of achieving objectivity—or at least greater objectivity—on the negro problem is to force other problems upon the consciousness of the Southern community." This indictment, let us add in justice to ourselves, was not brought specifically against the Daily News, but against southern thinking in general.

We deem these criticisms worthy of attention and reply because both are constructive, and each has a reasonable basis. As to the first, we are perfectly sure that any investigator who would take the trouble to measure the editorial columns of the Daily News for any given month would find at least twice as much space given to praise as is given to blame. But it isn't all praise; and the reason it isn't is because we thoroughly agree with our second critic that one of the main difficulties facing the south today is its habit of reserving all its invective for the negro problem—not the negro, please note, but the negro problem—and sugar-coating all its other nauseus messes. The Daily News is profoundly, not to say passionately, convinced that the danger threatening the south today is not black supremacy, but the wrong sort of white supremacy.

We do not believe that there is the remotest danger that the blacks will ever again dominate the south politically. There may be temporary local disturbances occasionally, but in so far as the whole south is concerned the spectre of negro domination is laid forever.

But a different sort of problem has arisen to take its place. There is a false and mischievous notion abroad that race relations in the south are like a see-saw, so that if the negro begins to rise, the white man, now at the top, must inevitably begin to come down. The truth is the relation is similar to that of the members of an Alpine club, roped together to make a difficult ascent. As the member in front climbs, he is compelled to haul the other up with him; if he were foolish enough to undertake to thrust the other down, he would necessarily be jerked from his own footing. Both must go up, or both must come down; and the quickest and easiest method of ascent is for each to do his own climbing, always with due care not to throw any sudden strain upon the other.

It has been our habit in the south to act and talk as if there were no doubt that nothing but the negro holds us back. If that were true, it would not be worth discussing, for here the negro is, and here he will remain; but the Daily News does not believe for a moment that it is true. It can see innumerable things that would hold us back even if we were cut loose from the negro, and that, as it is, are holding back both white and negro. To the best of our ability we have outlined these things, and to that extent we acknowledge that the tone of the paper has been critical.

Yet we believe that in that course the Daily News has been representative of the most advanced and vigorous thought of the state. It isn't merely the Daily News whose tone is critical; North Carolina's tone is critical. The state is waking to the fact that many an accepted formula, many an ancient dogma, has either no foundation in fact, or no relation to present conditions. It is questioning principles and policies that heretofore it has always accepted as part of the established order of things. In fact, it is coming to the conclusion that the very existence of an established order of things is in itself pretty good evidence of dry rot. Look at the road program. Look at the program of social legislation. Above all, look at the educational program. The road program would never have been adopted if the state had not seen that its existing roads were rotten. The social program would not have been entered upon had not critics proved that the existing conditions were abominable. The educational program had no chance until the state had awakened, into its consciousness the evils and dan-

NEGRO ENTERPRISE BEGAN ILL-FEELING NEAR TUSKEGEE

Merchants Were Friendly Until New Store Took Trade From White Haberdashery Shop.

BY LESTER A. WALTON.

Little did Booker T. Washington think some years ago when he founded Greenwood, a Negro colony situated on the outskirts of Tuskegee Institute, that the first rift to disturb the unprecedented era of good feeling existing for so many years between the town of Tuskegee and the school would be directly due to Greenwood's zeal in enlarging the scope of its business activities.

Along with Tuskegee Institute and the National Negro Business League, Greenwood's development was another pet project dear to Dr. Washington's heart. The noted educator had visioned a model town of pretty homes, well-kept lawns, paved streets, a busy business centre—an orderly, thriving community—proving to the world the Negro's capacity for self-government just as Tuskegee had demonstrated the Negro's ability to successfully manage his own institutions on a large scale. While perhaps a bit discursive it may be of interest to mention that the budget for operating the school for the coming scholastic year amounts to nearly a half million dollars.

Some members of Tuskegee's faculty live in attractive homes built in Greenwood and only a stone's throw from the institute's grounds. Last summer an alumnus, rated as one of the wealthiest citizens of Macon County, erected a pretentious brick structure in Greenwood, costing over $50,000. It consists of a hotel, restaurant and stores. Having in mind the opening of the Negro Veterans' Hospital, and because of the great demand for sleeping and eating accommodations on such events as the Tus-

kegee Farmers' Conference and the annual commencement exercises, this modern hotel was put up.

The plan to conduct a hostelry in Greenwood for Negroes met with the hearty approbation of the white people of Tuskegee, but when it came to their notice that another Tuskegee graduate was arranging to open a drug store and a haberdashery in the new building surprise soon kindled into indignation and outspoken opposition. Tradesmen of the town who had for many years reaped a financial harvest dealing with the school teachers and students did not hesitate to remonstrate, declaring Greenwood was invading their sacred business precincts.

Thus the first seeds of racial ill-will were inadvertently sown in a hitherto friendly environment. It was not difficult to arouse opposition among the townspeople to the Federal Government's program of manning the Negro hospital with Negro physicians and nurses. The hospital's monthly payroll will amount to $60,000.

The enrolment of Tuskegee Institute is much in excess of the entire population of the town. The financial benefits accruing to Tuskegee due to its proximity to the school have been great. Not only has this Negro school helped make Macon County one of the richest counties in the State, but it has given the State of Alabama its outstanding show place.

Completely disrobed of all secondary issues involved in the controversy and discounting much of the loud talk about principle being at stake and the gnashing of teeth about "Negro domination," the intrinsic reason for all the hullabaloo is easily discernible; the deep-rooted cause is not hard to fathom; the almighty dollar!

Negro Porter Shows How Complex Works

Recently, returning from a trip South, I was instructed in a lesson on the "Superior Complex" as the train on which I was a passenger industriously ploughed its way Northward through space, dust and humidity. My mentor on this occasion was the Pullman porter, a young man who is in school two-thirds of the year and puts down berths during the other three months.

"The only use they have for you down this way when you are travelling on a sleeper is when you have on something like this," he complained bitterly, pointing to his white coat. "Don't get on a Pullman, act the same as any other passenger and mind your own business. Then you raise the color question," remarked the porter.

Pointing to a colored girl in the coach who was with a white woman and two children and officiating in the capacity of nurse, the Pullman employee continued: "Although she is a Negro no one will object to her riding in a sleeper. I guess you've been noticing how pleasant all the white people have been to her? That's because she's a servant. Just let some Negro board this Pullman not a menial. Most everybody will then look daggers and you can hear unfriendly comments. Social equality will then be the cry."

An hour or so after I had been given my lesson on the "Superior Complex" I saw the colored nurse take the two white children to the diner. Upon their return I heard the children relating to their mother what they had selected from the menu.

"What did you eat, Mammy?" although the nurse was not over forty, the employer inquired.

"Nothing was the answer.

"What's the matter; why didn't you eat?" queried the white woman.

"Said I'd have to wait till later on," indignantly declared the nurse.

"Think that's a shame!" flared the white woman.

And yet had this same employee encountered Mrs. Booker T. Washington or Mrs. Robert R. Norton in the diner she would have waxed wroth

But the preachments of the Pullman porter on the "Superior Complex" were more forcibly impressed upon my mind a few days later, when, under the headline, "Negro's Ride Stirs South," I noticed the following despatch from Goldsboro, N. C., in The World:

"Allen Moses and his wife, wealthy Negroes, left here in Pullman berths to-night for Washington and New York. This is the first time in the history of this city that Negroes have had 'the nerve,' as one citizen expressed it, to buy sleeper tickets here. White citizens are aroused, and it is said the Ku Klux Klan will be asked to give Moses a warm reception on his return."

There are others besides members of the Ku Klux Klan who believe Uncle Sam's currency should be less than par when in the possession of a Negro, and prefer to look with kindlier eyes on a Negro servant than a Negro of education, means and independence—one who by dint of achievement merits all the comforts of travel his money can command.

MENCKEN ON THE SOUTH.

Henry L. Mencken, the educated ruffian who edits Smart Set and writes for the Baltimore Evening Sun, is never so happy as when abusing people. He rarely praises. He specializes in what he regards as devastating criticism. In a characteristic article in the Baltimore Sun, Mencken deals with negro migration and the South. He tells his readers how there are two Souths, the South of the old gentry, and the South of the "poor white trash" who he says have governed this section since Reconstructtion. Mencken is false and unjust enough to say:—

> It is this second South that has been on top since Reconstruction days, and out of its ascendancy has flowed nine-tenths of the difficulties, political and social, that have beset the Southern people. It has steadily brought down Southern politics to the level of spoils and demagoguery; it has made a pathetic buffoonery of Southern education; it has fostered and inflamed race differences; it has corrupted and degraded Southern journalism; it has reduced Southern Christianity to a burlesque and an obscenity. This is the South of the Ku Klux Klan, of the Billy Sunday revival, of complete aesthetic and ideational sterility, of burnings and lynchings, of Blease and Vardaman, of Prohibition and Jew-baiting, of anti-Darwinism and free silver. This is the South, alas, that Northerners usually think of when they think of the South at all.

These are half-truths, conceived in venom. We characterize them as half truths, unwarranted and unjust, for these reasons:

Southern politics is no nearer the level of spoils and demagoguery than the politics of other sections, although we should be the last to deny that our politics could not be greatly improved.

Southern journalism is as enlightened and as honest as the journalism of other sections; no more so, no less.

Southern education is no more a pathetic buffoonery than education in other sections.

Racial passions are no hotter here than elsewhere—no hotter here than in California, or Illinois, or Ohio.

Southern Christianity is not different from Christianity in the East or West.

As for the "Billy Sunday revival," that sort of revival is not peculiar to the South. Billy Sunday lives in Illinois and holds most of his meetings in the North.

The Ku Klux Klan headquarters are in Atlanta, but the New York World said a year ago that the Klan was stronger in the North than the South. The World ought to know.

Prohibition started in Maine and Kansas, and came to the South after the West had accepted it. All States but two, we believe, ratified the eighteenth amendment—among them New York State.

Jew-baiting and anti-Darwinism are not peculiarly Southern. Henry Ford is the chief Jew-baiter of the Nation, and he lives in Michigan. The South has less sympathy with his methods and practices in regard to Jews, perhaps, than any other section. William J. Bryan, a westerner, is the leader of the anti-Darwin legislative crusade. Mr. Bryan and his Western followers were responsible for free silver threat.

Vardaman and Blease have been repudiated by the people of their States, but Hylan, of New York, is still in office, while Thompson, of Chicago, was twice elected mayor of his city.

The South is not a section of "ideational and esthetic sterility." There is a widespread revival of cultural interests and activities in every Southern State. The work of Southern artists and writers today compares favorably with that of their colleagues from other sections. Naturally the richer East attracts a greater number of artists than the poorer South, but we think that the South is today contributing its share to the thought of the nation.

Our point is that if Mencken were really honest he would not give a list of things and conditions that inflame him, and declare that they are peculiarly Southern.

The South is open to criticism. Its own men and women are freely criticising the South's short-comings. They should be encouraged in this, rather than driven into a defensive attitude by such vicious and unwarranted slurs as the gifted Mencken casts at the South. The South does not resent honest criticism, but it does resent insulting slurs.

Race Problem— 1923.
South America.

BRAZIL OFFERS GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO COTTON GROWERS OF AMERICA

The article which we reproduce here taken from the Brazilian American, a leading magazine in that country, will show cotton growers of the Race who now have to contend with peonage, robbery, and murder what a splendid opportunity and future are open to them in Brazil. There nature favors the man who has a knowledge of cotton growth and culture. An investment of $5,000 to $10,000 in the cotton future of Brazil will bring a fortune to ambitious and expert cotton growers. To begin with the exchange rate between American money and Brazilian money gives one a great advantage. Your dollars will buy twice as much of everything there than they will bring you here 12-29-23

Your experience will bring immediate returns and make you a leader and power among Brazilians engaged in the same business. Moreover, your children will be recognized as men and women without regard to Race, color or religion. The very top of the ladder is open to them. Careers in the army and navy, in politics and public life right up to the presidency of the country are possible for your children and their children when they know the language and have become citizens of this freest of free countries for Race men and their families. This article will repay careful study and reading. People who live in the South now in fear of life and property, with no guaranty of future security other than the charity of the white man, have an opportunity to live and prosper like men with fear for no man or race.

SERGIPE, THE VANGUARD STATE IN PRODUCTION OF FINE COTTON

Cotton is rapidly coming into its own in Brazil and the state of Sergipe, the smallest in the union, is showing the way in this new enterprise which will eventually put Brazil on the map as one of the foremost "white gold" producing countries of the world. This fact has already been established and experts agree that the cotton grown in the little northern state equals the best sea island of Egyptian cottons grown in the world today. Cotton growing in Brazil at present is a healthy young enterprise, but experts believe that within 25 years the annual output will be between four and five million bales.

For many years cotton has been grown in Brazil but it is only recently that real, up-to-date, scientific methods have been introduced. Since then the change in the quality of this world staple product has been little short of marvelous. This enterprise is now out of its swaddling clothes and cotton growers and users are watching with great interest the steady advancement Brazil is making. The results from the state of Sergipe in less than a year's time have far exceeded the expectations of those interested in this line. As a result the state has attracted world-wide attention, the wheel of prosperity is turning slowly but surely and it is believed that within five years the state will be one of the most prosperous in Brazil.

T. R. Day, who has been experimenting with cotton growing in this country for several years, is in charge of the enterprise in Sergipe, and has given the Brazilian American the following information about cotton culture in Brazil:

"The state of Sergipe is an ideal place to grow cotton. Sergipe today is producing cotton equal to that grown in the United States or any other country in the world. By that I mean in quality, and in time it will be able to produce on a much larger scale. I believe no country can show climate or soil with any better natural advantages than we possess in the North for the growing of all kinds of cotton, especially sea island, Egyptian hybrids and other fine sorts. Fine cottons are being produced in Sergipe now from varieties which I have grown in Brazil for many years and after numerous experiments."

Mr. Day, who is chief of the cotton growing service for the state of Sergipe and the federal government, showed our representative samples of fiber, bolls and manufactured goods from Sergipe cotton. He explained that if the cotton goods manufacturing plants were equipped with modern machinery their products would be equal to those that are now being imported from foreign countries. The most important of the varieties shown, Mr. Day said, was "Day's Pedigree," a very heavy producing cotton giving fibers of excellent quality up to 30 centimeters in length, just the kind of cotton required throughout the world for manufacturing. Other and newer varieties shown, which are expected to be of great importance, are known as the "Improved Pedigree," which has been named "President Cardoso," in honor of the president of the state. Two long staples were also exhibited which have been named "Gold Mine" and "Silver Mine." The latter two are Egyptian hybrids. These, according to Mr. Day, promise excellent results in the producing of the highest classes of fiber to take the place of Egyptian and sea island cotton for the manufacture of best quality fabrics and mercerized goods.

"The production of these and higher class cottons," continued Mr. Day, "will quickly lead to the manufacturing in this country of a higher class of goods to equal those which are now being imported. These Egyptian Hybrids are well adapted for the manufacturing of best quality of mercerized hosiery and when made up, could only be distinguished by an expert, from pure silk goods. In addition to the varieties mentioned which are already successfully grown in this country from American seeds, experiments are being made with 30 other types of American cottons. In order that the very highest improvement may be made in the selection of seeds or kinds for the various localities of the state, several experimental stations have been established, although most of this work is being carried on at the main station in Aracaju.

"The State of Sergipe has the most extensive organization for the selection and improvement of cotton to be found anywhere in Brazil. At present we have four stations and have under cultivation 300 acres. This year's crop for the state will amount to about 15,000 bales of high-grade fiber, and a sufficient supply of seeds for distribution throughout the state. Next year we propose to increase the acreage and more than 1,000 acres will be planted with the new improved varieties we are now growing.

"When I first grew cotton in Sergipe, it was on the Ilha dos Coquieros (Island of Cocoanuts) just a short distance from Aracaju and the fibers equaled the best grown at Sea Island, John Island or James Island, off the coast of South Carolina. The medium and long staple cotton now grown in Sergipe is as good as any in the world and it is impossible to produce better.

"Naturally a good part of our success is due to the well organized staff we have and the whole-hearted cooperation from President Cardoso. The chief executive of the state, is a thorough progressive and active head of the state. He has given every encouragement possible and personally assists in the work. He has spent considerable time visiting throughout the state, talking to the manufacturers, the cotton growing farmers and members of our staff. In addition he has surrounded himself with a very capable cabinet. Politics do not count in the state of Sergipe where the welfare of the people is at stake. All the politicians work with and for the president and, as a result, the state is prospering.

"Ouh staff is working hard and our field people have been especially trained. The chief pest of cotton in Brazil is the 'lagarta rosada,' which is known as the Egyptian boll worm. We keep eliminated much of the danger from this pest. The work is so efficiently done by those in charge of this section that the insects never get the opportunity to make headway. As a result the crop has suffered no damage.

"Cotton is bound to bring prosperity to Sergipe and the cotton growers are delighted to raise a higher grade, as they receiev more money for their product. At present all the fair grade cotton can be sold at 10 milreis a kilo and right in Aracaju. There are six cotton goods manufacturing plants in Aracaju and they are all preparing to install the most modern machinery in order that their goods can compare with the best being imported."

An expert who spent two years in the United States and a year in England investigating cotton told Mr. Day after seeing Sergipe cotton that he had not found a be[illegible]le during his trip.

A cotton fair is to be held in Aracaju in January and cotton from all sections of the state will be placed on exhibition. Rewards will be given. The people are enthusiastic and it is believed that many experts from the United States and Europe will attend. Mr. Day said that already a number of inquiries for cotton from Europe and the United States had been received and many growers in the United States have asked for information about the state. Some have announced their intention of moving to Sergipe, if conditions were favorable. Mr. Day believes that in the next few years 40,000 or 50,000 bales of high-class commercial grade, which are always in demand, will be grown in Sergipe soil.—Brazilian American.

Race Problem—1923
South America.

DEFENDER HEAD MADE WELCOME BY BRAZILIANS

Mr. Abbott Finds South American Metropolis Wonderful City; Ability Counts

Chicago Defender
3-31-23

Rio de Janeiro, March 30.—Prominent Brazilians during the past few weeks have engaged themselves in extending the courtesy of the country to Dr. Robert S. Abbott, director and proprietor of the Chicago Defender. Dr. Abbott arrived here on the steamship Pan-American, accompanied by his wife. On the same ship came another North American publisher, Edward McLean of the Washington Post.

Quite a creditable announcement of Dr. Abbott's arrival was made in an interview which appeared in A Noite. The correspondent for that paper wrote:

"Dr. R. S. Abbott of North America, director and proprietor of the Chicago Defender, is visiting our capital. The Defender is a journal of the Negro Race in North America.

"He is an excellent representative of the Race, accompanied by his wife. He is on a vacation, the first, he says, of his life, and proposes to make observations for later use in his paper of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. He will return to New York by way of the Panama canal.

"We had not had the time to shake hands or visit with him before he complimented the city.

"'What a beautiful city!' he exclaimed. 'What cordiality I find here. How all the races of men shake hands as brothers. Pardon me, senor, but I cannot find words to express my admiration for the people here.

"'We want in North America, as you have in South America, ability rather than color to count, especially in the Southern States where we work hard to progress and do progress. In my employ I have 79 people of both races. There is no question of color, only of ability.'

"He told of some of the conditions of living in North America. A Northern city like Cincinnati, he said, is almost as bad as cities in Louisiana so far as treatment of his Race is concerned. In the Southern states, he declared the two races to be absolutely separated. He praised the work of Booker T. Washington in North America.

"Dr. Abbott has been the guest of Dr. Alfred Clendenen in this city."

Symbol of Liberty in Books Only; Millions Fight for Freedom and Get Oppression

Robert S. Abbott was a name to attract. A pure Negro, without any intermixture, only by prodigious intellectual force and will could be attain in the United States the respected position he today enjoys, writes M in a recent issue of the Brazilian weekly, Revista da Semana. An advocate before various North American tribunals, the editor and proprietor of the Chicago Defender, a pamphleteer and renowned author of criticism, he is the champion of the Negro cause and the missionary of a redemption which borders on the miraculous.

Chicago Defender
4-28-23

At the announcement that he would speak to Brazilians, the question was asked: What extraordinary words would this formidable paladin utter, victor in the most difficult and antagonistic of all mediums?

Prominent Brazilians

We foresaw the theater transformed into an assembly of Race, crowded with Negroes, all a glorious black spot which proudly reflected the light. At last the drums sounded. On the stage around a table at which was seated the principal speaker, the most prominent Brazilian Negroes seated themselves in hierarchical order. The Colored men of Brazil presided over the meeting which was organized by the Beneficiary Association of the Federation of Colored Men of Brazil. One of them, of bronzed skin, clad in a priest's cassock, remained standing; he was the Rev. Canon Dr. Olympio de Castro, one of the most brilliant pulpit luminaries, who welcomed the eminent North American fighter. The effulgent word of the preacher shone, scintillated, recalling through various periods the great Negroes, our brothers in God and country, from the chivalrous figure of Henrique Dias, renowned in the defense of the sacred soil of this country against the ambition of the Dutch conquerors, to the names of Antonio Reboucas, Jose de Patrocinio, Cruz e Sousa and many others, dead or living artists or scientists, all equally invested with the laurels of glory and clad in the chlamys of immortality.

Mr. Abbot Speaks

Dr. Abbot then arose. His exordium was brief, indicating his pleasure in addressing the people of Brazil, in whose bosom the human race lives in such perfect harmony. Taking up his subject, he next described the situation of the black man in the United States, telling how despite the Negro's valuable and innumerable services, and of faithful collaboration through the course of a century, the white concedes him not the slightest consideration which he deserves and always ardently strives to attain.

"The Negro," said Mr. Abbott, "who in time of stress offered his life or his blood in the North American cause to free Cuba from the grasp of Spain and to make the world safe from the German monster, has not yet secured liberty under the sky of his own fatherland; and the Negro child eternally reaches out its arms to the symbolic statue in the principal port of the United States without ever being able to touch it."

Praises Brazil

He framed lofty panegyrics to Brazil, "who opens the doors of her heart to all men." He affirmed that while with us he would learn to associate the expressions, "Liberty and Brazil," declaring that Brazilian Negroes could not comprehend the points of view of the American Negro because in Brazil there is but a single point of view for men of all races. Entering into his peroration, he exhorted the Brazilians present to learn English in order that it might be possible for them to understand the life of bitterness of the American Negro, and he concluded in a transport, his voice somewhat broken, saying that he would take to his country, as an incentive to renewed and more accentuated struggles, the sublime example of Brazilian fraternity, extolled by the greatest dreamers of political science and sociology.

Under the spell of his words we left the theater. In the calm afternoon, still kissed by the sun, the crowd moved with the restlessness of the city and none knew that there, two steps from the tumult, a spirit so brilliant had just shown itself.

SWEET LIBERTY WIELDS SCEPTER DOWN IN BRAZIL

Mr. Abbott Finds Brazilians "Sublime"; Sees the Spirit of Equality; Signally Honored

Chicago Defender
4/14/23

Rio de Janeiro, April 13.—"It is my wish and hope to one day awaken and find my native land a safe place for any man in which to live, no matter what the color of his skin—such as a place as you now have. Since my coming here, and my reception, my observation and inquiries, I am here to say to you that I have concluded the words 'liberty' and 'Brazil' are synonymous."

The above is taken from the report of the speech of Dr. Robert S. Abbott, proprietor of the Chicago Defender, that appeared in one of the leading dailies here on the front page. The address was made before the Democratic conference of Brazil.

What Brazil Recognizes

"It would not be a hard matter," Dr. Abbott continued, "for Brazilians to understand the American Negro. It is so hard for America, the U. S. A. Why can YOU so easily understand us? The answer is simple, my good friends—because YOU RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE that ALL MEN ARE EQUALS and because you know that in LIFTING YOU CLIMB and that in keeping down you cannot progress. The sooner my countrymen realize this fact the sooner will America reach the sublime state you already have. I end, my friends, in saying again—I hope some day to see my U. S. A. follow your sublime example of fraternity."

Following Mr. Abbott Dr. Tito Carlos spoke in English. He began by explaining how happy he was in having Dr. Abbott meet him and his friends in conference and how much hope he had that the meeting would result in benefit to all concerned.

Mental Worth Counts

"Brazil has always and always will stand for the spirit of fraternity," he promised. "We shall always say that all men are born FREE and EQUAL and we shall always be brothers to all! I pray that the time is soon here when the world will all know the truth of these words: It is only by recognizing mental worth, no matter whether in a white or black person; giving justice and practicing fraternalism, that the world can hope to reach peace and happiness."

After the conference Mr. Abbott was made a member of the Federation of Men of the Brazilian corps.

The Brazilian press describes the American journalist as a leader of his Race and a welcome ambassador to their country.

South America Gets Prejudice From the South

Mr. Abbott Tells Appomattox Club Members Interesting Stories of His Travels

Chicago Defender
5-26-23

South American prejudice is the imported variety exclusively, Robert S. Abbott, publisher of the Chicago Defender, just returned from a coast-to-coast tour of the other part of the western hemisphere, told friends at a banquet tendered in his honor at the Appomattox club. There is almost as much Texas prejudice in Brazil as there is in the United States, he emphasized.

Mr. Abbott, a member of the Appomattox club, was welcomed back by David Hawley, first vice president of the club, with words well chosen to convey the sentiments of genuine good fellowship with which the boys had come out to hear "Bob" and to enjoy themselves with him.

Dr. George Cleveland Hall was master of ceremonies, he being introduced by the president of the club, S. A. T. Watkins. Seated at the table with the guest of the evening, besides Dr. Hall and Mr. Watkins, were Hon. Edward H. Wright, Louis B. Anderson, A. L. Jackson, second vice president of the club, and Phil A. Jones, general manager of the Robert S. Abbott Publishing company.

Mr. Jones in a few preliminary remarks, referred to Mr. Abbott as a man with whom he had worked for years and learned to respect and love as a father because of Mr. Abbott's own respect and admiration for others, even for the so-called "fourth assistant janitor." He praised his "boss" for that vision that had enabled him to establish a business and surround himself with men who were able to carry on that business without the constant presence of the "boss." As evidence of how well the business might go on, even if Mr. Abbott did take a rest, Mr. Jones reported circulation figures 23,000 in advance of those available when his chief left America.

In turn, interesting stories connected with the life of Mr. Abbott in Chicago were told by Richard E. Westbrooks, head of the law firm of Ellis & Westbrooks, who referred to himself as a member of the Chicago Defender staff who could not be got rid of; Major R. R. Jackson, telling of Sundays not so many years back when the now affluent publisher could scarcely afford the money to buy a couple of "sodys"; Louis B. Anderson, who credited Mr. Abbott with being one of the mainstays of his political success, and Edward H. Wright, founder of the Appomattox club, who took cognizance of that note in the Defender which dedicates itself to building up rather than tearing down.

Mr. Abbott's speech was a series of interesting stories connected with his trip. Most of them centered about various outcroppings of prejudice here and abroad, and the racial attitude of South America.

He admitted that he had had considerable difficulty getting out of America. The Brazilian consul general refused to vise his passport, and various steamship companies refused to sell him passage. He got busy, however, and finally had the president of one of the companies that had turned him down come and offer him the best passage available. He claims to have been so well taken care of on the boat that many white persons couldn't believe he was an American Race man. One curious passenger he had to convince he was not an East Indian by taking off his hat and showing his hair.

One Sunday on board ship he was being questioned by six white gentlemen when the chaplain, an Episcopallan bishop, came and shook hands with each member of the group, the white ones, inviting all to church except Mr. Abbott. Four of

the white men refused to go to church to hear the message of such a Christian.

In Rio de Janeiro he was refused admission to four hotels, all run by Americans. They claimed to be full. The Brazilian law would have shut them up if they had claimed any other reason. The same thing happened in Valparaiso, Chile, but backed by the law, he got the service he demanded, despite the opposition of North Americans and the attitude of the United State consul general.

He found among Brazilians a distrust of Americans and of the American Race man. When he first went to the country, papers warned of the doctrine he might try to spread among the inhabitants. They have no race problem and the Brazilians did not want him to create any. When they learned that he appreciated their feelings they turned from warnings to praises. He was invited to speak before the Press association of Rio and was made a member of it. Shortly after he had been given his card he "covered" a fire, passing the cordon of police to the astonishment of all around.

"Negro," he explained, is given its original meaning in South American countries, black. Persons speak of a negro dress, meaning a black dress; a negro hat, meaning a black hat, etc. The term does not refer to race. Citizens of Brazil are Brazilians."

In Colon, Panama, Mr. Abbott pointed out, he found that we as Americans were paying taxes for the maintenance of segregation down there. He told of a gold line and a silver line at certain stores, the gold for the whites, the silver for the non-whites.

In concluding his address he declared that one of the big lessons he had learned was that South Americans do not feel prejudice, that Americans are its chief distributors, that Race groups in South America are so unaware of it that they have not awakened to fight the American infiltration, and that it must be our duty here in America to keep up the fight for the eradication of prejudice at home as the first step in checking its spread abroad.

Race Problem—1923.
South America.

MY TRIP THROUGH SOUTH AMERICA

Article 1—Personal Motives

By ROBERT S. ABBOTT

Editor and Publisher of the Chicago Defender

IT WAS with secret thrills of a peculiar and inexpressible joy that I, at last, on the third day of last February, accompanied by my wife, sailed from the port of New York for a visit to the South American republics. It was the opening chapter in realization of a golden dream long cherished. Time after time had I made plans for such a trip, but ever and anon some exigency of business had arisen to lay check.



R. S. Abbott

My desire to visit South America was actuated primarily by the further desire to observe the social pulse of the Negro placed in a climatic environment similar to that of his original African home, and one in which life was stimulated by the exigencies of modern society; to ascertain the nature of the Negro's social progress when projected within the sphere of a Latin-European tradition and culture, of which I had reason to believe to be wholly devoid of those singularly irrational social-mental attitudes, based on a consciousness of race differences—that which has been so strangely potent in hindering the natural and wholesome evolution of 12 millions of Negroes within the confines of North American society; more, to grasp somehow, however superficial, the major lines of South American ethnic evolution, as thus probably indicative of what might be her future ethnic homogeneity; and further, to not only comprehend the real status of the Negro in South American society, but to ferret out in a broad sense the possible industrial, commercial and social opportunities for that enlightened and growing group of North American Negroes, who so recently are beginning to look to the South American continent as, after all, the most likely haven for a solution of their individual problems.

SOME UNEXPECTED OPPOSITION

But in the very first stage of preparation for the voyage we were confronted with a set of irritating circumstances of which I shall not herein fail to mention: We applied to the Lamport & Holt Steamship company for sailing accommodations, and after some delay were informed that all first class accommodations had been taken—this, it seems, and we have reasons to believe was nothing more than an act of racial discrimination. To prove that this was race discrimination my wife called at the office and she was offered a ticket (first class) on the boat that refused me passage.

And the flagrant act of racial discrimination we suffered in the offices of the above named company is by no means a distinction of that company. For we immediately found from that moment what seems to be a general agreement or common understanding among all the steamship offices located in Chicago against selling first class passage to Negroes. We went hither and thither, calling at all the steamship offices, and the only varying features identical with their respective policies of denying Negroes first class accommodation were the degrees of discomfiture to which we were put. It was only after fully two months of constant effort that we succeeded.

It was at the office of the Munson Steamship company, after an undue amount of delay, persistent effort and tried patience, that we, at last, got booking. In reply to a letter of protest, addressed to the officials of the latter company against what I had interpreted as manifestations too of racial discrimination, I was given to understand that such, if practiced, was wholly contrary to the policies of the Munson Steamship company.

However, a letter sent to a steamship company's representative in Chicago and which is reproduced herein shows the methods used to discourage one seeking first class accommodations.

Jan. 5, 1923.

Mr. J. C. ————,
Blackstone Hotel,
Chicago, Ill.

Pursuant to my telegram of yesterday, I called on the Munson line today relative to securing passage to South America for Mr. Abbott and his party.

The Munson people informed me that while they or the U. S. Shipping board, whose steamships they operate, do not discriminate, at times they have received complaints from first-class passengers; therefore advise, presuming that Mr. Abbott and his party are Colored, that you diplomatically suggest second-class accommodations.

Awaiting your instructions,
Very truly,

Then came the business of securing passport vises from the respective consuls stationed at Chicago, representing the several South American countries we had proposed to visit. When called upon each and all rendered me the most prompt and cordial service—all save the consul from Brazil. His was a flat refusal, and that solely on the ground of being Negroes. This, no doubt, may strike the reader as strangely interesting, considering the fact that the republic of Brazil has a Negro population far exceeding in relative proportion that which obtains between Negroes and whites in the United States of North America.

I at once called the attention of Congressman Martin B. Madden to the circumstance, requesting him to lend his efforts. This he did, but seemed quite unable to accomplish anything. I append a telegraphic communication from him on the matter, as follows:

118CHZH 37 Govt
Washington DC 324P Jan 16 1923
Robert S. Abbott
3435 Indiana Ave Chgo Ills
I made appeal to state department and they advise me that Brazil has immigration regulations which she will not set aside in a case like yours. State department of course cannot demand favorable action. I am sorry.
MARTIN B. MADDEN

I then turned to Senator Medill McCormick. Forthwith the matter was taken up with the Brazilian embassy. It was only after much effort and refined judgment on the part of Senator Medill McCormick was there anything achieved on this score. Appended are four telegrams from him appertaining to his efforts.

83 CHZH 52 Govt F D TP
St Washington DC 136P Jan 16 1923
Robert S Abbott
Care the Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave Chgo Ill
Telegram very indefinite. Took matter up with Brazilian embassy here who suggested you again call on consul and ascertain reasons for refusing vise of passport. Am informed some restrictions are in force but am unable to learn whether you come under these until I know of reasons set forth by Brazilian consul.
MEDILL McCORMICK

131 CHZH 14 Govt
St Washington DC 448P Jan 17 1923
Robert S. Abbott
Care Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave Chgo Ill
Have energetically taken up matter with state department and will telegraph Thursday or Friday.
MEDILL McCORMICK

61 CHZH 9 Govt
St Washington DC 114P Jan 18 1923
Robert S. Abbott
Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Ave Chgo Ill
State department advise that your passport will be viseed.
MEDILL McCORMICK

94CHZH 15 Govt
St Washington DC 158P Jan 19 1923
Robert S Abbott
Chicago Defender
Chicago Ills
Supplementing my wire of yesterday please advise me if any further difficulty experienced regarding Brazilian vise.
MEDILL McCORMICK

Thus it was only after pressure was brought to bear did I succeed in getting the consul from Brazil to vise our passports. This, it seems, has been the experience of every American Negro during the last few years who has sought entry into Brazil. But why is such the case?

BARRIER BROKEN

We later discovered that the conduct of these Brazilian consuls, stationed in several American cities, in refusing to vise anyone's passport on the ground of race is entirely contrary to the Brazilian national constitution and shamefully at variance with the finely democratic temper of the Brazilian people.

Could this circumstance be in any way a lingering feature of some secret prohibitive policy against Negro emigration enunciated under the Wilson administration? Then it was that the Negro for the first time on his own initiative made it quite plain how indispensable he is to American industry. One might have been willing to believe that at some recent time a gentlemen's agreement had been effected with the Brazilian government to help to keep American Negro labor at home, and without, at the same time, making a formal distinction between the worker and the tourist. But such has not been the case. Brazil needs people. With an expanse of territory something larger than that of the United States of North America, leaving out Alaska, but possessing a population of only about 24 millions, it is imperative that she encourage immigration; and this she has done and is doing at a cost of millions of milreis. To her shores gather in immigration representatives of every black, brown, yellow and white race under the sun.

And yet why Brazilian consuls in America are refusing to vise the passports of American Negroes remains an unanswered problem; but suffice it to say that such is wholly contradictory to a most rigid and well established constitutional law of Brazil.

AT SEA

It was a 12 days sail from New York to Rio de Janeiro on the steamship Pan-American. And the sea! It is either in the great waste places of the earth or in the midst of a great common danger that human nature will evince its true, inherent quality. In the great, vast Alone, whether it be in wide, endless plains, on the mountain top, or far out at sea, man detached from his social milieu, overwhelmed by a sense of the Infinite, at once manifestly becomes his true self.

To contemplate for long the might and majesty of the sea, to spend days under its mystic spell is to slowly orientate upon the pettiness, the emptiness of human pride and deceit; and the vastness of God, who created all men, who endowed each and all with an equal, inherent dignity as men. It is at sea that the sense of human fraternity in us all will surge to the fore.

The social touch at sea for those 12 days was wholly delightful. There was nothing to harrow or to offend. Men felt their kinship, save in one pitiable instance of a clergyman, who, wishing to appear in a Christlike ardor, approached a group of men among which the writer happened to be, shook hands with all except the writer. He then invited them into the chapel to attend his Sunday morning service, but there were some among that group too Christlike to accept his invitation.

On the 15th day of February we enter the beautiful harbor of Rio de Janeiro. The spell of the far tropics is upon us. The calm, crystalline beauty of sky and atmosphere, the enveloping rays of a rich, golden sunlight, the riot and abundance of infinite life and color, crowds in upon the senses, and one is intoxicated, overwhelmed by the very existence of life itself.

SUSEQUENT ARTICLES

In the series of articles that are to follow, I propose to give a vivid description of my first impressions of the city of Rio de Janeiro; an account of my reception as a stranger and as an American Negro, social contact and acquaintances, race relations in Brazil and the ethnic structure of Brazilian society, an analysis of Portuguese temperament with side lights on Brazilian history.

I shall give my general observations on the Brazilian form of government, her national constitution, church, educational system and press; an understanding of her present industrial stage, her natural resources, her possible economic future, and a conjecture on the probable future of the Negro in Brazilian society; a broad survey of life in the Argentine republic; a theory explaining the paucity of Negroes in that country of wonderful possibilities; and observations on the numerous American fortune hunters who have found the Argentine a veritable El Dorado.

Moving into the republic of Uruguay, I shall write of the people of Uruguay in respect to ethnic origin, contrast of racial types, customs, general economics, political conditions, and with some interesting facts pertaining to Uruguay's monetary system. Thence, across the wild staked pampas through the Andeas mountains down into the queen city of Valparaiso, I shall attempt to describe with my deepest appreciation what I have witnessed of the faded features of the strange, ancient glory of the civilization of the Andean people, with a word on the general social conditions of the Chileans in respect to economics, politics and education. Thence, into the republic of Bolivia, I shall give some observations on the age-long territorial dispute between Bolivia and her sister republic, Peru, and the almost perpetual state of war existing between the two peoples;

a word on the singular traits of the people of Bolivia, and something of their cultural life; then into the republic of Peru, with a superficial study of the landmarks of the ancient civilization of the Peruvian Indian; an account of the present day humble descendants of the glorious Incas; the great and ancient University of Lima and some small description of the enormous rubber industry in Peru.

The great market of the South American continent is a rare gem sought by the United States and the three great industrial nations of Europe. The commercial rivalry between these nations in South America is sordidly keen, and in the course of these articles I shall explain why it is invariably the European trader who wins.

The countries of central and southern Europe, in order to meet the exigencies of overpopulation, are encouraging emigration to South America; it is into the latter that the great waves of migration today are sweeping. It is interesting to speculate as to what influence this shall have on future South American affairs, both from within and without.

I shall give what I have gleaned in respect to opportunities for the American Negro in South America, and in conclusion some broad deductions in comparing the motivating influences in South America and North America for the Negro toward plans of the highest social achievement.

BRAZIL FINDS DANGER IN U. S. HATE POLICY

Dr. Mauricio de Lacerda, owner of one of the most powerful newspapers in Brazil, brilliant parliamentarian and stanch defender of the Brazilian constitution, is the author of an article appearing in A Nacoa, issue of July 25. This paper is published in Rio de Janeiro and it is significant that not one of the other journals which some time ago opposed immigration of Race men from the U. S. A. has attempted to answer the argument set forth in this article. This seems to indicate that Brazilians have found out that they were the victims of the American white man's propaganda of race hate and prejudice when they attempted to restrict immigration on a basis of race. Translation of the article, written especially for the Defender, follows:

War Against the Black

Inhuman and unconstitutional act.

There are known the difficulties, ill-contrived, opposed by our country, to impede the immigration of North American Negroes.

We were at the point of prohibiting it. We closed our ports to the Negro as if this act were a licit one, which is not human nor moral nor legal. We made this restriction to orderly working people and equal restriction was NOT made to other parasitic elements.

Very well then!

Lately, however, the port authorities commenced to verify that the government's order was being frustrated.

The black immigrants now arrived disguised in dress coats, top hats, etc., accompanied by ladies with modern hats; they landed and went immediately to the

Far West—Matto Grosso.

What bad was there in it?

None whatever.

Why, then, do we not really want workers and capital?

The question of inferiority of races is too much a complicated question to be discussed here, yet, by the way, we may point out that it is nothing else but a mere race prejudice. What there is is not race inferiority, but education and culture.

The black man, in consequence of different circumstances, in this particular case, has not yet attained the grade of white man's development; but on account of this to pretend not only to antagonize him, but also to eliminate him, is painful as well as unintelligent on the part of the civilized whites.

Since, as to the work—it is that which we want—the little we possess in general lines is NOT the work of the white man, but IS that of the Negro.

Let us proceed.

Because of the government [illegible] having been evaded, our authorities notified our New York consul not to vise any more passports for this kind of people. This measure excited the U. S. Negroes and their lawyers called upon our consul and showed him his own constitution of the 24th of February.

The Yankee lawyers argued that the Brazilian constitutional law allowed anyone to enter and leave our territory in peace time independent of passports and that their clients, not being crippled nor anarchists, carrying their money with them and thus being within the terms of the Brazilian immigration law, cannot be considered undesirables.

The consul limited himself to saying that as a government official he complied with the orders of his government.

This caused the emigrants' attorneys to go to their minister of foreign affairs and demand their clients' rights.

Thus informed, the government of their country communicated with our government, which stated in reply that the said measure had been adopted in order to safeguard our race because of our already having a great Negro population.

Not agreeing with this, however, the claimants, supported by some journals—while others antagonized them in their own country—now maintain their right to disembark black immigrants in Brazil, not by virtue of their own country's laws, but those of our own country under the provisions of the constitutional law of February.

The black North Americans and their lawyers are in the right, while we are wrong.

With the law change, with the currency depreciated on one side, and on the other side to make war upon immigration and, be it said, a strong and useful immigration, we wage war at the same time against capital and foreign labor, though without these elements we will continue to be what we are now: A country of lagging and apathetic people.

Race Problem-1923

West Indies.

THE NEW BISHOP OF HAITI

The people of the Hatian Republic are mostly Catholic in their religion and French in their language. Some of us remember Rev. James Theodore Holly, D.D., a splendid scholar and devoted worker for Christian doctrines as a Negro among Negroes, who went to Haiti and after a long struggle and labor built up the Protestant Episcopal Church work and made it possible for his denomination to elect him as Bishop of Haiti. Since his death the work in Haiti appears to have fallen greatly.

We had hoped that a Negro priest would be designated to succeed Bishop Holly, but it was not to be. Rev. Harry Roberts Carson has just been consecrated Bishop of Haiti, at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in New York, the Right Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle acting as presiding Bishop at the ceremony. Bishop Carson was selected for the Haitian work because of his many years of missionary labor in Latin America.

It is reasonable to desire and expect that the black Episcopalians of the British and American church in American and British colonies, should have bishops of their own race, and we believe they will ultimately have them, even if they have to recede from the mother churches to do so. The white Methodist Episcopal Church of America has receded from its non-Negro-Bishop policy and the Pr testant Episcopal Church will have to do it.—The Negro Times.

CUSTOMS OF HAITI REVEAL YEAR OF GREAT PROSPERITY

Houston Post

Associated Press Report.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Feb. 3.—The report of the receiver general of customs for Haiti, for the year ended September 30, shows a decidedly healthy economic improvement. The collection of customs for that period was $4,672,993 as compared to $3,606,-173 for the preceding twelve months. Even more favorable are the combined collections for October and November of 1922, with the total of $1,-076,159, as compared with $630,829 for the corresponding months of 1921.

The volume of trade for the year is $23,062,481 as contrasted with $16,-910,775 for the previous twelve months; while the imports aggregate $12,350,271 against $11,957,206 and the exports $10,712,210 in place of $4,953,-570. A recapitulation of the imports shows the United States leading with a value of $10,359,613; the United Kingdom second with $763,363, and France third with $642,382. The United States figures show an increase of $816,602, while the United Kingdom fell off $55,393 and France $495,207.

In the export trade the United States was second with a volume of $1,438,755, France having $6,018,524 and the United Kingdom $589,175. France is a heavy consumer of Haitian coffee, having taken more than $5,000,000 worth of this product. In Haiti's export trade coffee leads with $7,487,312 the other exports in volume being cotton, $1,547,205; sugar, $537,475; dyewoods, $506,953; cacao, $274,124; goatskins, $62,352; honey, $62,076; lignum vitae and mahogany, $27,014. Miscellaneous exports are shells, old copper, beeswax, lignum vitae wax and corn. With the exception of cotton, coffee and honey the great bulk of these products went to the United States. The figures also show, in comparison with those of last year, that coton and cacao trebled in volume, and that honey doubled.

The total collections from all sources by the receiver general, including the balance of $4,391,163 carried over from the fiscal year of 1921, amounted to $9,419,542 and expenditures and dispositions to $7,955,-181, leaving a balance of $1,464,360. The gain of 73 per cent in volume of trade, the increased expenditure of money for the use of the Haitian government, and the great increase in collections since the dating of the report, with the beginning of the payment of interest on the internal bonds held so largely by Haitians, usher in what promises to be a banner year for Haiti.

MADE BISHOP OF HAITI

1-20-23

RT. REV. HARRY R. CARSON WAS ARCHDEACON OF PANAMA—NATIVE OF PENN.

The Guardian

New York, N. Y. Jan. 15, 1923:—Before several hundred relatives, friends and dignitaries of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Archdeacon Harry Robert Carson of Panama, yesterday was consecrated Bishop of Haiti in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Avenue and 110th Street.

The Rev. Dr. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, presiding bishop, officiated at the elaborate communion service, assisted by several Bishops and lesser members of the clergy.

Bishop Carson is a native of Pennsylvania and was educated at Sewanee University. He was ordained in 1896 and served as chaplain of the 2nd Louisiana Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish American War. He then went to Panama, and it was in recognition of his work for more than 20 years there that he was elected Bishop at the General Convention of the church in Portland, Ore., in September.

Haiti

HAITI ON UPGRADE, MARINE LEADER REPORTS TO U. S.

Better Judicial System Is Sad Need of Island Nation

WASHINGTON, April 17.—The opinion that the future of Haiti never was brighter than at present is expressed by Brigadier General John H. Russell of the marine corps in a report to Secretary Hughes, submitted by him as the American high commissioner in Haiti. He has been serving in that capacity since March, 1922.

In his report, made public today by the state department, General Russell declares that "it is believed that a continuance of the present policy of co-operation with the Haitian government, together with a maintenance of the sincere and earnest co-operation that has been given by it during the past eight months can lead but to the development and progress of Haiti, the maintenance of peaceful conditions and the increased welfare and prosperity of the Haitian people."

Praises Marines.

After reviewing events in Haiti since his arrival there, General Russell comments on the activities of the marine corps occupation force and makes this observation:

"During the period covered by this report the efficiency of these forces has been maintained at a high standard and in addition it has been indoctrinated with the purposes for which we are in Haiti and the necessity for the maintenance of the most cordial relations and co-operation in all dealings with the Haitians."

The gendarmerie of Haiti, according to the report, has been "most efficiently handled during the past year, and as a result it has been brought to a very high standard of excellence."

Both the public health and public works department, General Russell reports, have done excellent work despite a shortage of funds. Discussing the finances of the Haitian government he says steps have been taken to revise obsolete customs and internal tax laws. A law putting into effect a general accounting system also is planned.

General Russell devotes considerable space in his report to a discussion of Haiti's judicial system which he declares is "sadly in need of renovation."

"In the lower tribunals, generally speaking," his report continues, "the administration of justice is entirely unsatisfactory and there is a general feeling that political, family and other interests have an undue weight.

"The salaries given to judges are considered to be much too small, and it is believed that with a reduction in the number of officials and a material increase in the salaries, the efficiency of the judiciary system will be increased. But it will not be satisfactory until certain laws are passed changing slightly the methods of procedure. The framing of such laws is now receiving consideration by the Haitian government.

"The present unsatisfactory conditions result from insufficient pay, no provision for retirement, lack of careful selection and inadequate corrective measures where necessary. The entire administration of justice should be placed outside of politics and other improper influences.

"The judiciary system is a foundation stone of stable government, and when the Haitians have been taught to look with pride upon their courts and to respect them, much will have been done toward establishing permanent stability of government in Haiti."

HAYTI IN BETTER SHAPE.

Gen. Russell, However, Advises Stay Of American Troops.

The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, April 17.—Conditions in Hayti have shown a marked improvement during the past year, but [illegible] al of the United States from the affairs of the island republic.

Brig. Gen. Russell, American high commission to Hayti, so states in a report to Secretary Hughes, made public by the states department today.

Despite a lack of funds, the report points out, there has been a marked progress in the public works and public health departments of the island government, but the system is "sadly in need of rejuvenation."

The foreign trade of the island has increased substantially, the report shows. Exports for the past year were $10,712,210 as against $4,953,570. Imports increased from $11,957,206 to $12,350,271.

4-18-23 Memphis, Tenn.

HAITIAN REPUBLIC DISSATISFIED WITH AMERICAN TACTICS

Washington, D. C.—Haiti, the Black Republic of the West Indies, is again to the front. There exists there keen disappointment and depression. The Associated Negro Press is given this information from absolutely reliable sources, and unless there is a change of attitude in administration, the glowing promises of Haiti's future under American supervision, will be swept to the four winds in failure.

The Associated Negro Press has firsthand information and is giving the facts to the people of the United States in the line of public duty. This service has kept closely informed on the program under the administration of President Harding, and the public has been lead to believe that justice would be given.

The committee of the United States Senate, of which Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois is chairman, gave out a report of promising import, albeit, some parts did not meet with general approval.

Captain Marshall Deceived

Captain Napoleon B. Marshall, who was selected by the State Department to go down to Haiti as a representative of the government, and to bring about a feeling of good will between the people of the two countries, has been deceived and humiliated. Even his friends have been decieved and humiliated. Who is responsible for this?

Senator McCormick of Illinois, as chairman of the Haitian Committee, in an address in Chicago, prior to the departure of Marshall, declared publicly that he was turning over the work for the redemption of Haiti to Captain Marshall. Marshall was present. It is believed that the Senator was in earnest. The entire address was broadcast in its entirety with the full knowledge of the Illinois Senator. But from the very beginning Marshall found a stone wall.

In the records of the State Department, Marshall is designated as a clerk, and as a clerk he has been retained in Haiti. This amazing state of affairs has been known for some time, and has been the source of great surprise to the Captain's friend,s who had remained silent, hoping that there might be an adjustment.

Senator McCormick Informed

The Associated Negro Press is informed that Senator McCormick, the State Department and other high officials of the government are aware of the facts in this case. When the Captain was appointed Senator McCormick, who had just returned from Haiti, declared he "was resigning his commission into Marshall's hands." Obviously the revelation of the Marshall status strikes Colored America like throwing cold water in the face. The political mind of the group is in a sickening state already.

General John H. Russell, high commissioner of Haiti, appointed through the good offices of Senator McCormick, also had studiously avoided meeting Captain Marshall during the whole of the captain's stay in Port

au Prince. The American friends of Marshall had looked forward to Gen. Russell and Captain Marshall working in harmony for the welfare of Haiti.

James C. Dunn, charge d' affairs of Port au Prince, a white man, is now in Washington, and it is understood that in the face of all the humiliation through which Marshall has passed, Dunn is expected to ask for his withdrawal! Why? Marshall went to Haiti with the high purpose of being of service to his country and the people of Haiti, in line with the expressed purposes of Senator McCormick.

Marshall did not, in the first place, seek the position. He was the most surprised man in the country when the fact was first mentioned to him He heads a large law firm in New York; owns property, a Harvard graduate, and married the daughter of the late Judge Gibbs, who is an accomplished artist and musician. In Port au Prince, both the captain and Mrs. Marshall have entered loyally into the spirit of helpful service, and have become popular with the Haitian people, but seemingly **persona non grata** to the white Americans who are controlling things with an iron hand. These white Americans, from all indications, do not wish Colored Americans to function on equal terms with Haitians and themselves. They have studiously ignored Captain and Mrs. Marshall socially. However, Marshall's status as a "clerk" prevents him from being socially recognized officially. Nevertheless, President Borno, and other officials have defied custom and received both the Captain and Mrs. Marshall. On one occasion Marshall was invited to sit on the bench by a judge during a prominent trial; Marshall was refused "time" from his employment to go to the trial, it has been learned from prominent Haitians.

Haitians themselves are saying: "If the white Americans treat Captain Marshall thus, what may we expect in justice, as Marshall represents the best in Colored American progress." The crisis has arrived, and American sincerity of purpose is placed to the acid test.

Would Recall Capt. Marshall

American White Charge d' Affaires In Hayti Asks To Be Relieved Of His Colored Assistant

—o—

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(By The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C., June 27.—The question of the removal of Captain Napoleon B. Marshall from his present position at the American Legation in Port au Prince has been laid before Under Secretary of State Phillips by Charge d' Affaires James C. Dunn white.

The Associated Negro Press can state on most reliable authority that there will be nothing done on the matter until after the most thorough investigation.

James C. Dunn, is a native of Newark, N. J., and came into the diplomatic service under the Wilson administration. He has seen service in Havana, Cuba, and other sections of the West Indies, and has been in Port au Prince for a little over three years, first as secretary of the legation, and at present Charge d' Affaires.

While it is understood that Dunn's chief complaint is that "Marshall is too able a man to be a mere clerk," and that it is desired that just an ordinary person, presumably white, should succeed Marshall; friends of Marshall in the United States wish to find out WHY MARSHALL WAS THUS ASSIGNED IN THE FIRST PLACE AFTER HE HAD BEEN LEAD TO BELIEVE HIS POSITION WOULD BE ONE OF AUTHORITY. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MIX-UP, AND WHY? WILL IT BE ADJUSTED, AND HOW?

Senator McCormick Authority

So far as the whole Haitian situation is concerned, Senator McCormick of Illinois, has been the one authority to whom the people have listened, and to whom they have turned for first-hand information. The Senator has always suggested a pretentious program for the island Republic. Is the program, so far as colored America is concerned, to fall flat?

Technically, Marshall's position is under the State Department, but the State Department would naturally give respectful consideration to suggestions from the chairman of the Senatorial Committee having to do with the affairs of Haiti.

Delegation To Haiti

One of the subjects popularly discussed a few months ago was the sending to Haiti, through the State Department, a delegation, committee, commission, or something of that sort, to study conditions and recommend a program of co-operative action.

There was, in the first place, a hitch over what such a group should be called. It was decided that it would, or could, not be called a "Commission" as that would require Congressional action. "But a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and so the name feature was overlooked.

There has been a tentative agreement, in which it is understood that President Harding, and the State Department were agreed, together with Senator McCormick, that the committee would be composed of three: Robert R. Church of Memphis, representing business interests; Dr. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, representing agricultural information, and Dr. U. G. Dailey of Chicago, who should look into the promotion of hospitals.

Dr. Moton could not accept because of a tour to Europe, and Prof. Williams, of Tuskegee Institute, was substituted. Dr. Dailey's name was dropped, without explanation to the public, and R. R. Church declined when he learned that the committee would be required to go without the usual attaches supplied on such occasions Prof. Williams went to Haiti, and made some valuable investigations for the Haitian republic's development.

USE BALLOT TO AID HAITI, SAYS BISHOP HURST

Harding Criticised for Failure to Keep Promise to Withdraw Marines From Island

MARSHALL A FIGUREHEAD

Haitians Regard Colored New Yorker As Second-Rate Clerk

President Harding has failed to keep his pre-election promise to withdraw the United States Military forces from Hayti.

Because we are strong and they try, taken its lands and its resources are weak, we have gone into a country and use them as our own.

No country in modern times has perpetrated such a vile and damnable outrage upon another as the United States upon Haiti.

The United States is dealing with the black people of Haiti like the Southerners deal with the Negroes in Georgia, Florida and Mississippi.

We are an interloper and have no more business there than I have in my neighbor's house.

* * * *

Caustic criticism of the Harding administration, high tribute to the spirit of the natives and an appeal to American Negroes to use their ballots marked the address of Bishop John Hurst before a group of college men meeting with the Century Club of the Y. M. C. A. Wednesday night.

Bishop Hurst, just back from a tour of his former home Haiti and Santo Domingo, told how Americans have violated the sovereignty of the former black republic and now govern the island with marines.

How the United States has taken over control of Haitian finances, taken over their banks, suppessed newspapers and jailed editors, dismissed both branches of the Legislature and forced upon the islanders a new constitution was told by the Bishop to an audience that listened in painful silence.

Asked from the floor what Baltimore can do to get the marines out of the island Bishop Hurst declared "use your ballots next year in the Presidential election to restore the liberty of Haiti."

Harry T. Pratt who presided, declared the U. S. control of Haiti was a part of its plan to control all approaches to the Panama Canal.

Major Wm. H. York of Philadelphia declared that Senator McCormick of the Senate Committee which investigated Haitian conditions admitted that the U. S. had bungled in seizing Haiti, and that it intended to withdraw marines as their enlistment expired. Bishop Hurst stated that far from withdrawing marines, the U. S. was landing detachments at parts of the coasts where it was thot they might escape ordinary observation

Proposals to send black troops to Haiti instead of white marines, and to substitute a commission of colored American for the white U. S. commission, he declard were turned down by the Administration.

Marshall Regarded as Clerk

Captain Napoleon Marshall sent by the Harding administration to Haiti to act as a liason officer between natives and Americans is regarded by Haitians as a second-rate clerk, the Bishop said. Captain Marshall has a desk in the Commission's headquarters and is said to be drawing a salary of $1800 a year.

Haitians say the American commission is costing them $60,000 a year, that they have been forced to borrow $60,000,000 from American Bankers which the Commission is spending to suit itself.

William M. Brewer suggested that the Haitians might take a page from India's history and resort to passive resistance, since it was impossible to drive the American out by force of arms.

ROOSEVELT TO PROBE EDITOR'S ARREST

Rumored U. S. Will Establish Naval Base at Port Au Prince.

Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, has ordered an investigation and report of the arrest of M. Fouget, editor of La Poste, a newspaper of Port Au Prince, Haiti.

According to the report forwarded to the Navy Department by the N. A. A. C. P., 76 Fifth avenue. Fouget was arrested because he bad written in his paper that the place of Haiti's President, M. Borno, was in the national penitentiary. The antagonism to M. Borno in Haiti is said to have been aroused by the report that he intended giving the harbor of Port Au Prince to the United States for use as a naval base in the Caribbean.

Race Problem — 1923

West Indies.

A JAMAICA NEGRO BEATEN BY THREE POLICEMEN

Negro Press

KEMEDIOS, Cuba.—On Sunday night, December 24, a young man by the name of John Sawyers was sitting on a bench in the park when a white man arrived with his family and ordered him to leave the bench. Sawyers arose immediately and went a few steps from the bench. Suddenly a policeman appeared and, without any question, started to push him. Sawyers asked him "What is going wrong?" Then the policeman started to use his club on Sawyers' body. This was past bearing for Sawyers, who laid hold of the club and gave the policeman a cuff with his fist. By this time two other policemen appeared, and the three together after giving him several brutal blows, took him to jail. He was released next morning, his left arm useless and with cuts on his right arm, all from the blows of policemen. Doctors were called, but after investigating and finding the young man was not a Cuban and, worst of all, that he was a Negro, they refused to visit him. He then had to resort to his own remedies. It may be a long time before his left arm is of any use to him.

This and many other similar incidents show the sort of treatment given to the Negro in this country. Despite the advice of his friends, Sawyers has resolved to be content with his lot, for he considers it a waste of time and money to write the British Consul about the matter. Sawyers was once a liberal contributor to the funds of this branch, but never became a member, and all that is in the power of the branch to do for him is to report the matter, as it affects one of the race.

M. L. FRASER.

WEST INDIAN RIOT REPORTED

Chicago Daily News

British Warship Called from Jamaica to Neighboring Island.

[*By The Associated Press.*] 2-5-23

Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 5.—The British warship Curlew left port suddenly last night owing to a report of a riot in one of the neighboring West Indian colonies.

Atlanta Independent

12-28-22

Jamaican Officials Strike Snag in Rising Tide of Color

Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 27.

[illegible] confined to the [illegible] existing itself in the [illegible] recently created executive council [illegible] two or three [illegible] executive councillors are members of the colored race.

The dispute now was over a bill [illegible] the creation of the [illegible] Major Thomas, the [illegible] appointed director of railways, an appropriation of 1,700 pounds with [illegible] the consent of the council which [illegible] is a clear violation of the constitution granted the island by [illegible] and the law in 1884. The council [illegible] incensed when the Colonial Secretary, Col. H. H. Bryan, deliberately sought to deceive the people by omitting to read to the council the communications bearing on the matter that passed between the local government, Major Thomas and the secretary of state for the colonies, Mr. Winston Churchill. This dummy piece of trickery was discovered and its authors were denounced by the legislators led by [illegible] A. G. Smith, H. A. L. Simpson, D. J. Wint and Rev. G. I. Young (all colored). With unlimited courage these men treated "His Excellency" the representative of the king, to severe dialectical castigation and invited him to cease polluting the community by betaking himself to some place where his talent for dishonest methods might have full play. Although at no time the race question was raised, still it is easy to realize that the denunciation of the colonial secretary and Major Thomas, particularly the latter, who is lately from South Africa, was due to their contemptuous attitude toward Negroes. Having had their first contact with Negroes in Africa, the [illegible] should treat Jamaicans with the superciliousness and irresponsible methods that have characterized their sojourn in that unfortunate continent.

The action of the legislators [illegible] and will have a [illegible] on the future of the island inasmuch as these same men [illegible] were the recipients of [illegible] from the under secretary of state for the colonies, Major Wood, who recently headed a commission to the West Indies and in his report advised the granting of a greater measure of political rule.

Not only was the administration denounced, but no longer did the natives show the usual timidity and unnatural deference to Europeans. These latter were told to "shut up," "sit down," "you are wasting time," with truculence that bodes good for the manhood of the race and gives the lie to ignorant and misguided mountebanks who tell Negroes that they must give up what rights they have in the western world in order to get greater rights in Africa.

CHICAGO ILL. JOURNAL
JANUARY 12, 1923

The Lynching Barrier

There is nothing new about the doctrine that the United States should own or control the West Indies, for it has been coming up at intervals for three-quarters of a century. If the idea were forgotten tonight, one glance at the map would revive it tomorrow.

The West Indies are detached bits of the North American continent. Their natural products are things for which the United States furnishes the best market. They would be far more prosperous under our flag than under any other, provided they were given free access to our markets. They are useless to Europe, and in European hands furnish theoretical bases for threatening the Panama canal. Practically, that threat is meaningless.

But every time the question of annexing part or all of the West Indies has come to the fore, obstacles have intervened; once they were furnished by national pride and fancied military or naval advantages. That day has passed, but a higher barrier than ever is found in the principle of self-determination.

Two facts stand out clearly in any survey of the West Indies, British, French or Dutch. One is that the islands must be governed, must lean on some stronger authority than they can muster for themselves. Even Cuba, largest of the islands and probably best fitted for independence, has been obliged to fall back on the help of Uncle Sam more than once. The other fact is that an enormous majority of West Indians are of African descent. Everywhere, the negroes form 60 per cent or more of the total population, and in Jamaica their numbers rise to about 98 per cent.

Will West Indian negroes vote themselves out from under authority which grants them complete civic equality and a large measure of special recognition to put themselves under the rule of a country in which the social color line is drawn with steely hardness, in which scores of black men are lynched every year, and which has at least two race riots every decade?

While lynch law prevails in the United States, discussion of the West Indian transfer is idle. Of course, America wants the islands. Europe would be glad to get rid of them if it could be done without wounding national pride, and "saving face" is the special task of diplomacy. But we can not buy reluctant peoples as if they were cattle, and they appear to be strangely unattracted by the possibilities of mob rule.

EXPOSE BRUTALITY OF UNITED STATES MARINES

The Freeman
Indianapolis, Ind.

"Devil Dogs" Make Virgin Islands a Hell, Speaker Asserts.

3/10/23

PEOPLE AT POINT OF REVOLT

Duplication of Haitian Scandal Predicted, Unless Public Opinion in America is Quickly Aroused Against Cracker Practices.

(Crusader Service).

NEW YORK, Feb. — Citing many brutalities alleged to have been committed by American marines, Virgin Islanders in a mass meeting at Lafayette Hall last Sunday afternoon declared that the Navy Department, by its high-handedness and misrule, was driving the peaceable, law-abiding people of the Virgin Islands to the point of revolt and that unless the American people took the matter in hand, they would be faced with another scandal. The meeting was held by the Congressional Council, an organization of Virgin Islanders agitating for justice on behalf of their fellow-islanders at home.

Casper Holstein, the principal speaker and president of the Council, declared that the Navy Department had read its own interpretation into the laws of the islands, and were enforcing the same discipline that prevailed in the Navy. The beating up of men and women by the marines for no other reason than the color of their skin, was, he said, a common occurrence.

"The laws," said Mr. Holstein, "are being administered by judicial tyrants acting under the Navy Department. Appeal is useless, as the two courts—the Police Court and the District Court—practically function as one and an appeal from the first is but another appeal to itself."

Magistrate Payne, of St. Croix, a Negro, was mentioned by the speakers as the chief enforcer of the Navy Department's orders. "If records of cases could be had and a comparison drawn between them and the original statutes of the islands, you would find that in the majority of cases Magistrate Payne has over-stepped the bounds. This Negro has all the in-

stincts of his overlords. As in all oppressed groups there are always those who are used as slave-drivers. Payne serves out injustice in large doses and there seems to be no cessation of his criminal acts."

Other speakers declared that free speech was forbidden. "It is impossible," said Tomas Fawcett," for the islanders to protest without causing reprisals by the judiciary. Free speech is forbidden. Editors who tell the truth are subject to the wrath of the officials. It is a deplorable condition and we are asking the American people to give us their moral support in this struggle for justice.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND WILL NOT SELL W. I. ASSERTS PUBLICIST

3-16-23

GENEVA, March 16.—The proposed plan which has been mooted for the cession by England and France of their possessions in the Antilles to the United States in exchange for their war debts and interest has naturally aroused considerable interest on this side, and an article which appears today in the Tribune de Geneve from the pen of M. Rene Gouzy may be taken as fairly representative of neutral opinion on the subject.

After describing the Antilles as "this chaplet of islands long colonized, with an interesting past and, for some at least, glorious historical traditions" and detailing the American proposal, he proceeds:

"I am not in the confidence of the Ministries either of Paris or London, but I doubt very much whether this ingenious and very commercial proposition will arouse much enthusiasm in the breasts of the suggested 'sellers.' In politics, of course, one can never swear to anything. But I am sure that public opinion, as much in Great Britain as in France, would never consent to a transaction which smells too much of the Chicago meat packer.

"Let us not forget that in these islands which it is proposed to barter with such sans gene there are inhabitants, colonists—men, in fact. Do you think that the British subjects of Trinadad or the Barbados, that French citizens—black or white—of Guadeloupe or Martinique would not protest as one man and with their last breath against such a denationalization, against this opprobium that it is proposed to place upon them?"

"The Prince of Wales' trip to the Antilles two years ago showed how much these populations are attached to the 'old country,' for which they shed their blood during the great conflict. It is certainly not otherwise with Martinique and Guadeloupe, French at heart for so many years. All these 'Americans' intend to remain Europeans, and I for one hope they will remain so.

There is a distinct lack of psychology, and above all of tact, on the other side of the Atlantic. For this traffic in countries handed over with their inhabitants belongs, happily, to other periods of history. A colony is no longer sold like a barrel of molasses, Mr. Jonathan!"

John Sharp Williams Objects to Uncle Sam, Annexing W. I. Islands

Pittsburg American
Pittsburg Star
3-2-23

(By The Associated Negro Press)

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2.—Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, is opposed to the annexation of the West Indies to the United States for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 colored people would be added to the 15,000,000 now living under the American flag. Senator Williams so expressed himself in the Senate following a lengthy discussion on the subject by Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri.

The Senator cited twelve reasons why the United States should have the islands. His chief argument was that they were of great importance to the defense and security of the American mainland and that their possession by foreign nations constituted a menace to the safety of the Panama canal. He also declared that, under American ownership, they could be made of great economic value.

"I am neither seeking to stir up animosity toward Great Britain nor to arouse any feeling of distrust against that great nation," said Senator Reed. "We all entertain the hope that the great English speaking race will never be engaged in a death struggle. Reasonable men, however, will concur in the conclusion that if the view I have just expressed is sound, then their is no strategic reason why Great Britain should insist upon holding these islands against us, because we are not to be attacked."

Senator Williams further said: "The senator says those islands, under American rule, will become a winter paradise," he said. "They are a paradise now, but would they be after they were brought under the rule of Wheeler and the Volstead act?"

The following editorial was written by Mr. Morenga-Bonaparte and appeared in the St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, "Emancipator." On account of the sentiment here expressed Mr. Bonaparte was ordered deported by the United States naval governor.

Glancing over the report of the Joint Commission that visited these islands a few years ago, we find the following remark concerning our government under the Navy. "The Commission cannot speak too highly of the work done by the Navy in carrying on the government of the Islands."

We turn the leaves further to find out what report was made re the police department; but fortunately or unfortunately as one care to take it we failed to find what we had expected. Nevertheless, under the caption "Laws" of said report, we came across something about the Police master, which reads: "The Judge of the court is Police master, a member of the Colonial Tax Commission, a member of the Colonial Council, also in charge of deeds and mortgages of records. As police master he institutes cases which are tried before him. This is an un-American policy."

Of course, while the first reference to the Navy government is both past and present fact; we believe that at present the Police master is not a member of the Colonial Council nor the Colonial Tax Commission. In fact we do not know of any individual policemaster.

As far as we do know, we have a police director stationed at For Christian, St. Thomas; a Chief of Police stationed at St. Jan; three sergeants; six patrolmen and one "special" officer, who drives the police car These are the eleven heads who are entrusted to take care of the peopl residing in the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John, as far as we knov The executive body which is supposed to govern our Police Department is styled "the Police Commission." It is very interesting to know that the Government Secretary, a merchant, a gold smith and the Police director form and represent the body in question.

Judging from the cases which we have heard that have been dealt with by these gents, we have all reason to believe that the commission will call the present system un-American, just the same as they found it a few years ago. Pittsburg American Star,

The holes in the Police Department must be darned. We cannot sit still and see such impositions and wrong-doings of the petted few without raising our voice. Out of numerous references just let us recall to recent date.

3-16-23

On Friday night last the St. John Vigilante grabbed on the back of a child, only about 11 years old, and called on a patrolman who he ordered to take the boy to the police station. What for? God knows. We are informed by our reporter who witnessed the scene, that the boy simply fired off a paper cap in the neighborhood of the Park; whereupon the St. John Vigilante held him and declared him under arrest.

The boy was then taken to the police station by another patrolman by orders of the Vigilante in question. The poor boy's sister luckily found the Police Director at the movie show on the barracks ground; and the latter went up to the police station where he found the boy in the guard room. "What is the charge?" queried the Director, but the top sergeant at the desk could not answer. He only gave to understand that a patrolman had brought the boy to the station by order of another sergeant. The Director told the boy to go home. This is reference No. 1. How will it end? We are on the qui vive.

Our second reference is as follows: Yesterday afternoon our black and white traffic vigilantes, raided Cha Cha town and drove up a couple carloads of Cha Chas in the police car to the police station. From these only a few are alleged with gambling while all the others were looking on. The case will come before the Police Judge on Wednesday, we understand.

It is no gainsaying the fact that something is wrong with our Police Department, of course we cannot rightly use the word force, for we would be wrong in so doing. A police force is made up not only of men with heads on and wearing stripes, badges, uniforms or civilian clothes; but brains in the men's heads coupled with discretion are the main factors of such a responsible body.

While at present the Director of Police is not a member of the Colonial Council as it was with the police master of the past, he has got a bigger pull for he sits in the Governor's conference circle every day and not one of the men on the police commission has any idea of real police work.

The holes in the Police Department should be darned."—M. B.

SPANISH-SPEAKING NEGROES THINK US IGNORANT AND NON-PROGRESSIVE

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Cuban Lawyer Speaking Here Tells of 5,000 Black Cubans Killed in 1912 Revolution

An appeal for closer contact between English- and Spanish-speaking Negroes in America was made by Dr. Bernardo Ruiz Suarez, noted lawyer and author of South America in an interesting lecture in the auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. Thursday evening.

The subject of his talk was "The Future of the Negro Race in Spanish-America." According to Dr. Suarez, the Cuban knows his North American brother only as a low uncultured being, who lacking intelligence and race pride, cannot progress socially or politically. This he attributes to propaganda spread throughout Cuba and the Argentine by American whites.

When asked if he had found such conditions here, Dr. Suarez replied: "I have found the Negro of the United States far more advanced than my people in Cuba." He also stated that in most South American countries a class distinction between Negroes of different complexions exists. In refering to the Argentine, the lecturer pointed out the fact that race prejudice ran higher there than in any other Spanish American country, owing chiefly to the vast number of white Americans.

In the course of his talk the Doctor stated his belief that it would benefit the Negro of both Americas if it were possible for them to come in contact with each other, as the South American Negro knows very little of his northern brother only through the unsavory ideas gathered from the whites traveling through those countries. 3/9/23

In 1912, a bill was passed in the Cuban Congress making it impossible for a Negro to become President of Cuba. This resulted in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the government then under the administration of President Zomez. In this insurrection five thousand Negroes were killed and Dr. Suarez with three hundred other members of the Negro party were thrown into prizon where he was held for eighteen months.

It was during his imprisonment that he received his inspiration for his wonderful book of verse, "Vibrations." It is also interesting to know that while undergoing the privations of prison life and the brutality of the guards, Dr. Suarez's hair turned immaturely white.

The Doctor is a graduate of Havana University, having studied law there and came to this country in the latter part of 1921. His lecture was greeted by an enthusiastic audience, this being his first attempt to deliver a talk in English, having hitherto always used an interpreter.

Race Problem — 1923.

West Indies.

Haiti.

RACE PREJUDICE SPREADING; WHITE AMERICANS CAUSE SERIOUS TROUBLE

(By the Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C., June 19.—Haiti, the Black Republic of the West Indies, is again to the front. There exists there keen disappointment and depression. The Associated Negro Press is given this information from absolutely reliable sources, and unless there is a change of attitude in administration the glowing promises of Haiti's future under American supervision will be swept to the four winds in failure.

The Associated Negro Press has first-hand information and is giving the facts to the people of the United States in the line of public duty. This service has kept closely informed on the program under the administration of President Harding, and the public has been led to believe that justice would be given.

The committee of the United States senate, of which Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois is chairman, gave out a report of promising import, albeit, some parts did not meet with general approval.

Capt. Marshall Deceived, Humiliated

Capt. Napoleon B. Marshall, who was selected by the State Department to go down to Haiti as a representative of the government, and to bring about a feeling of good will between the people of the two countries, has been deceived and humiliated. Even his friends have been deceived and humiliated. Who is responsible for this?

Senator McCormick of Illinois, as chairman of the Haitian Committee, in an address in Chicago prior to the departure of Marshall, declared publicly that he was turning over the work for the redemption of Haiti to Captain Marshall. Marshall was present. It is believed that the senator was in earnest. The entire address was broadcasted in its entirety with the full knowledge of the Illinois senator. But from the very beginning, Marshall found a stone wall.

In the records of the State Department, Marshall is designated as a clerk, and as a clerk he has been retained in Haiti! This amazing state of affairs has been known for some time, and has been the source of great surprise to the captain's friends, who have remained silent, hoping that there might be an adjustment.

Senator McCormick Informed

The Associated Negro Press is informed that Senator McCormick, the State Department and other high officials of the government are aware of the facts in this case. When the captain was appointed, Senator McCormick, who had just returned from Haiti, declared he "was resigning his commission into Marshall's hands." Obviously the revelation of the Marshall status strikes Colored America like throwing cold water in the face. The political mind of the group is in a sickening state already.

Gen. John H. Russell, high commissioner of Haiti, appointed through the good offices of Senator McCormick, also had studiously avoided meeting Captain Marshall during the whole of the captain's stay in Port au Prince. The American friends of Marshall had looked forward to General Russell and Captain Marshall working in harmony for the welfare of Haiti.

James C. Dunn, charge d'affaires of Port au Prince, a white man, is now in Washington, and it is understood that in the face of all the humiliation through which Marshall has passed, Dunn is expected to ask for his withdrawal! Why? Marshall went to Haiti with the high purpose of being of service to his country and the people of Haiti in line with the expressed purposes of Senator McCormick.

Marshall did not, in the first place, seek the position. He was the most surprised man in the country when the fact was first mentioned to him. He heads a large law firm in New York; owns property, a Harvard graduate, and married the daughter of the late Judge Gibbs, who is an accomplished artist and musician. In Port au Prince, both the captain and Mrs. Marshall have entered loyally into the spirit of helpful service, and have become popular with the Haitian people, but seemingly person non grata to the white Americans who are controlling things with an iron hand. These white Americans, from all indications do not wish Colored Americans to function on equal terms with Haitians and themselves. They have studiously ignored Captain and Mrs. Marshall socially. However, Marshall's status as a "clerk" prevents him from being socially recognized officially. Nevertheless President Borno and other officials have defied custom and received both the Captain and Mrs. Marshall. On one occasion Marshall was invited to sit on the bench by a judge during a prominent trial; Marshall was refused "time" from his employment to go to the trial, it has been learned here from prominent Haitians.

Haitians themselves are saying: "If the white Americans treat Captain Marshall thus, what may we expect in justice, as Marshall represents the best in Colored American progress." The crisis has arrived, and American sincerity of purpose is placed to the acid test.

Race Problem—1923
West Indies.

EXPOSE BRUTALITY OF U. S. MARINES.

Dallas Express

"Devil Dogs" Make Virgin Islands a Hell, Speaker Asserts.

Dallas Texas

PEOPLE AT POINT OF REVOLT

Duplication of Haitian Scandal Predicted, Unless Public Opinion in America is Quickly Aroused Against Cracker Practices.

3-10-23

((Crusader Sercie).

New York, March 9.—Citing many brutalities alleged to have been committed by American marines, Virgin Islanders in a mass meeting at Lafayette Hall last Sunday afternoon declared that the Navy Department by its high-handedness and misrule was driving the peacable, law-abiding people of the Virgin Islands to the point of revolt and that unless the American people took the matter in hand they would be faced with another Haitian scandal. The meeting was held by the Congressional Council, an organization of Virgin Islanders agitating for justice on behalf of their fellow-islanders at home.

Casper Holstein, the principal speaker and president of the Council, declared that the Navy Department had read its own interpretation into the laws of the islands, and were enforcing the same discipline that prevailed in the Navy. The beating up of men and women by the marines for no other reason than the color of their skin was, he said, a common occurrence.

"The laws," said Mr. Holstein, "are being administered by judicial tyrants acting under the Navy Department. Appeal is useless as to the courts of the police Court and the District Court—practically functions as one and an appeal from the first is but an other appeal to itself."

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MARINES CRUSHING FREE SPEECH IN VIRGIN ISLANDS

Clarion-Ledger
3/10/23

NEW YORK CITY, March 10.—(Crusader Service.) — Citing many brutalities alleged to have been committed by American marines, Virgin Islanders in a mass meeting at Lafayette Hall last Sunday afternoon declared that the Navy Department by its high-handedness and misrule was driving the peaceable, law-abiding people of the Virgin Islands to the point of revolt and that unless the American people took the matter in hand they would be faced with another Haitian scandal. The meeting was held by the Congressional Council, an organization of Virgin Islanders agitating for justice on behalf of their fellow-islanders at home.

Casper Holstein, the principal speaker and president of the Council, declared that the Navy Department had read its own interpretation into the laws of the islands, and were enforcing the same discipline that prevailed in the Navy. The beating up of men and women by the marines for no other reason than the color of their skin was, he said, a common occurrence.

"The laws," said Mr. Holstein, "are being administered by judicial tyrants acting under the Navy Department. Appeal is useless as the two courts—the Police Court and the District Court—practically functions as one and an appeal from the first is but another appeal to itself."

Magistrate Payne, of St. Croix, a Negro, was mentioned by the speakers as the chief enforcer of the Navy Department's orders. "If records of cases could be had and a comparison drawn between them and the criminal statutes of the islands you would find that in the majority of cases Magistrate Payne has overstepped the bounds. This Negro has all the instincts of his overlords. As in all oppressed groups there are always those who are used as slave-drivers. Payne serves out injustice in large doses and there seems to be no cessation of his criminal acts."

Other speakers declared that free-speech was forbidden. "It is impossible," said Thomas Fawcett, "for the islanders to protest without causing reprisals by the judiciary. Free speech is forbidden. Editors who tell the truth are subject to the wrath of the officials. It is a deplorable condition and we are asking the American people to give us their moral support in this struggle for justice."

Jamaica and Its People

WHERE THE TWAIN MEET. By MARY GAUNT. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1923.

Reviewed by WILLIAM McFEE

N Y C POST
MARCH 31, 1923

FOR those who know Jamaica this book by Mary Gaunt will confirm and amplify their previous knowledge and enthusiasms, while for that other more numerous class who have yet to visit one of the loveliest islands of the tropic sea "Where the Twain Meet" will arouse their immediate interest and curiosity.

It is a remarkable volume in several ways. Mrs. Gaunt has a unique equipment for dealing with her theme. An Australian born, who has lived in West Africa and in England, she comes to Jamaica with sympathy for and clear-headed judgment of the grave problems of slavery, negro superstition, and the planter class. Above all, she likes colored people in a way that, for good or ill, it seems impossible to achieve in the United States. And so, by reason of this unusual knowledge and sympathy, Mrs. Gaunt has built up for us a complete and spirited picture of the island history from the fifteenth century to the present day.

Of all the travel books which are being put out more and more plentifully, this might serve as a class textbook for authors. It contains everything pertaining to the subject. The author is an experienced and indefatigable traveller. She has not only studied the history of Jamaica and visited the island as a tourist; she has lived there as a resident and fallen in love with the place and the people. Yet it is a strictly business-like performance. It would be absurd to draw comparisons between "Where the Twain Meet" and Mr. Hergesheimer's "San Cristobal de la Habana," for example. We read the latter in a mood of poetic delight, knowing all the time in our hearts it would never be like that if we went there ourselves. But Mrs. Gaunt makes us want to go to Jamaica because we are convinced that it will be exactly as she says and possibly much better. For many travellers nowadays write books to tell us about some part of the world because they went there to get away from themselves or from civilization. Mrs. Gaunt has no such ambition. She gives one the impression of being quite the sanest and healthiest minded person in the world, and the more civilization Jamaica gets the better Mrs. Gaunt will like it. We are inclined to agree with her.

One of her most interesting chapters deals with the little-known people called Maroons. For a hundred and forty years a small band of colored folk maintained themselves in the mountain fastnesses of Jamaica and waged a sanguinary and relentless war upon the British Government. Whether they were authentic descendants of Spanish slaves left behind when the Spaniards quit the island no one can definitely discover. Whoever they were, they deserve recognition in history, and it is reasonable to suspect that if only one could get at old records that must be hidden away in some planter's house near Montego Bay romantic tales might be devised. Even the bare record of the feud—for such it became—as told by Mrs. Gaunt in her racy and spirited style is a fascinating thing, to which we return more than once.

It is a great pleasure to recapitulate the history of the negro in Jamaica and see the slow but sure ascent towards life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To meet men of color who hold responsible executive positions and whose mental resources are in every way equal to our own is a notable and bracing experience. These men are themselves the first to advocate the maintenance of white ascendance in the Government. Mr. Marcus Garvey may be vociferously welcomed when he comes to Kingston as the first President of the "African Republic," but the average responsible negro comprehends the sources of political stability more truly, and, as far as a casual spectator can see, the whites attack the island Government much more fiercely than do the colored folk!

Jamaica has incurred a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Gaunt for this lively and enthusiastic contribution to West Indian literature. We note with pleasure that she advises all whose interest has been aroused to read the novels of Herbert de Lisser, who has depicted with relentless fidelity and shrewd humor the life of the poor colored folk. It is to be hoped that in the near future Mr. de Lisser's novels may appear in American editions and gratify the readers of Mrs. Gaunt's admirable volume.

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CIVIC STATUS IN THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

The Negro World N.Y.

IT is decidedly in the interest of justice for the United States Congress to consider the Open Letter sent it by the Virgin Islands Congressional Council, of which Casper Holstein is president. Also, it would be well for Mr. Denby to examine the circumstances surrounding the outrageous deportations being engineered by the Naval Administration, as in the case of Morenga-Bonaparte. Uncle Sam's record in the Virgin Islands is a disgrace to democracy. No wonder Jamaica,, held by its throat in a vise-like grip by John Bull, cries out against United. States annexation. This phase of our machinery of government is the most chaotic. Our colonial administrators, like most of our consuls, are petty and provincial lilliputians not in sympathy with the yearnings and aspirations of dark subject peoples. In the Virgin Islands, to quote the Open Letter, there exists a "curious anomaly":

"We do not know whether any portion of the people of a republic can very well be subjects, but we do know that the form of American government which we now have in the Virgin Islands does not exist anywhere else in the United States. Its like is to be found only in Haiti or Santo Domingo, as it was to be found some years ago in those parts of the Philippine Islands which were in a state of military insurrection against the United States. But we have never been in insurrection against the United States; we were peacefully acquired by treaty of sale negotiated between the government of Denmark and that of the United States and ratified by your honorable body. It should seem, then, that by the transfer we should have become American citizens. But American citizens are those who enjoy the rights and privileges defined in the United States Constitution as pertaining to American citizenship. And it should be known to you that not only do we not enjoy these rights and privileges in the Virgin Islands, but they have been explicitly denied to us."

Of the problems facing the folk led by that noble non-compromiser of rights, D. Hamilton Jackson, the civil status of the Virgin Islands is the chief and most pressing, and ought to be dispensed with at once.

FINDS HAITI NEEDS MARINES TO GO ON

Denby Party Fears Loss of Handful Left Would Precipitate Anarchy.

PROGRESS ONLY BEGINNING

Topography, Illiteracy and Suspicion Bred by Oppression Make Problem.

Special Correspondence THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti, April 2.—Wonders literally have been achieved by the American occupation of Haiti, but the time has not come when the American marines can be withdrawn. The consensus of opinion among members of Secretary Denby's Congressional party is that the American Government should go forward with its treaty obligation to remedy the present condition of Haitian revenues and finances, maintain the tranquility of the republic and carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of Haiti and its people. They believe that withdrawal of the marines would be followed by disorders, bloodshed, revolution and anarchy.

On its way back from Panama the Denby party has spent two days in Haiti. Senators and Representatives have been received at the national palace with cordiality by President Louis Borno and members of his Cabinet and Council of State. They have conferred with Brig. Gen. John H. Russell of the United States Marine Corps, who has been nearly a year acting as American High Commissioner to Haiti by appointment of President Harding.

They have discussed the situation with American naval and marine officers on duty in Haiti, with American treaty officers engaged in putting Haiti on its economic and financial feet, as well as with American and other foreign business men in the island, and have covered a wide range of Haitian territory.

Thorough Survey Made.

The American legislative party has sped in high-powered motors across mountains into the hill country—once the stronghold of the dreaded Cacos bandit—along newly built highways which are linking all parts of Haiti and opening commercial routes from the rich interior valleys to the principal seaports. They have gone by airplane to distant northern sections of the country and visited the Haitian in his native habitat and found peace and quiet everywhere prevalent.

President Borno appears to have confidence in the American occupation, has been co-operating with the American treaty and marine officers to achieve substantial good for his country, and the result is apparent in maintenance of peace, works of sanitation, construction of good roads, education of the gendarmerie, and public administration. But progress has only begun and it will be a long time before the Haitian will be able to stand alone.

The present American marine occupation has continued for eight years, but most of the marines are gone. The first work was one of pacification. That has been achieved. Haiti is entering the second phase of development. Th' likewise will be difficult. The country is small. It is as thickly populated as any rural section of the world. Less than 5 per cent. in a population of 2,500,000 are literate.

Natural Supicion to Be Overcome.

Outside the towns the people, more than 99 per cent. black, live in the most simple and primitive state. Behind them lie more than four hundred years during which there was much oppression by the Spanish, and exploitation by French masters, so that distrust and even hatred of the white man has been ingrained in many of the natives. It has been difficult to uproot from the Haitian negro's mind his suspicion of the foreigner, and equally as hard to win support from him for the lighter-hued Haitian politician who too long had treated the hill people as cattle for purposes of governmental grant and financial exploitation.

The problem of teeming population is a tremendous one in Haiti. No rural part of the world is more thickly populated. The average density of Haitian population is 200 persons to the square mile, compared with 217.9 per square mile in New York State, 56 in Cuba, 39 in Santo Domingo, while the average population of the whole United States is only 35.50 per square mile. These figures are official, obtained from members of the treaty administration.

While Haiti and Santo Domingo occupy the same island—the Hispaniola of Columbus—Haiti constitutes only one-fourth of the land territory of the island and has four times the population of the Dominican republic.

Babies will constitute one of the greatest problems in the future of Haiti. The population is increasing rapidly. Most of the girls and women of Haiti become mothers between the ages of 11 to 22 years. Babies play around every hut and there are literally scores of thousands of them in Haiti. Under the American occupation they appear happy and most of them threaten to grow into manhood with the steady elimination of disease under the influence of American sanitation.

With the achievement of pacification and wiping out of the revolutionary and Cacos bands the number of American marines here has been reduced from an entire brigade to a strength of only 1,528 officers and men, commanded by Colonel Theodore P. Kane.

The headquarters of the Eighth Marine Regiment are near the Presidential palace in Port au Prince. The Second Observation Squadron of Airmen and the Marine Motor Transport also have their headquarters at that place. The Second Regiment is established at Cape Haitien, on the northern shore of the country. Thirteen miles northeast of Port au Prince is the training centre of the marine brigade at Camp General Russell near Pont Beudet. With the exception of a small post in the interior at St. Michel the entire marine brigade is concentrated at Port au Prince and Cape Haitien.

All other former marine posts in the interior are now garrisoned by native gendarmes, trained and organized by American marine officers. Lieut. Col. Douglas C. McDougal of the United States Marine Corps, a Californian, is Chief of the Gendarmerie d'Haiti holding the rank of Major General. Most of the officers are American marines, but some of the officers are natives and the force of gendarmes has been brought to the point where it does the policing, maintaining order, while the handful of American marines stand ready at all times to support them.

The marines take no part in the administration of the affairs of the Civil Government, except such as may be requested by the civil officials. But their presence is necessary in order that disorder and revolution may be kept in subjection and that the Civil Government itself may, behind the protection thus afforded, have the necessary opportunity for the organization, development and administration of its duties.

Haiti has an area of 10,200 square miles from a coast line 900 miles. Her size is the same as Vermont. But her population is 2,500,000, or about that of Oklahoma. Although until the present American occupation there were no roads in Haiti worthy the name, it is impossible to go anywhere in Haiti and get beyond sight of a hut or away from the sound of a human voice. Mountain, hill and valley are studded with habitations of the native, and all are occupied. The country is so mountainous that a British Admiral, who was once making report to King George III., crumpled a sheet of paper in his hand, tossed it on the table and exclaimed, "Sire, Haiti looks like that." There are mountains of 7,000 feet elevation, with spurs running down to the sea, but between them are many fertile valleys, although not cultivated extensively by the natives.

There are no schools in the rural districts and 95 per cent. of the population is unable to read or write.

The foreigners are greatly in the minority. The American High Commissioner stated that there are only about 3,000 foreigners in Haiti, irrespective of military and treaty personnel. The British, French, Americans and Germans lead. Germans have in the past been active in financing revolutionary leaders. The priests and sisters of the Catholic Church, numbering 646, are almost wholly French. There are 650 Syrians, most of whom hold French, British or American citizenship, but not many Chinese. There are only forty-two Americans engaged in business in Port au Prince, either for themselves or representing American houses.

Foreigners, exclusive of the treaty and occupation personnel and clergy, and travelers in transit, must registeer within forty-eight hours after their arrival in the respective communes where they intend to reside.

Before the landing of the American marines on July 28, 1915, Haiti had twenty-six rulers—two emperors, one king and twenty-three presidents. Fourteen of these served less than a year, and one only finished the statutory term of seven years alive. Since the insurrection of 1843 one President after another has been assassinated or exiled, while the country's affairs went from bad to worse.

Calls Haitians Unfit to Govern.

"The spirit of public service in Haiti," said Brig. Gen. Rufus H. Lane, who accompanied Secretary Denby's party and is an authority on Haitian and Dominican affairs, "has been lacking except as manifested in a small degree in isolated cases, and the purpose of exploiting a Government trust for private profit is universally accepted and approved. Democracy in the sense known to Americans has been wholly absent. These Haitian people maintain no principles and each appears to live his own life in a system of individualism that admits of no common duties and no leadership except to meet some difficulty immediately present. The spirit of sacrifice for public good does not seem to have ever been obtained. "There is no public opinion and the mass of the people are incapable of conceiving any intelligent notions of government. A Government based upon the will of the majority, as understood in our own country, is an utter impossibility. The actual Government is based upon force, which is exercised by the army or by the personal following of the head of the Government."

GET OUT OF SANTO DOMINGO.

The United States Government is relinquishing its control of the affairs of the black people of Santo Domingo. We do not seem successful in managing the affairs of "fluttered folk and wild."

We do not think that there is any considerable body of public sentiment in America that asks that Santo Domingo be annexed. As the Chicago Tribune says, "Santo Domingo, if annexed, would be a nuisance. In fact, we believe the Santo Dominicans should have as much independence as they can be trusted with, having regard for our own peace and our substantial interest in the Caribbean. But we went into the island for a good and sufficient reason, which has not disappeared and will not disappear.

"We went in because the Santo Dominicans had got themselves into a morass of debt and a tangle of international obligations which threatened the intervention of irate or designing creditors. To prevent Santo Domingo from becoming the base for possible hostilities against us, we took over Dominican affairs and have put them on a safe basis for the time being."

Santo Domingo has the bloodiest and most horrible history of any so-called self-governing nation on the Western Continent. Its story has been a history of civil strife and assassinated rulers. The natives have transformed the island from a terrestial paradise to a desert waste. Santo Domingo was of consequence to our international affairs and we should have gone in, as we did, when we waged a great war. The academic theorists can argue that the people are entitled to self-determination and they should be permitted to have their own government. The ideals and customs of the American Republic are impossible to Santo Dominicans. We can withdraw in accordance with the formula of self-government. By doing so we shall probably make certain that at some future time we shall have to go in again. At any rate we ought especially to see that we remain in a position at all times to prevent the island from becoming a threat to our own shores, or to the Panama Canal. We should retain the right to supervise and intervene in case of futile disturbances or a threat of a collapse of responsible government.

Race Problem - 1923
West Indies.

COSSACKS OF THE CARRIBEAN

The Negro World New York

The Crackers of the Navy Department Stage Another Deportation in the Virgin Islands—St. Thomas Journ

3/10/23

By CASPER HOLSTEIN

President Virgin Islands Congressional Council

The vultures of the Virgin Islands have made their second swoop. This time it is on the Island of St. Thomas, and the issues involved are the power of deportation and the right of the press to publish news which is neither defamatory nor libelous, but simply critical of a cracker named Gaffney, who never had anything "down south," but feels that he must assume the airs of a little tin soldier strutting in a penny peep show. This is the story:

Morenga Bonaparte, in spite of his name, is a British subject, native of the Island of Grenada, in the British West Indies. He has been for many years a resident of the Island of St. Thomas, which was transferred to the United States in 1917 under a treaty of sale. While in St. Thomas, Bonaparte engaged in journalism and was one of the associate editors of a small weekly paper run by the radical element among the Negroes of that island. The editor-in-chief of the paper was a member of the legislative body called no power to initiate legislation and a majority of its members are not elected by the voters of the island, but are officially hand-picked by the authorities who have seats on the same council.

Virgin Island Governor More Mighty Than U. S. President

It has been already decided by ex-Governor Kittelle, by the present Governor Hough, by J. J. Gaffney, the cracker above referred to; by Judge McKean, Magistrate Payne and all the officials of the naval regime that those rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution in the forty-eight States of the American Union do not apply where the navy has exclusive jurisdiction—especially in the Virgin Islands and most particularly to newspapers. The life of a journalist of color in the Virgin Islands of the United States is not quite as idyllic as one could wish where people are governed by laws the fathers of the country laid it down as a prime principle of their Government that the legislative, executive and judicial functions of the Government should never be united in any one person or, to put it in plainer English, that no person, howsoever great he might be, should at the same time make the law, interpret the law, and apply the law; because they realized that in such a case that person would be the law—a law unto himself. And while the American people since that time have loved and revered many great men, they have never entrusted any one of them with any two of these powers at the same time. Yet what the wisdom of the American people has withheld from George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and Warren G. Harding, the carelessness of Congress concedes to every naval jack-in-office who gets temporarily promoted to the governorship of the Virgin Islands.

But to resume the story of Morenga-Bonaparte. On November 27 of last year, the paper which he helped to edit carried an editorial signed with his initials (which was a decided tactical error). In this editorial he quoted from the report of the Joint Commission which whitewashed the Navy Department's insular rule two years before. The first quotation reads:

"The commission cannot speak too highly of the work done by the navy in carrying on the government of the Islands."

But the second quotation says:

"The judge of the court is police master, a member of the Colonial Tax Commission, a member of the Colonial Council, also in charge of deeds and mortgages of records. As police master he institutes cases which are tried before him. This is an un-American policy."

The writer of the editorial simply repeats the same criticism and, in enlarging on it, cites two specific illustrations of the recent date, closing with the statement that "The holes in the Police Department should be darned." We venture to think that no Southern white man in Mississippi, Tennessee or Texas would consider such an editorial in a Negro newspaper as sufficient ground for even a Ku Klux condemnation.

But behold! On the very next day the following official notification was served on Mr. Bonaparte: "November 28, 1922, Mr. Morenga-Bonaparte, subeditor of the 'Emancipator,' St. Thomas. Sir: A meeting of the Police Commission will be held in Christianfort at 10 a. m., Wednesday, November 29, 1922, for the purpose of considering certain published statements which bear your name.

"If you care to be present at this time to give such information as you may have to the Commission, in justification of your public statements, you are hereby informed that you will be afforded an opportunity at the time and place mentioned. Very truly yours, J. J. Gaffney, chairman of the Police Commission."

He appeared before this commission, where he was forced to testify under oath at its star chamber proceedings, and Gaffney insultingly insisted that he should write and print in the paper a public apology. This Bonaparte refused to do. Neither the Colonial Council nor the Organic Act under which the Navy Department has ever given to this commission the right and power to try civilians—or any one else. It was, therefore, operating ultra vires, as the lawyers say. And even if it had such power, the exercise of it would have been highly improper in a case in which itself was the defendant. However, the chairman, Gaffney, referred the case to the Governor, who, according to the navy's ideas of government, has at the same time civil, judicial and military powers. On Jan. 31 this legally divine person, this trinity in unity, issued the following order:

"Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States. St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, January 31, 1923. From: Governor of the Virgin Islands to sheriff, municipality of St. Thomas. Subject: Deportation of Thomas F. H. Morenga-Bonaparte. By virtue of the power invested in me and the ordinances or laws of the Virgin Islands in such cases made and provided the deportation of Thomas F. H. Morenga-Bonaparte, a native of Grenada, British West Indies, is hereby authorized.

(Signed) "HENRY I. HOUGH."

Whereupon, Bonaparte was notified to hold himself in readiness for deportation on the "S. S. Guiana." The journalist, however, did not wait for the "Guiana," but left by sail boat for the British island of Tortola.

When the Cracker Cuts Loose

This is the second case of deportation in the Virgin Islands during the last five months, the first being the now notorious Barrow case. It is another evidence of the spirit of intolerant tyranny which is bound to break out wherever and whenever white Americans from the Southern States are given any authority over colored people anywhere. It is the spirit which is responsible for "the rising tide of color against white world supremacy." And we can not forget that in his now celebrated Birmingham address President Harding asked all intelligent white Americans to read and study the book by that name which Lothrop Stoddard has written. We feel sure that the officials of the Navy Department will not let any copies of that book appear in the public libraries in the Virgin Islands. But we wish that they themselves would read it—for their own good. For they would begin to see that it is just this policy of outrageous oppression which is consolidating the twelve hundred million black and brown and yellow people against the less than three hundred million (out of five hundred million) whites who have embarked on the career of economic and racial imperialism.

"How Long, O Lord, How Long?"

Intelligent men everywhere know that it is a poor policy which consolidates its victims in a confraternity of suffering and sets them to asking, "How long, O Lord, how long?" And that is why the intelligent whites in the United States are even now doing all they can to lift from the soul of twelve million Negroes the awful shadow of oppression and to give them an outlook brighter than that which the Gaffneys, Houghs, McKeans and Williams would prescribe for them. But this safer, saner way must beat back the spirit of the "cracker" which blocks the way to better relations between black and white Americans; for if it fails to do this, then God knows what the future may bring forth!

And now, what is it that the Virgin Islanders must do? Since they are not permitted to speak or write against "the wrongs that need resistance" in the Virgin Islands, it is all the more necessary that they should combine and concentrate their efforts in that part of America where they are still free to protest, to criticize, to plan for better conditions. It becomes the duty of the weaker peoples to fight for democracy since the strong hardly need to. And it certainly seems queer that the Governor of the Virgin Islands, unlike the President of the United States, should be able to play the part of W. S. Gilbert's sailor-man, who, after eating the cook, who had eaten the mate, that had eaten the captain and others, could truthfully declare:

"Oh, I am a cook and a captain bold
And the mate of the 'Nancy' brig;
And the bo'sun tight, and a midshipmite
And the crew of the captain's gig."

The immediate task before Virgin Islanders is to call the attention of America to this curious anomaly which takes from President Harding in the name of democracy a privilege which it gives to Mr. J. J. Gaffney, cracker, in the name of race prejudice. It is for them to ask why there should be one form of rule for Filipinos and a worse one for Negroes under the same flag?

Is the hoodwink held fast against the eyes of justice in the Virgin Islands? Are her feet chained to the marble pedestal of liberty and right with the heavy chains of injustice? Is there one measure of justice for the man of power and another for the mendicant? Is there one interpretation of the law for Dives and another for Lazarus? Is it possible that man is measured by his dollars, that the "Equal Rights to All—Special Privileges to None" idea has been turned to the wall and the almighty dollar framed in its stead? Must the masses in the Virgin Islands bow down in worship of the "overlords" while the palladium of their liberties is transformed into a tool of special privilege?

Jamaicans Protest Cession to United States.

Richmond Planet
Richmond, Va.

(Crusader Service.)

Kingston, Jamaica, March 12.—Lord Burnham, editor of the London Telegraph, who is visiting here as an observer, recently heard expressions of dissatisfaction with prevailing political and economic condition from representative public J. A. G. Smith, Simpson, Young and Lowe, colored men, assured Lord Burnham that they are unalterably opposed to the island being handed over to the United States and they are anxious to see fewer South African officials with colored prejudice sent here.

3/17/23

Generally, expressions of preference for England were tendered along with the plea for fuller control of the island's destiny by its native population. The distinguished visitor assured numerous delegations of his interest and promised to use his influence to ameliorate the conditions complained against.

THE ONLY ONES

Chicago Whip. 3/24th/23.

How many times have we heard some black man sitting among his fellows state with pride and pomp that he was the only black man who backed in the favor of the white people? We have heard "Rufus Jones" aver with dignity that he was the only black man who lived on "Caucasian Boulevard." We have listened to "Sam Brown" as he asserted that he was the only colored man employed by the "White Sheet Manufacturing Co." We have been among those present when little "Hannibal Green" ejaculated that he was the only "race boy" in the Nordic School of Fine Arts." We have been in the audience when "Mariah Brown" erected her Senegambian nose and saucily stated that she was the only Negro girl employed as a stenographer by the Anglo-Saxon Supremacy Co. We, who are members of the black race, have time after time heard our own people gloat over the fact that they were tolerated or recognized by the white people. We are unable to see any indication of the much vaunted "race pride" in such positions. To the contrary such attitudes and such mental states savor of inferiority.

We see no signal honor in a black man living among white people, studying in their schools or working in their business establishments. The "only ones" here and there among white people have arrogantly elevated themselves within their own minds and have done nothing to solve their mediate or immediate problems. Black people have lived in circumscribed spheres so long that they have allowed themselves unconsciously to accept the dictums of an inferiority expressed by the white race. If the black people are ever to be unshackled in limb and muscle they must first be unfettered in mind.

When black people are fortunate enough to get in positions and environments that are barred to their race as a whole the only lasting benefit that can enure to them is to so conduct themselves that respect will be engendered for their race, and openings made possible for others to enter. While it is admitted that black people must perform just a bit better in these much coveted spheres than the white people, unless they break down some of the general barriers that are placed before their people, they have done little service for themselves and certainly nothing that should cause them to be elated.

These "only ones" who raise the heads, arch their eyebrows, and tilt their chins instead of realizing their superiority, have gone to the other extreme and accentuated their inferiority by considering themselves honored. We hope that the black people will soon realize that there is no honor in working, eating, sleeping and studying with white people. "Honor and shame from no conditions rise." It behooves the black man to stamp out every vestige of the poisonous preachments of his own unfitness. The Jews regard themselves as God's chosen people, and we are waiting for the black people to remove themselves from the memories of slavery which are brought to mind when a black man brags because his white brother shows a tolerant mind.

VIRGIN ISLAND EDITOR RUN OUT BY POLICE ON ORDER OF AM. MARINE COMMANDER

Pittsburg American—Pittsburg, Pa.

Mild Criticism of Police Results in Banishment—Protest Made to Secretary of the Navy.

3/9/23

A protest to the Secretary of the Navy against the deportation of the associate editor of the Emancipator, a labor paper published in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, was sent yesterday by the American Civil Liberties Union through A. A. Berle, Jr., attorney. The deported editor, Morgena Bonaparte, a British subject from the neighboring Island of Tortala, was charged with writing an editorial criticizing the naval administration of the Virgin Islands.

Captain Hough, the American governor, did not approve of the police force being criticized. Accordingly, he issued directions to the sheriff of St. Thomas to deport Bonaparte. Rothschild Francis, editor-in-chief of the Emancipator, member of the Colonial Council and president of the local labor union, is making every effort to have the deportation order revoked.

"This action was taken as a direct attempt to prevent any kind of unfavorable comment upon government action," the Civil Liberties Union's communication to Secretary Denby states, "and as one step in preventing the newspapers of the Virgin Islands from expressing their honest opinions. Even in America free speech is worth something, and in the Virgin Islands it is worth still more.

"It is inconceivable to us here that Captain Hough should have acted with your knowledge and consent or by your order. Your own administration has been so free from the kind of thing which discredited the previous administration, especially in the conduct of its West Indian affairs, that we had all indulged the hope that such incidents would no longer appear.

"I have advised the leaders of the American Federation of Labor in the Virgin Islands, one of whom is editor-in-chief of the Emancipator, that they must make every effort to hold their people in line until this matter is officially brought before you and until I can advise of your attitude. Preventing immoderate action is, however, of the greatest difficulty, and I can only express the hope that you will immediately go over all the papers in this matter, after which I trust you will find it possible to have Captain Hough rescind the order of deportation."

"The deportation of Bonaparte," according to Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, "is only one incident in a series of acts of repression brought to bear against the citizens of the Virgin Islands by the naval authorities."

Race Problem—1923
West Indies.

Santo Domingo

"No West Indian Problem," Domingo

New York Amsterdam News

Immigration of West Indian Should Not Be Restricted.

4-4-23

"There is no such thing as a West Indian-American Negro problem," declared W. A. Domingo speaking at the Friends Forum last Sunday afternoon. Mr. Domingo's talk was a rejoinder to an address given by Chandler Owen of the Messenger a few weeks ago.

With regard to Mr. Owen's suggestion as to the limitation of immigration from the West Indies, the speaker pointed out that according to the census of 1920 there were only 73,803 foreign born Negroes in the United States. These, he said, included Africans, Cape Verd Islanders, Brazilian and many others. "In 1914," he said, "1,394 West Indians came to the United States; in 1920, 1,369, and in 1922, 976; of this 822 returned. This small number of foreign born Negroes is lost in the large native Negro population, and cannot constitute a problem.

"It is a dangerous thing for an oppressed people to [illegible] off their own number. The native, Jew and the newly-arrived Russian Jews have their differences, for instance, but one never hears the former talking about restricting the immigration of the latter. The American Negroes see that the restriction of any other group of Negroes would be detrimental to their own interests and some years ago when a bill was introduced in Congress to bar Negro immigrants, the Negro press took up the fight, and brought about the defeat of the bill.

"The least that is said about this so-called problem the better for all concerned."

Speaking of the assimilabity of both groups he said: "One can understand the Anglo-Saxon saying he cannot get along with the Negro but to say or infer that two groups of Negroes cannot assimilate is the height of the ridiculous."

Mr. Owen was not present. He is on an extended lecture tour.

UPRISING IS DENIED AT SANTO DOMINGO

The New York Times 4-19-23

Panama Report of 17 Marines Killed Is Branded as False by Military Authorities.

SANTO DOMINGO, Aug. 18 (Associated Press).—There is no foundation for the report that there has been an uprising in Santo Domingo and that seventeen American marines were killed, the American military authorities here stated today. Complete quiet prevails in the country.

The report arose in Panama when the cruiser Rochester, flagship of the special service squadron, sailed suddenly with Rear Admiral John H. Dayton on board. Rumors of an uprising in Santo Domingo were accompanied by reports of the killing of the American marines.

News of the circulation of these reports caused surprise here and brought out a quick denial from the military authorities that there was any basis whatever for them.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 (Associated Press).—No word of an uprising in Santo Domingo or of casualties among American marines there has been received by the American Government.

An examination of naval records was said by navy officers to show that the Rochester probably would have left about this time for Santo Domingo in the ordinary course of her routine voyage through the southern waters.

The report from Panama, unconfirmed from any source, was that the Rochester sailed suddenly as result of an uprising in Santo Domingo in which seventeen marines had been killed. It added that the cruiser Galveston was expected to follow Rear Admiral Dayton' flagship

SAN DOMINGO RISING LACKS CONFIRMATION

The Commercial Appeal

Rochester Sails on Orders Issued Some Time Ago.

8-19-23

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18.—Although press dispatches from Panama carried the rumor of an uprising in San Domingo, in which 17 American marines were said to have been killed, the navy department today declared the departure of the cruiser Rochester from Panama for San Domingo was not due to official news of trouble. The department has received no word of the reported outbreak in the island, it was said.

Marine corps officials here and representatives of the Dominican government also declared they had received no word of trouble in the island.

The Rochester is the flagship of the special West Indian squadron, and is in command of Rear Admiral John H. Dayton. It sailed from Colon today on orders issued some time ago, the navy department said

CLAIM NO TROUBLE AT SANTO DOMINGO

The Houston Post

Associated Press Report.

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Houston, Texas

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Fighting Doubted On San Domingo

The Atlanta Georgian

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 18. Although press dispatches from Panama carried the rumor of an uprising in San Domingo, in which 17 marines were said to have been killed, the Navy Department Saturday declared the departure of the cruiser Rochester from Panama to San Domingo was not due to official news of trouble. The department has received no word of the reported outbreak in the island, it was said.

Marine Corps officials here, and representatives of the Dominican Government also declared they had received no word of trouble in the island.

DENY SANTO DOMINGO REVOLT

The Daily News, Chicago, Ill.

U. S. Authorities Say Report of 17 Marine Dead Unfounded.

[By The Associated Press.]

Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, Aug. 18.—There is no foundation for a report that there has been an uprising in Santo Domingo and that seventeen American marines were killed, the American military authorities here stated to-day. Complete quiet prevails in the country.

[A dispatch from Panama brought the report that an uprising was under way in Santo Domingo and that a United States cruiser had been sent there.]

HAITIAN, NOW HOWARD PROFESSOR, IS INTERPRETER FOR COUNTRYMAN; NO KNOWLEDGE OF BUTLER EXPLOIT

Washington Herald

No Slur Meant, Says Diplomat, Although Insisting That He Has No Knowledge Of Fort For Taking Of Which General Butler Was Given Congressional Medal; Holds Medal Was Salve To U. S. And Laughed At In Haiti

A Howard University Professor was one of the leading characters in the diplomatic comedy which has been playing at the Haitian Ministry for the past week. Professor Lucien Hibbert, native Haitian, one time Secretary of State for Public Instruction and Cabinet member in Haiti, and personal friend of Minister Dantes Bellegarde, was called at once by the stately brown skinned diplomat when one of the local dailies quoted him as slurring General Smedley Butler by denying that there was any such fort in Haiti as the one for taking which the Marine general was given a Congressional Medal of Honor.

5-1-31

Through Dr. Hibbert, Minister Bellegarde explained that, in talking to a Washington Herald reporter on April 12, he merely stated that he had never seen the fort that General Butler captured in Haiti. Moreover, he said he did not know any other Haitian who had ever seen it or read of it outside of American newspapers and magazines.

Washington, D. C.

"But," said Minister Bellegarde through his interpreter, "I did not contend that no such fort existed. I merely contended that I did not know of its existence."

Butler Honored for Bravery

General Smedley Butler when he was a major and assigned to duty in Haiti fighting native outlaws, was given by the United States Government its highest honor, the Congressional Medal, for capturing Fort Riviere, "the last stronghold of the Cacos." Several Americans testify to the existence of this fort at that time and to the fact that the fort was taken without any casualties to the Marine forces except bruises. However, no Haitian has been found who knows anything about the fort or the exploit which gained for the general such high recognition by his own government.

Appeals to State Department

The whole incident has so hurt General Butler that he has called upon the State Department asking an investigation of the alleged slurs on his bravery.

"In brief," General Butler said "the Haitian Minister is quoted as having said I was a fake, and that the fort was a fake and never existed. Well, this puts the shoe on the other foot.

"I wrote to the Secretary of the Navy last Monday, and I inquired whether an investigation had been made to determine whether, first,

(*Continued on page 3*)

EDITORIAL

The Washington World

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RACKETS IN HAITI

Washington Herald 5-1-31

General Smedley Butler, the "Fighting Marine," was given the highest honor an American soldier can receive from his government for capturing Fort Riviere in Haiti, killing a couple of score of native Haitians and bringing his men through the terrible battle with a few bruises. Minister Dantes Bellegarde from the Republic of Haiti, well educated, a student of his own country and a respected diplomat, has said that, although General Butler may have done all that he has been cited for, he (the Minister) personally does not know of the existence of such a fort in his country, and moreover, has never met any Haitian who did; that although General Butler may have been most deserving of any honor bestowed upon him by the United States government, he has discovered that the American public knows more about this great exploit than educated and intelligent citizens of the country in which the deeds of bravery were exhibited.

Beneath this comedy of errors and carefully worded affirmations and denials, beneath the diplomatic and half-humorous statements of Minister Bellegarde, may be a brilliant purpose more far-reaching than it now seems. The American public is being awakened to little-known facts concerning America's occupation of the little black republic. Minister Bellegarde has started something which may end in a fairer and more theoretically American attitude and policy towards a sovereignty that in the past has been raped, not only because it was small, but also because it was black.

It is significant that in the midst of the Bellegarde-Butler controversy, M. Ernest G. Chauvet, editor of The Nouvelliste, Haiti's oldest paper, openly calls American office-holders in Haiti "racketeers." Americans, he says, hold high offices and get high salaries which are not only unmerited, but disadvantageous to Haiti. And there are many other facts known to students of Haitian affairs, but little known by fair-minded Americans, which the diplomacy of Minister Bellegarde may bring out into the wholesome air.

We have no doubt that there is a Fort Riviere in Haiti, or that General Butler may have captured it and killed several Haitians, but we are tempted to believe that the military administration of Haiti may also be called a "racket" and that the exploit of General Butler, to say the least, was much exaggerated.

Bellegarde-Butler Tilt

(*Continued from page 1*)

he Haitian Minister had made this emark, and, secondly, whether omething was not being done to orrect the false impression in the ublic mind such a statement ould create. I have not yet re-eived a reply.

Calls Haitian Medal a Joke

Referring to the presentation of medal to General Butler by his own country, Minister Bellegarde old the Associated Press reporter hat this medal was in the nature of a salve to the United States.

M. Bellegarde referred to a book he wrote in 1929 for his account of the Butler presentation. As translated for newspapermen by his secretary and himself, it said the Haitian cabinet was "surprised and scandalized" at the Haitian award.

President Dartiguenave, he added, dismissed the incident by explaining to his cabinet the citation would have the effect of removing United States pressure upon Haiti to pass a law prohibiting gold importation into that country.

After the presentation of the medal and everyone had gone but the cabinet, M. Bellegarde added, the president burst out laughing, and said:

"Well, what is the matter? The liberty of the gold importation is worth a medal. General Butler will not carry back to the State Department anything but this toy. Let us hope that will be sufficient."

Minister Holds Many Honors

Minister Bellegarde, who is 53, served twice as Minister in Paris and during the first assignment was accredited, also, to the Holy See. He was a delegate to the League of Nations in 1922, 1925, and 1930, and in 1924-25 was a member of the League's temporary commission on slavery and forced labor.

He attended the third Pan-American Commercial Conference in Washington in 1927 as a delegate of the Haitian Chamber of Commerce. From 1918, to 1920, Bellegarde was secretary of public instruction in Haiti, and later taught law and economics at the National University.

The Haitian Minister holds the decoration of commander of the French Legion of Honor. A son, Auguste, is a student at Ohio State University.



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Race Problem — 1923.
West Indies.

COOLIDGE—JIM CROW PRESIDENT

President Coolidge is following out the Wilson policy of bleeding Haiti white.

The latest outrage against the weak black republic is the appointment of a white American as head of the Agriculture over the Haitian department head, at a salary of $10,000, to be paid by the Haitians.

A hundred or more white Americans will now find jobs under the new head, who has ordered special quarters to be provided for his offices outside the Haitian government building.

So Coolidge not only robs Haiti, but subjects her to the humiliating jim crow at the same time.

STATE DEPARTMENT ASKED TO EXPLAIN REBUFF GIVEN ABLE NEGRO DIPLOMATIST

(By the Associated Negro Press)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 29.—The question of the removal of Captain Napoleon B. Marshall from his present position at the American Legation in Port au Prince has been laid before Under Secretary of State Phillips by Charge d' Affairs James C. Dunn. The Associated Negro Press can state on most reliable authority that there will be nothing done on the matter until after the most thorough investigaion.

James C. Dunn is a native of Newark, N. J., and came into the diplomatic service under the Wilson administration. He has seen service in Havana, Cuba, and other sections of the West Indies, and has been in Port au Prince for a little over three years, first as secretary of the legation, and at present Charge de Affairs.

While it is understood that Dunn's chief complaint is that "Marshall is too able a man to be a mere clerk," and that it is desired that just an ordinary person, presumably white, should succeed Marshall; friends of Marshall in the United States wish to find out why Marshall was thus assigned in the first place after he had been lead to believe his position would be one of authority. Who is responsible for the mix up, and why? Will it be adjusted, and how?

Senator McCormick Authority

So far as the whole Haitian situation is concerned, Senator McCormick of Illinois, has been the one authority to whom the people have listened, and to whom they have turned for first-hand information. The Senator has always suggested a pretentious program for the island Republic. Is the program, so far as Colored America is concerned, to fall flat?

Technically, Marshall's position is under the State Department, but the State Department would naturally give respectful consideration to suggestions from the chairman of the Senatorial Committee having to do with the affairs of Haiti.

Delegation to Haiti

One of the subjects popularly discussed a few months ago was the sending to Haiti, through the State Department, a delegation, committee, commission, or something of that sort, to study conditions and recommend a program of co-operative action.

There was, in the first place, a hitch over what such a group should be called. It was decided that it would, or could, not be called a "Commission" as that would require congressional action. "But a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and so the name feature was overlooked.

There has been a tentative agreement, in which it is understood that President Harding, and the State Department were agreed, together with Senator McCormick, that the committee would be composed of three: Robert R. Church of Memphis, representing business interests; Dr. R. R. Moton, of Tuskegee Institute, representing agricultural information, and Dr. U. G. Daily of Chicago, who should look into the promotion of hospitals. Dr. Moton could not accept because of a tour to Europe, and Professor Williams, of Tuskegee Institute, was substituted. Dr. Dailey's name was dropped, without explanation to the public, and R. R. Church declined, when he learned that the committee would be required to go without the usual attaches supplied on such occasions. Professor Williams went to Haiti, and made some valuable investigations for the Haitian republic's development.

But there seems to be a "Screw loose somewhere in the program," according to those who have been keeping in touch with matters. Has High Commissioner Russell decided to keep "Colored America down and out?" Do the Haitian people themselves prefer to have all white American officials? Has Senator McCormick lost his grip on the program he had worked out? These are some of the questions now being asked.

Haiti

COOLIDGE USES NAVY IN RAPE ON HAITI

White Man Given Post of Agricultural Commissioner, Haiti to Foot Bills

$10,000 JOB IS CREATED

Latest Outrage is Raids Upon Homes of Peaceable Citizens In Island Republic

Port au Prince, Haiti, Dec. 24—With the full force of President Coolidge's administration behind it, the Navy Department is using strong-arm methods in crushing out the republican spirit in Haiti and making the island a part of United States territory.

Leading newspaper men here, including Joli Bois, editor of the Courier Hatien, are held in jail without bail for writing newspaper articles urging the calling of the national assembly.

In the latest outrage, a committee of the League for Public Welfare, in session in a private dwelling was raided by gendarmes under command of Colonel S. M. Harrington, a white American, who charged that the meeting was being held without police permission. The gathering was dispersed and the president, Auguste Albert, a Wesleyan Methodist minister, was thrown in jail.

15 Hours In Cell

Rev. Mr. Albert was held for 15 hours in a narrow cell without food, water, or bed. In a letter filed with the Navy Department, the pastor charges that the raid was perpetrated upon a peaceable meeting in violation of the laws of the United States and Haiti. He filed a claim for $1,000 damages. Colonel McDougal, in charge of the American-Haitien police force, refused to consider the claim, it is said, which is the reason for the pastor's appeal directly to Secretary Denby in Washington.

Various partiotic societies here are appealing to their black brethren in the United States to protest loudly against what is called the rape of Haiti, whereby her independence is being crushed and her income spent at the will of American dictator.

$10,000 Job Created

As an example of how the Coolidge administration uses all methods to humiliate the Haitiens, it has placed a white man in charge of agricultural affairs on the island at a salary of $10,000 a year. He will receive a larger salary than the Haitian minister of agriculture, and has already ordered the building of quarters outside the government administration building where other whites will be employed. Haiti will be compelled to foot all the bills.

HAITI CUT OFF FROM OUTSIDE WORLD

Natives Forbidden to Cable News of Latest Marine Outrages to Foreign Lands

ISLAND PRESS IS MUZZLED

Three Leading Haitian Journalists Cast Into Prison and Trial Is Denied

Port au Prince, Haiti, Nov. 1.—(Special)—Resistance of patriotic Haitains to the rule of the United States' Marines and their acts of violence is causing a chaotic condition on the island.

While the Coolidge administration is boasting about the increased value of the products they have been able to sell from Haitian harvests, marines have been busy muzzling the local press, casting newspaper editors into prison and denying them trial and forbidding all communication by cable with foreign lands about the high-handed procedure.

January first is the constitutional date set for election of representatives and senators. President Borno, advised by American authorities, is doing his best to call off the election on the ground that he can rule better without any native assembly.

Marines broke up a peaceable meeting here which was addressed by M. Jolibois, editor of the Courier Haitien, Elie Cuerin, and Edourd Benedict, also journalists. They had lectured throughout the island urging the election of a national assembly. Marines placed them in prison in solitary confinement, and refused them trial before native judges. The presumption is that after a long and illegal delay there will be a rump-trial before American naval officers.

M. Jolibois is particularly hated by the American occupation forces because he continues to agitate in his paper for the withdrawal of U. S. Marines, and the return of the island to the natives. Auguste Albert, Wesleyan minister, was also arrested at the same time.

Haytian Press Gagged by U. S.

Sufferings of People Are Indescribable—Pledge Betrayed.

(Crusader Service)

How the Republican Party has kept its pledge is told by Joseph Mirault in a letter to the New York World, published in its issue of July 8:

To the Editor of The World:

Though you may not pay attention to it and give not, therefore, a voice in your prominent paper to the suffering people of Haiti, yet I feel it my duty to denounce to you once more Mr. Russell, the High Commissioner, from whose hands we have already suffered so much.

As I have stated in my letter of a month or so ago to you, the sufferings of the Haytian people are indescribable. Yet they are not allowed to complain. New laws have just been enacted against the press, gagging it more and more every day.

Mr. Jolibois, Fils, and Mr. Edouard Pouget, directors of the Courier-Haitian and the Post, are still in a dungeon, where they intend to keep them until they die. These are the kindnesses Mr. Russell is lavishing upon us in the name of American democracy, without the people of this country knowing anything about it.

(Signed) JOSEPH MIRAULT.

MR. HUGHES ON HAITI.

Speaking before the American Bar Association at Minneapolis, the last part of August, Secretary Hughes of the State Department defined the Monroe doctrine as a policy vitally related to the national safety. He denied that it was a policy of aggression, but on the other hand a policy of self-defense. He quoted President Wilson in support of the proposition that the Monroe doctrine was proclaimed by the United States upon her own authority and will be maintained upon her own responsibility.

The building of the Panama Canal and the establishment of Cuban independence have created such conditions in the Caribbean as would make necessary the creation of a [illegible] if that policy had not already been announced, declared Mr. Hughes. While making it impossible to review in any detail the circumstances which led to the occupation of Santo Domingo and Haiti, the Secretary of State tactily approved the seizure of these countries and the establishment of a military government, as a measure "in the interest of public order." He continued:

"This occupation was due to the demonstration, to use the phrase of President Roosevelt, of an impotence resulting in the lessening of the ties of civilized society and thus requiring intervention. But the point that I desire to make is that instead of using this opportunity, as has falsely been charged, to establish a permanent control of Santo Domingo, the Government of the United States has been solicitous to arrange for the termination of the occupation and the withdrawal of its forces and has devoted its endeavors, earnestly and effectively, to the assistance of the Dominican people in establishing a sound basis for an independent Government.

"It is expected that elections in which the authorities of the United States will not intervene will be held about the middle of September and in due course the permanent Government will be established."

As to Haiti the same professions of disinterested interest were made, in the following phrases:

"In order to understand conditions in Haiti, it should be recalled that since the Republic of Haiti gained its independence it has been the scene of almost continuous revolution. This is true of its recent history, as well as of the earlier years. The Government of the United States is seeking to make its relation to Haiti beneficial to the Haitian people; it has no other aim but to establish peace and stability.

"It does not seek to acquire or to control the territory of Haiti, and it will welcome the day when it can leave Haiti with the reasonable assurance that the Haitians will be able to maintain an independent Government competent to keep order and discharge its international obligations.

We imagine this is about as good a defence as can be made for the American intervention in Haiti and San Domingo. How little it squares with the facts in the case as reported by the observers sent by the New York "Nation" and reproduced in The Age some two years ago, is a matter of record. Mr. Hughes is making the best of a bad case in defending the American occupation of these Caribbean republics as either warranted by conditions or executed with justice and consideration for the defenceless inhabitants.

Haiti Appeals to the World

DANTES BELLEGARDE, the Haitian diplomat whose speeches, particularly in behalf of the Hottentots, attracted such general attention in recent meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations, signs the following appeal to the public opinion of the world:

Whereas, the Government of the United States of America intervened in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Haiti in July, 1915, although the Haitian people had committed no violation of the rules of international law and had not imperiled the lives or interests of American citizens;

Whereas, as a result of this intervention a convention was imposed upon the Republic of Haiti, in which the Government of the United States agreed to give its material aid to Haiti in order to develop the economic resources of the country, while reserving the right to name specialists to aid the technical advisers of the Haitian Government in the organization of certain public services;

Whereas, this convention has not been carried out in the benevolent spirit which was said to have inspired it, the promised aid has not been given, and the American officials appointed to serve in Haiti (whose technical competence has often been subject to question) have exceeded their role as counselors and have transformed themselves into veritable dictators—which is stated and proved in official documents transmitted to the Government at Washington, especially in a message from the President of Haiti to the President of the United States, dated January 24, 1921;

Whereas, the Republic of Haiti has been occupied by American troops since 1915, although it has never been at war with the United States and although domestic peace is assured there by a local gendarmerie commanded by American officers;

Whereas the unjustified prolongation of such a regime of military occupation is at once an intolerable violation of the principles of public international law and a humiliation for the Haitian nation, an attack upon its territorial integrity, and a limitation of the full exercise of its sovereignty;

Whereas, the Republic of Haiti is a charter member of the League of Nations and no people anxious for justice and respectful of law can be indifferent to the situation imposed;

Be it Resolved, that the International Union of Associations for the League of Nations should put the Haitian question upon the agenda of its next meeting, and that meanwhile it should ask all its members to interest public opinion in their respective countries in the fate of the Haitian people.

The Haitian Association for the League of Nations,
DANTES BELLEGARDE, President

Port au Prince, August 21, 1923

HAITIANS AND AMERICAN NEGROES

American Negroes can find in Haiti a Negro country close at hand with an attractive civilization different from their own. And, if they will take the trouble to show their sympathy with Haitians, they may discover a field for the expansion of the rapidly growing Negro business in this country. In insurance, for instance, Haiti offers an almost virgin field. Transportation is still in a rather crude state. And though the country is primarily agricultural, agriculture and its allied interests are in an almost primitive condition. Almost any improvement in agriculutral production which the practically trained American Negro could make would be welcomed. Well-trained, English-speaking Negroes from neighboring islands appear to find Haiti an attractive field.

At least two Negro church organizations of America have already undertaken educational work in Haiti. Their efforts should be increased and the work made more effective. Other societies may find here also inviting fields for helpful, dis interested work. It might be possible, too, for the Negroes of this country to enlist the interest of some of the great philanthropic bodies of America in work in Haiti. There is urgent need for large, well-organized, systematic work in practical education and especially in sanitation and health such as only the great philanthropic boards could handle effectively.—W. T. B. Williams in the Southern Workman.

Race Problem-1923
West Indies.

HAITIANS PROTEST U. S. RULE

NEW YORK.—A public protest has been signed by a large number of prominent Haitians assembled in mass meeting in Port au Prince, Haiti, against the arrest and continued imprisonment of Jolibois and Edouard Pouget, editors of Le Courrier Haitian, according to word received here by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The newspaper is an upholder of Haitian democracy and nationality.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been informed that the American occupation of Haiti is attempting to impugn the character of Haitian judges so they may be replaced by others who will keep the two editors in prison.

"After that," the report says, "with much noise and publicity the state department will announce to the world that it has abolished martial law in Haiti, and the world, with much applause, will congratulate the American government for its humane treatment of the Haitians."

HAITI NEEDS NEW CAPITAL TO AID IN DEVELOPEMENT

Ninety-five Per Cent of Population Unable to Either Read or Write

Port au Prince, Haiti, May 18.—The government is ready and willing to offer every possible inducement to secure investment of American capital in the vast, rich natural resources of the republic."

This is the statement which President Louis Borno of Haiti requested newspapers to give the American people. It is a message that comes direct from President Borno's heart for he has dedicated his administration to the development of what he considers the most pressing need of the island republic—agriculture.

To Sell Land

For the first time in history the president is in a position to sell vast tracts of government land to foreign capital, preferably American, at prices ranging from $4 to $300 an acre. The law permitting this disposition was promulgated by President Borno and his council of state of 21 members, the legislative and ruling body of the republic.

Haiti is rich in natural resources. Her lands are fertile, most of which have not been tilled. Petroleum, lignite and a few other minerals have been discovered, and already American companies are forming to exploit these products.

Coffee Is Product

Coffee, the chief product of the republic, grows wild. Last year more than 60,000,000 pounds was exported. President Borno declares this output can be douled and trebled in a few years, with proper cultivation. Cotton, sugar and logwood are the other chief exports, the four products comprising 92.5 per cent of the total export trade. The volume of trade in 1922 wa $23,062,481, an imposing figure considering Haiti throughout its entire existence has never known scientific agriculture.

It is only natural in view of Haiti's turbulent political history, with its graft and its intrigues, that there should be poverty, intense poverty, illiteracy, a woeful lack of national feeling. Nearly 95 per cent of the population of 2,050,000 can neither read nor write.

President Seeks Relief

After agriculture is established Borno wants to provide as adequate educational system. But this cannot be done without the revenues derived from the farms. Teachers in the few schools at present are paid from $5 to $8 a month; most of the people are without means to send their children to school. Farm wages are now 20 cents a day; on government works wages are 30 cents a day—barely sufficient to sustain life. The people live on the tropical fruits, which, growing wild, are abundant throughout the island.

Build Good Roads

Under President Borno's direction good roads are being built in the interior regions; government irrigation projects are being started. These are under the supervision of American navy engineers.

And then, with a flash of his eyes that denoted his sincerity, President Borno concluded:

"Haiti is so poorly known in the states! It is so misrepresented and so misunderstood! We want Americans to come to us and invest their money. We have great opportunities for them."

HAITI

The National Haiti Overseas Navigation Company has just been formed, owned solely by negroes in New York and Haiti. It has a capital of $250,000, and operates under a subsidy of $50,000 from the Haitian Government for the first year and $100,000 a year for ten years thereafter. It has purchased the steam yacht Margaret, 172 feet long, fitted out to carry forty first-class passengers between New York and Port-au-Prince, calling at coastal ports in Haiti and Cuba on its return trips.

Haiti.

From Editor's Chair To White Wash Brush



How the freedom of the press is abused in Hayti, the West Indian Island conquered and held by United States Marines.

Photo shows Joli Bois Jr., cultured and highly educated editor of the leading newspaper in Port Au Prince "Haytien Courier" the capital thrown in jail and made to work as a white washer because he spoke out in his paper for the rights of the Haytians to rule their own country. The striped uniform is the regulation prison uniform.

Color Caste Clash Is Haitian Problem

Collaboration of Natives and Americans Is Making but Slow Progress.

By Gardner L. Harding

In Boston, Mass. Christian Science Monitor

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Oct. 10—One of the prime difficulties of American policy in Haiti, which an observer of contemporary events must face squarely, is the race problem. It is a material obstacle to collaboration and progress for which many other troubles are merely a screen. It explains the complaints of subverted liberties and diminished self-expression, which political language altogether fails to account for. Briefly, it is the apprehension that one color caste may be supplanted by another that makes many Hatians distrust the presence of Americans among them.

I will quote a characteristic version of this feeling. A typical Haitian of the ruling class told me this:

"Before the Americans came into Haiti, I was a distinguished man in my country. No important visitor came here without feeling that he should pay me a visit, and I was glad to extend my hospitality and my good offices in helping him understand the free little republic of Haiti. Now all this is changed. I am nobody in my own country. On the street where I used to live, surrounded by neighbors of a lifetime, known, and in some degree respected, by everyone, an American marine officer lives on one side of me, an American gendarme officer lives across the street, an American adviser, an American business man live farther along the way. Their wives, their children, their automobiles, are everywhere. I cannot even enter their club. And as I pass along, instead of the courteous salutations of my neighbors, someone as like as not says, 'Who is that coon.'"

Understanding Necessary

This offense to pride and amour propre, accentuated by a hundred daily minor manifestations, must be understood before Americans realize what they are coping with in "collaborating" with Government in Haiti by the Haitians. It is often said here that Americans introduced race prejudice into Haiti. That is not exactly true. There is as much prejudice between the color caste in Haiti as in any other country where diffierences exist. But Americans have brought in a new caste, a new dominant caste. And in that degree they have sent a repercussion of apprehension down through the whole articulate life of the people.

Every Haitain nationalist, for instance, believes that the engineering and the financing of the American roads is amaturish, corrupt, and the pure expression of American egocentric policy. Every American seeking to civilize Haiti by material improvement—and they are still our predominant type—regards Haitian liberty as childish and rudimentary anarchy.

The real clash goes deeper than these pretexts. It is the presence of one race, alien in color, language and cultural customs, impinging on on another it considers inferior, that makes the deep-seated conflict of Americans' presence in Haiti almost irreconcilable.

Situation Tense

It is a severe but natural comment on America's conduct of affairs among the islanders that there are fewer Haitians of standing, actively assisting the American regime today than at any time since the Americans came in. On the other hand it is true that there is less extremism against them. And the "best" Haitians feel the full force of the probability that the expulsion of the Americans would bring back the militarism they know in their hearts would drag the Nation again into anarchy and retrogression. But on the whole, in spite of Gen. John H. Russell's tactful endeavors of the present, the Haitians are still diminishing their social as well as political contact with Americans after eight years of their presence.

Reports and explanations of American's policy are not placed before the tribunal of Haitian opinion, and the changes of projects and the revision of the laws are kept secret just sufficiently long to allow the Nationalists to make a first-class rallying cry of "Taxation without representation."

Clash of Color

These things are signs of a clash, and it is the hardest sort of clash for an invading, civilizing nation to resolve with dignity for both sides—a clash of color. Just now it is the Americans who lead a rising tide of white color in Haiti. It is more by force of circumstances than through our command of them, and it is pledged to be "temporary and disinterested;" but who can blame the Haitians for not being perfectly reasonable about prospects in front of it? In reality the advance is assured, but how the Americans conduct it will be one of the most delicate problems in the twentieth century tropical penetration of the United States.

The candid observer must admit that for many reasons, as well as through the unfortunate logic of

the situation itself, Americans are deprived of the responsive collaboration of Haiti in a way that seriously injures the dignity of the United States.

On the economic side, as the result of efficient American customs collection, I am assured that Haiti has a surplus this year consisting of approximately the difference between 26,000,000 gourdes receipts and 21,000,000 expenditures. These figures make Haiti a solvent nation. The remaining 5,000,000 is, however already ear-marked for "extraordinary account," and it is the opinion of important persons here that the Republic is doing well to break even.

Today internal taxes hardly count. They are collected by Haitian collectors and will produce about $600,000; they usually run under $400,000

A vexatious tax system still exists in its entirety here, and Americans have not ,after seven years, drawn up a unified budgeting plan. The fairest criticism of this situation is, I feel, that such economic reform as Americans have attempted in Haiti, has been done piece-meal instead of making the whole problem an integral one, as should have been done if the best interests of Haiti were to be served.

Senator McCormick Advises President On Haitian Ouestion

The situation in Haiti, the republic of L'Ouverture and the country foremost in the imagination of Colored Americans, has long been under discussion in the United States. How to improve conditions there, how to help Haitians to stand on their feet and help them to preserve their prestige and standing has been a problem of American statesmen.



Sen. McCormick

That Haiti, in her relation to the United States, occupies a position so satisfactory at the present time is due more to Medill McCormick, United States Senator from Illinois, than to any other influence in American politics. Senator McCormick may truly be called the American benefactor of Haiti.

In a recent letter to President Coolidge Senator McCormick again insisted on immediate help and sympathy for Haiti. He wants a mixed American commission appointed to "inquire anew as to the facts and make recommendation."

His letter to President Coolidge follows:

Chicago, Ill.,
Nov. 13, 1923.

Dear Mr. President:

I beg to refer again to the development of American policy in Haiti which was discussed very briefly when I was in Washington.

Peace is established throughout the Republic. The peasant in his hut and the traveler are secure alike from governmental oppressors and from bandits, as they have not been in many a long day. The debt has been funded and moneys have been found for public works. A system of arterial highways is nearing completion. The cities for the first time in Haitian history are well policed, clean and sanitary. For some months a legal adviser has been making studies looking to the improvement of the administration of justice, and an agricultural adviser has been making studies presumably looking to the increase in agricultural production. In my humble judgment, the information acquired by the legal and agricultural advisers ought to be translated into action. All Haiti is still under military or martial law and nothing, or practically nothing has been done to improve Haitian agriculture, or to import into Haiti sires—swine, bulls, or draft animals—to improve the native breeds by crossing.

Your predecessor, during the campaign of 1920, severely condemned the policy of the Democratic administration in Haiti. A committee of the United States senate, without regard to party, unanimously recommended a policy for Haiti which has been carried out in part, but which remains unfulfilled in so far as it proposed the reformation of the civil courts, the abolition of martial law, and the improvement of Haitian agriculture through the employment of American instructors trained at Tuskegee. Inquiry indicates that the "American occupation" so-called, has been eminently successful in establishing and maintaining peace; in reorganizing the public finances, in taking measures for public health, in building highways, but that it has failed to give due emphasis to restoring the supremacy of the civil law and of the civil courts, and to the employment of those American agricultural instructors trained at Tuskegee who are best adapted to be stationed at points in the countryside for the instruction of the Haitian peasantry.

I have no disposition to pass any unfriendly judgment upon those Americans who have devotedly and effectively served the Haitian people. But I think the time has come when in the discharge of our duty to the Haitian people to secure their civil liberties, to develop their wealth, we ought to send to Haiti a commission to inquire anew as to the facts, and to make recommendations to the governments of Haiti and of the United States. I venture to suggest that such a commission be composed of men like Dr. George Vincent of New York, Albert George of Chicago, President A. B. Denwiddie of Tulane university, and Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee.

Sincerely yours,
MEDILL McCORMICK.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

While President Coolidge has given no word as to his plans for Haiti it is very certain that the interest of Senator McCormick will not go unheeded.

The consistent stand of Senator McCormick for Haiti, for its independence and integrity endears him to every fair-minded American, and particularly to Colored Americans, who are very naturally jealous of the liberty and good name of Haiti.

MARSHALL'S STATUS IN HAITI IS FIXED

Official Whose Duties Were Entirely Clerical Will Now Have Diplomatic Functions.

By MORRIS BROWN
(Washington Correspondent)

Washington, D. C. July 19—The official status of Captain Napoleon B. Marshall, who went to Haiti as a secretary to High Commissioner John H. Russell, but whose duties were entirely clerical, has been satisfactorily fixed. His work hereafter will be diplomatic.

The adjustment of this stiuation was brought about through the good offices of Senator Medill McCormick, who was instramental in having Captain Marshall appointed. Senator McCormick had Perry W. Howard, special assistant to the Attorney General,to take the matter up with the State Department and act as his representative. After several conferences between Undersecretary of State Willian Phillips and Mr. Howard an agreement was reached as to what Captain Marshall's status would be in the future.

As a result Captain Marshall will remain in Haiti and not return to New York as contemplated.

HAITIANS DIE IN DUNGEONS

New York City—According to information received here by Joseph Mirault, American correspondent for the "Courrier Haitien" one of the leading papers in Haiti, two of the Haitian leaders have died as a result of being incarcerated by the American Army of Occupation. The two leaders who have given their lives for the saving of their national integrity are Aurelien Pierre and Farfait Benoit. Both are members of the Nationalist party and have been very active in trying to re-establish Haitian independence.

During the past summer the American officer ordered the men arrested and placed in prison. After being in prison for several weeks they were released without trial; later, however, they were re-incarcerated and held until their death.

It is alleged that while they were in prison they were offered a certain amount of money to cease opposing the American occupation which is decidedly unpopular on the Island, but they refused. Since this refusal they, it is further claimed, have been subjected to all kinds of physical tortures. The dungeon where they were held was so small that they could not even lie down in it. The only ration they received was a small portion of bread and water.

After the death of the two men, the American officials made a desperate attempt to keep the matter secret but it leaked out about two weeks ago.

Election of a new president of the island will be held on January 10th. At this time the people are also supposed to elect deputies and senators for the House of Deputies and the Senate, respectively. Both of these bodies were dissolved by the American Army of Occupation at the point of bayonets.

At the present time, so far as it is known, Jolibois Fils, Elie Cuerin, Antoine Pierre-Paul and George Petit, all leaders among the Nationalist group, are now in prison experiencing all kinds of sufferings. In-as-much as the January elections are not far off, it is very doubtful if these men will be permitted their freedom until after that time, even if they are so fortunate as to survive in their present conditions that long.

The people of the island are planning an appeal to send to President Coolidge asking that they be given their constitutional rights.

LEATHERNECK TO BOSS HAITIANS

The first indication that the Coolidge administration intends to follow the Harding and Wilson policy with regards to the government of Haiti, came this week when the announcement was made that a cousin of Secretary of the Navy, Denby, Major Maurice E. Shearer of the Marine Corps, had been assigned to Haiti.

Major Shearer has been acting as an aid to the Secretary of the Navy since he assumed office. He is to be sent to Haiti and promoted to the rank of Colonel.

As proof of the kind of men the Republican party is sending to tighten the bands around the necks of the unfortunate Haitians, Major Shearer is labeled as typical of that breed known as the "flea-bitten marine" of the rough-and ready type to whom fighting is, has been, and always will be, a pastime.

While in Haiti it is evidently expected that the Major will get plenty of exercise fighting the helpless natives. He will have under his command the Haitian gendarmie in which the natives are forced to serve as privates only. It is through the gendarmie and U. S. Marines that the United States government has completely raped this little black republic.

Haiti Betrayed By Republican Party

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 12—The Republican Party has betrayed its pledge to the American Negro to have United States forces removed from the republic of Haiti.

This is the declaration of Joseph Mirault, who charges that conditions in the island republic have reached an acute stage. He states that the sufferings of the people are indescribable and that the press is being gagged through the enactment of new laws, recommended by M. Russell, High Commissioner.

ARREST NEGRO BISHOP

NEW YORK.—The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has been informed by the Courier Haitien of Port au Prince that Bishop Auguste Albert, of Cape Haitien, has been arrested and jailed for holding a meeting in which he deplored existing conditions there. The report states that he has been placed in irons. According to the N. A. A. C. P., the facts have been telegraphed to President Coolidge by the New York correspondent of the Courier Haitien.

Race Problem—1923.
West Indies.

JUDGE WILLIAMS, WHO IS ALSO GOVERNMENT ATTORNEY, IS SORDID, SELFISH SINISTER, AND PRONOUNCED NEGRO HATER

The Negro World
New York

The Entire Nation Is Aroused Over Despicable Injustice Being Done by Crackerist Rule in the V. I.—Casper Holstein Gives "Negro World" Credit for Exposure

4-14-23

By CASPER HOLSTEIN
President Virgin Islands Congressional Council

When about nine months ago the Virgin Islands Congressional Council was organized hardly anyone in the United States except Virgin Islanders seemed to know anything about the Virgin Islands. At any rate, no one was aware of the awful condition of affairs brought about by the "crackers" of the Navy Department in those Caribbean islands which were taken over by our Uncle Sam. When the Congressional Council opened its publicity campaign it was fiercely attacked by a certain Judas journal in the islands, whose editor insisted that there was no naval rule but settled government in the islands; that what there was of naval rule (sic) was jolly well all right, but that the people in the Congressional Council were "hurting" the islands by publishing the wrongs and abuses under which the people groan. But much water has flowed under the bridge since then.

Today we find that the propaganda of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council is so wondrously effective that it has caused newspapers all over the country to swing into line and add their publicity resources to those of the council. From The Negro World, where the council fired its first gun, the line of battle extended first to that very Evening Post where Mr. Stribling, as literary drummer of the naval regime, first spread his stock of lies against the Virgin Islanders; thence it spread to the Nation, the greatest and most powerful liberal weekly magazine in the United States, and now the entire Negro press of America has got on the job and the white press is nobly seconding their efforts.

In the meanwhile one Governor got the sack, after the Congressional Council had publicly warned him on June 1 last in its publicity article in The Negro World, when it referred to a certain plot in these words:

"The plot involves also a very neat stab in the back for the present Governor of the Virgin Islands, which he will doubtless appreciate some day when his eyes are opened."

Before the next month was out he was transferred, which would suggest that somebody on the Virgin Islands Council held the inner line of communication and that there are some black men who can see farther than the epauletted idiots who swagger in the islands.

Granady in Jail

At the same time the very Judas journal which condemned the publicity campaign on this side and sang the praises of the dear, good, handsome, white men of the Navy Department was forced by the pressure of events to echo, in as small a voice as it could muster, the very identical charges which it had earlier condemned us for making. This was done in one of its July issues. And today Granady, one of its two promoters, himself a lawyer, has been sentenced by one of the very judges that they damned us for criticizing to a term of thirty days in jail and a $50 fine. Which goes to make stronger the case of the Congressional Council. Granady, it is reported, retained the services of an "Obeah" woman when arraigned in court. But "Obeah" is evidently not an effective way of dealing with white judges. The Council has a better way of dealing with them—a civilized, manly and American way. But that way evidently doesn't appeal to Granady.

Deportations Stayed

The Navy Department has recently staged two very effective deportations from the Virgin Islands—those of the Rev. Mr. Barrow and Mr. Morenga Bonaparte. The former gentleman was a settled minister who had built up a great church and was a mighty force for good in connection with the great St. Croix labor union, a connection which drew down upon his head the condemnation of officialdom. Mr. Bonaparte was a journalist connected with a fearless little paper named the Emancipator. He, too, found that his connections were dangerous. They were both fired out of the islands by the stainless and uncriticizable moguls of marine rule. The Congressional Council has turned the light of publicity on both these cases. Results: the Navy Department is being investigated, officially and independently; the newspapers of the North are buzzing about their ears, and the organized propaganda has even been taken up by liberal-minded white Americans.

Washington on the Job

All the available legal authorities who have been appealed to over here agree that the deportations were "absolutely without warrant in American law"—as one able lawyer puts it. And, be it understood that, this lawyer is a prominent member of President Harding's Cabinet! Virgin Islanders, then, may take heart of grace. The darkest hour is just before the dawn. Friends are arising on every hand and our strength continually increases.

George W. Williams, Negro Hater

This article would not be complete without especial reference to one person of vast significance in the stormy affairs of the Virgin Islands. We refer to the sordid, selfish and sinister figure of George Washington Williams a Negro-hating cracker from the very heart of Dixie. That a Southern man with such a record should be intrusted with such powers over black people is itself a proof, as the Amsterdam News and Pittsburgh American insist, that the Harding administration has no more respect for the Negro voters of our Northern States than it has for the cattle in the fields of Virginia. This man, Williams, is the storm center of the imbroglio in the Virgin Islands. Already he has declared that constitutional guarantees do not apply to the Virgin Islands because their inhabitants "are only dirty niggers anyhow."

White Terror in the West Indies

The Nation
New York

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

Give me the good old tropics,
And a "shot" of Haitian booze,
Down where there are no commandments,
And you live and do as you choose.

Sept. 7, 1923

Give me a scrap in the jungle,
Or a raid on a gambling-joint,
Where you pull out the glistening bayonet,
And say, "Do you see the point?"

Give me the mellow moonlight,
That shines on the Caribbean!
If I cannot be a millionaire,
Let me be a marine!

Being adventurous, I enlisted in the United States Marine Corps in 1916. After training at Port Royal, S. C., I embarked on the collier Neptune for Santo Domingo with a lot of other rookies. When I arrived at Sanchez I saw people dressed in suits of gunny-sack, and a mountain whose trees leaned back as if ready to spring at something.

I had not been in Sanchez many days before an earthquake took place. It was midnight and the shock knocked more than one marine from his bunk, the water tanks were running over, the earth was opening up, swallowing houses with their occupants, pyramids of fire were darting from Samana Bay and the Caribbean Sea. Hardly had the tumult subsided when the call to arms was sounded. A detachment of marines at San Francisco de Macoris was surrounded, outnumbered, and in danger of annihilation by General Emil King's army. We killed and wounded 169 people at La Saba, and suffered one casualty among ourselves: a private was shot through his right arm. We pushed him along on a hand-car until we came to Barbara. There, when we secured some drinking water, we found that most of it had been poisoned; so many of us went thirsty.

Then began an orgy of looting. In one house we discovered a large table with a veritable banquet laid out on it, but, when we sat down to eat, a corporal came and knocked the table over; he then proved to us that the food was poisoned. One of our officers shot an old native who was kneeling in prayer, while Captain Hughes threatened to burn the entire town on our return, if any of our supplies in one of the wrecked freight cars had been molested.

Suddenly a rebel army of about 500 hove into sight on a long train of passenger cars. There were only thirty-nine of us, but we had Benet Mercier machine-guns, and mounted them upon logs. Had Captain Hughes let us pour our death-dealing missiles into the approaching locomotive, we could have blown it up and destroyed a number of the enemy but, instead, he let the enemy run into the jungles, making it possible for them to snipe at us for the rest of our long and tedious journey. There is nothing more harrowing than fighting an invisible enemy. All that day we had but one egg sandwich apiece.

Dominican cavalry appeared on the track. We pumped lead into them, and many a beautiful horse plunged over a bridge or a precipice. We could see them lying far below us writhing in agony. The more merciful among us, although it was against orders to waste ammunition, took aim with our Springfields and put a few of them out of their misery. We captured a cavalryman who was loaded down with rum, and several of us became intoxicated. The best thing to do when in battle is to chew tobacco and drink liquor so as to steady the nerves and deaden the senses. All of us who were drunk became heroes. I was always a hero while in the West Indies because I was never sober.

EDWARD J. IRVINE,
Ex-private, 32nd Co., 4th Reg., Sanchez, D. R.

Washington, D. C., June 8

Race Problem — 1923.
West Indies.

Misery in the Virgin Islands

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We write with the hope that your readers, who, we believe, form a majority of the American people, will realize that down in the Virgin Islands—a new possession of Uncle Sam—the economic conditions may safely be termed *deplorable*, bordering on total economic destruction, ruinous on account of the application of Federal laws, viz.: quarantine and coastwise laws; the Eighteenth Amendment, and the Federal income-tax law. The Nation. 8-15-23

Eventual wholesale starvation threatens the entire population if relief be not forthcoming in the immediate future.

Our merchants, in a large majority of cases, are unable to pay their taxes; our children are undernourished and their fathers move about in an undecided manner, desirous of working but unable to procure employment. Life is something miserable in these islands. Surely it is not the thought of this Great American Nation to keep our people in a state of semi-starvation.

We believe, and that implicitly, that they know very little of our condition and, therefore, we propose to tell them of it so that they may realize that in these Virgin Islands they have adopted children who need, in these trying days, their special attention so as to improve their deplorable economic condition.

We request that your paper make direct inquiries about our statements and, after investigation, give publication to the findings, so as to quicken the leaders of this nation's interest in these islands that "they acquired and then forgot."

We plead for immediate consideration and relief. We are not asking charity, but we certainly do believe that we ought to be given a chance to live as decent a life as we have been accustomed to.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE
ROTHSCHILD FRANCIS, Chairman

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, July 23

OUR OWN VIRGIN ISLANDS

Their Prosperity Shattered by the Extension of the Volstead Law to Them, They Yet Offer Many Attractions to Tourists.

The New York Times 10-7-23

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Readers of my letter on the Virgin Islands, recently published in THE TIMES, have expressed a desire for further information on the subject of this newest colonial possession of Uncle Sam's by communications addressed to me. The social and industrial aspects of this colony appear to be of chief interest to the inquirers. If you will give me the courtesy of a further hearing I should be glad to make a few points clear.

I have lived on Santa Cruz (St. Croix) and am acquainted with practically all the white and colored inhabitants of the island as well as with many of the black people (a threefold color distinction prevails in the islands), as well as with most of the Government officials, and with many persons resident of St. Thomas.

There are three classes of society, corresponding to the threefold color line. With the exception of a handful of white workmen at some of the skilled trades (electricians, &c.) and the small number of enlisted men, who are, of course, only temporary residents of these islands, it may be stated broadly that all the permanent white residents are "gentlefolk" in the best sense of the term. A further exception should be made, strictly speaking in terms of Virgin Island usage, of those proletarian Danes who, usually as discharged private soldiers of the Danish Army, have married into the colored (ex-slave)

Virgin Islands.

from black) families and settled on the islands. These persons rank socially below the white families; have, so to speak, a society of their own, and are in general very worthy people. The "colored people" are educated, courteous, hospitable, without pretension or aspiration to be considered white, and they form the backbone of the Virgin Island citizenry. Of this class there is about 18 to 20 per cent. Of white people there are about 7½ per cent. The remainder are black people, of the servant and laboring class.

Courtesy and European usages prevail uniformly throughout the customs and practices of all classes. Danish and English usages combine. It is, e. g., universally customary to go through the Danish ritual of shaking hands with every other guest as well as with one's host and hostess after a dinner or breakfast party. The little black boys in the lots play cricket, not baseball. Older boys and young men prefer soccer, even in Summer.

A gorgeous Old-World hospitality prevails on all sides. In my own case, being both an "Anglican" clergyman and because of my relationship to one of the ancient Corinthians of Santa Cruz, Captain the Hon. William McMillin, my great-uncle, I was most courteously and hospitably treated. But even one not equipped with such passports to the kindliness of the people need not be lonesome in Santa Cruz. Like every really good society, that of Santa Cruz desires worthily to augment itself, and it will not be many days before the new arrival will be called upon, asked to join the country club, and otherwise made at home.

Good houses may be rented cheaply, servants are likewise inexpensive; the staple price for broilers and green turtle is the same—18 cents a pound—the hoof!

Industrially, the Virgin Islands, as has been pointed out before, are at a low ebb. The fundamental reason for the present financial and commercial depression is lack of water. There has been drought for more than three years, and the last season's sugar crop, recently harvested, was about one-seventh the size of a normal crop in a "good year."

Contributory causes are labor troubles and, chiefly, the ruin which prohibition has wrought since it went into effect July 10, 1922. This is real ruin, not merely the interference of the special act (which was passed in Washington to bring these islands in line with the continental United States) with retailers of intoxicating liquor. It struck much deeper than that. Rum—Santa Cruz rum, the finest in the world—had been for centuries a staple product. When the good ship Desire was built in Marblehead, where I am writing this, in 1636 (the year of the founding of Harvard), to bring from Santa Cruz and other West Indian ports the first black slaves in Massachusetts, those slaves were already habituated to field labor in the sugar fields of Santa Cruz, and even in that day the Santa Cruz rum was the world's best rum. Deprived of the privilege of making this staple product, an industry based on centuries of usage, the commercial backbone of the Virgin Islands was effectually broken.

With an adequate reservoir and catching system installed by the Government on the high lands, the other industries—cattle raising, sugar growing and the production of sea-island cotton—would be stabilized and the islands would prosper commercially, even though the great number of costly distilleries should remain as silent memorials to the fatuousness of the moronism which foisted prohibition on the Virgin Islands. If there is one place in the United States where there is no argument whatever for Volsteadism, certainly it is here. I have lived on Santa Cruz both before and after prohibition went into effect. I do not know a person over the age of discretion who does not take a social drink. I have never seen or heard of any one there being drunk or even "under the influence." I do not know any place on American soil where the problem of procuring liquor is easier. I do not know a person in the islands who deplores prohibition. I do not know any one there whom it has not, directly or indirectly, injured.

Religiously there are four bodies—Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Danish Lutherans and Moravians. A few minor sects are represented among the black people, but these are sporadic and unimportant from a numerical standpoint. The Roman Catholic Churches are under the direction of the Fathers of the Redemptorist Order. The Anglican Churches (now under the direction of the American Episcopal Church, with the Bishop of Porto Rico in charge) are all of the Anglo-Catholic order, which is prevalent throughout the West Indies where the Anglican Communion is numerically, and by way of general influence, dominant. The Lutherans were "established" under the Danish régime. Moravians were sent, tradition says, by the Good Count, John Wesley's friend, from Zinzendorf, the cradle of that body, early in the eighteenth century.

Social usage and custom as well as the ordinary daily routine are Continental Europe rather than otherwise. This of course is tempered by the general customs of tropical countries. The climate is magnificent. It never goes beyond the limits of 68 and 93 degrees. Nights are uniformly cool and pleasant. The drawbacks are, chiefly, mosquitos. It is necessary either to screen the houses thoroughly or to sleep under nets. Local custom favors the nets, it being an article of faith that screens keep out the air. The northeast trade-wind blows constantly until the end of September, when the wind shifts a few points to the southward, and there is a breathless interval of two or three weeks. Hurricanes are infrequent and have never occurred except between July 25 and Oct. 25. The last one was in 1916.

Cockroaches have to be considered. They are large and destructive, and costly fabrics, &c., have to be protected from their ravages. This is, of course, the case in all tropical lands. The twin demons, centipedes and scorpions, are almost mythical. They do not bother cleanly abodes. There are no snakes, but the East Indian mongooses, which were brought in several years ago to deal with snakes, are pests on the plantation-estates because they catch and kill young chickens which have to be carefully guarded against them.

Every kind of tropical fruit is common. For half a dollar or so a basket of fruit can be assembled which will equal a "steamer basket" costing $15 in New York. These include pineapples, various kinds of mangoes, several varieties of bananas, the delicate and delicious sapodilla, soursops from which a delicious drink of milky appearance and peachlike flavor is made, sugar apples, pomegranates, &c.

Even under the very sketchy system of sanitation prevalent in the Danish régime, these islands were health resorts. Nowadays, with the characteristic American improvements in this direction, they are salubrious to the last degree. Tropical diseases occur occasionally among the blacks, but rarely or never trouble white or colored people. Having a "cold," however, is very fashionable among both colored and black people, who are strangely addicted to this malady, from which white people seem immune.

It would be difficult to discover a more thoroughly satisfactory place to spend a Winter for people of culture and discrimination whose means do not permit them to indulge in the Riviera or the Florida east coast resorts, but which would be capable of managing the $50 fare of the Colombian Line or the $85 up of the Quebec Line, and who would not be deterred from making the venture by a six-day voyage from New York.

One correspondent has asked me why modern (1922) V. I. stamps bear neither the image of George Washington nor that of the King of Denmark, but show King George V. of England! This is because there are British Virgin Islands, i. e., Virgin Gorda and Tortola. The stamps in question are used on those islands, not in St. Thomas, St. Croix or St. John.

Tortola lies near St. Thomas, and Great Britain has not imposed prohibition upon her people either at home or in her colonies. The seacoast of all these islands is extensive and far from thickly populated. There are many schooners and not a few rowboats still in the island trade."

HENRY S. WHITEHEAD.
Rector of Trinity Church.
Bridgeport, Conn., Oct. 1, 1923.

CASPER HOLSTEIN, STALWART PATRIOT, EXTOLS VIRTUES AND HUMANE QUALITIES OF LATE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

Urges Virgin Islanders to Look to Calvin Coolidge for Economic Relief—Commends Fearlessness of Former Governor of Massachusetts in Staying Extradition of Southern Negro

By CASPER HOLSTEIN
President Virgin Islands Congressional Council

Ex-President Harding is dead and buried. And the Virgin Islanders have some cause to be sorry. For he stood pledged to visit the Virgin Islands and look things over at first hand. His untimely death now makes that impossible and removes from the inhabitants of the Islands that help which in times of trouble they might have hoped for from having one at the head of the administration who knew trouble from direct examination.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

EXODUS FROM THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

Misery and Distress Follow American Misrule, Says Noted Islander

To the Editor of The Negro World:

Sir—"Where was the New York police force twenty years ago?" "In Ireland."

That was a popular jest in New York about twenty-five years ago, but it carried no direct reflection on Ireland and the Irish. On the contrary, it was a reflection on Ireland's rulers (the English), who had so fearfully mismanaged that beautiful island that all the Irish who amounted to anything were leaving it in ever increasing numbers. Ireland was the only country in Europe which at the end of the nineteenth century had a smaller population than it had at the beginning.

The Negro population of the Virgin Islands are hardly likely to become New York policemen. Nobody knows just what they will take to, nor do they know what opportunities will be open to them in the United States (the land of promise); but it is quite clear that they are leaving the islands in great numbers (all who can get permission to leave), and are coming to the United States, particularly to New York city. A month ago one of the ordinary steamships plying between America and the West Indies brought a hundred and seventy-five Negroes from the various British islands. They were leaving their homes for the same reasons that had driven Irishmen out of Ireland. There was also on this steamer a number of Negroes who came from a single one of the Virgin Islands of the United States for similar reasons. And the number of people from the one Virgin Island was exactly the same as the number which came from all the British islands in the West Indies.

In the face of such facts the American occupation of the Virgin Islands must have something wrong with it. When a subject people begin to flee their home as they would flee the plague there must be a tremendous amount of distress and misery from which they would escape. These Virgin Islanders are a home-loving people. They are devotedly attached to their native soil, yet today their love of the soil is overborne by the miseries which they are called upon to endure on that soil. This simple but terrible fact has greater value and significance than all the official reports, excuses and explanations which the government in the islands can ever assemble or put out.

Whether we consider the case of the Irish, that of the other white foreigners who flock here, or the Negro migrants from the South, or the Virgin Islanders, the fact is unblinkable that such general emigration is an absolute proof of misery and distress. And for such misery and distress in the case of the Virgin Islands the American government is indictable before the bar of enlightened public opinion. Such cynical and heartless indifference as is expressed by the enforcement of prohibition, which destroyed the main economic support of the islands,—25,000 inhabitants—and the present port regulations, which effectively drive away all the ships whose loading and unloading furnished regular work to thousands of the black working people would never have been permitted to go unchallenged if these people were white.

It almost seems as if the policy is to depopulate the Virgin Islands. For if the present conditions and the present exodus should continue for two more years it is hard to see what the Naval Administration will have to govern except goats, sheep and cattle. Still, it may be just possible that the intent is to goad these people to the point of exasperation or riots, so that they may have a handy excuse for shooting them down and thus completing the process of colonization as that process is understood under the present form of government.

Nor is this theory as far-fetched as it may seem at first glance. Just consider that when any of these poor people want to leave they are forced to wait for from three to six months, and in many instances one year. And even then (as recent arrivals stated), unless they pay from five to fifteen dollars more than the regular rate they may not leave at all. After economic conditions make it next to impossible for them to exist on the islands the powers that be make it next to impossible for them to leave. In the light of that fact the hundred and seventy-five passengers mentioned above have a more than tragic significance.

Nearly four years of rainlessness, the consequent lack of water, even for protection against fire; such economic depression that the most that can be had is two days' work a week at 40 cents per day, while meat and sugar, flour and other necessities cost as much as they do in New York, and sometimes more; the restriction of the ballot to the natives, only a few of whom can vote; and on top of all this the undemocratic form of government in an American dependency which was acquired through treaty between two friendly nations—what a sample is this of American rule in the Caribbean! Surely here is a call to every ounce of patriotism which the Virgin Islanders can muster. For never was there a greater need for earnest effort and helpful co-operation on the part of a small people.

With the continuance of the present unfair conditions the Virgin Islands will only need a watchman.

Very truly yours,

CASPER HOLSTEIN,
President Virgin Islands Congressional Council.

Race Problem - 1923.

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

Graphic Description of Life in Virgin Islands

The New York Age 8-18-23

An interesting letter describing life and conditions in the Virgin Islands, the semi-tropic islands purchased by the United States from Denmark, comes to The Age from Dr. Loring B. Palmer, formerly of Atlanta, Ga., and Montclair, N. J., who went to St. John Islands, in that group some months ago after being appointed municipal physician under the Virgin Islands Department of Health.

In a personal letter, Dr. Palmer writes that he is enjoying his work, and that although life in St. John is very primitive and exceedingly monotonous, "nothing ever happening except the rising and setting of the sun, and an occasional shock of earthquake, I manage to enjoy iti. My health is superb, my daily swims and long horseback rides over the mountains keep me as hard as nails. Living is very cheap and I live like a prince with a servant at every beck and call for a ridiculously small sum."

The lettter from Dr. Palmer is as follows:

Living in the Tropics is like th opium habit; it grows on one. Get taste of it and you easily become one o the lotus-eaters and are utterly unfitte thereafter for life in the cold, inhospit albe North.

Like all Americans, I think New York is the greatest city in the world, but after all there one is merely an atom in the maelstrom of human activity, while here on the fringe of civilization, as it were, you realize that you are a part of the great moving world and rub elbows with people who are doing things that would make the mollycoddles back home fairly gasp.

For instance, you are dining on the "gallery" of the Grand Hotel, St. Thomas's leading hostelery, owned and operated by Mr. Taylor, a colored man, enjoying the delicious Creole dishes set before you while the native Marine Band is discoursing sweet music in the park below.

Your vis-a-vis may be a U. S. naval officer just in from service in the Philippines; or he may be a native merchant from Martinique or one of the other neighboring islands; or a French savant on a world trip collecting orchids for a Paris museum; or a globe-trotting Englishman recently come from Hawaii, who regales you with the story of how he had to thrash an impudent "darkey" in Barbadoes, and tells you how superior the "Hawaiian nigger" is to these insolent "St. Thomas upstarts."

Someone has said that the average Briton thinks that the Almighty made the rest of the world in order to provide colonies for England; and I confess I agree with him. While I have some very delightful English friends, I avoid the English tourist as I would a pestilence.

St. Thomas is one of the most charming of West Indian cities and has among its citizens some of the most delightful people I have ever met.

There is the prince of good fellows, Mr. J. N. Lightbourne. He is a widely travelled, well-read man, and I enjoy nothing more than to sit in his well-stocked book store and listen as he tells his personal experiences, and anecdotes of some of the great figures in the political history of the States and Europe. He was born in Bermuda and early in life went to New York, where he became one of the Editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*, when Horace Greely was editor-in-chief of that paper. While acting in that capacity he became acquainted with most of the prominent men in political life in America and one never tires of hearing him tell of those strenuous times in our country's history.

After working for a number of years with the *Tribune*, he came out to St. Thomas as a special correspondent of the New York *Herald*, and opened a book store which he has conducted ever since.

There is Mr. Adolph Sixto, who is a well known figure at DeVan's Hotel (now the Hotel Dumas) in New York City, where he goes once or twice a year on business. He is in the wholesale dry goods business.

Probably the largest department store in St. Thomas, one that would look well in New York, is owned by Mr. Herman Crecque, who is a graduate of an English university. He also owns Lamesure, a large estate in St. John. Mr. Abram Smith is another prominent merchant. He is a member of the Colonial Council and is one of the largest landowners of St. John.

The richest man in the Islands is Mr. A. H. Lockhart. Besides owning and operating a variety of businesses in St. Thomas, he has immense plantations in St. John. Some time ago, he purchased a church, and appointing a minister, choir and officers, proceeded to run it to suit himself. Finding it did not pay, he turned it into a lumber plant. He is a large, fine-looking man, and his tall figure is well known on St. Thomas streets.

A very enjoyable feature of life in St. Thomas is the concerts given by the Marine Band. This band is composed entirely of colored musicians and compares favorably with our 369th Regiment band in New York. The leader is Mr. Alton Adams, a fine musician and composer, who made a trip to the States last year. He has a beautiful home and possesses a valuable collection of autographed photographs from Souza, also the present director of the Marine Band in Washington, and from many other world-famous musicians.

Mr. Percy Soufront is a prominent figure in the business life of St. Thomas. He is also consul for the United States of Columbia. He has a palatial home, presided over by his charming French wife, and lives a life that might be envied by an American millionaire.

Among the human flotsam and jetsam of life's sea cast upon these Islands there are many strange characters. On the Island of St. John, away out in the bush, there is living in a tent a cultured, refined, middle-aged lady, absolutely alone except for her cat. She is a skilled botanist and has a wonderful collection of the plants of the Island. She keenly resents intrusion by strangers or attempts to pry into her affairs. She remarked to me on one of my official visits that the more she saw of people the better she likes her plants. The Red Cross sends her supplies by the colored mounted police of the island.

Up to a short time ago, there lived under similar circumstances on the Island of St. Thomas a well to do Englishman who was a well known writer and graduate of the University of Bonn. He disappeared suddenly, as mysteriously as he came.

Scattered throughout the islands are a number of men of prominent European families who have cut themselves off from their people, came out here, married native women, and by cattle-raising, fishing and farming have accumulated small fortunes and made valuable citizens of the community.

One naturally asks, "Why?" The answer comes, "*Quien sabe?*" Over all rests the magic spell of the Tropics that has lured men to both fortune and ruin ever since Columbus, during the dangers of an unknown world, trusted himself and his men in his fragile craft to the waves of a treacherous sea and the Mercy of Omnipotent God.

OPINION ON THE NEEDS OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Permit me to thank you for your fair and informative editorial about conditions in the Virgin Islands in the issue of Aug. 1. This colony has suffered more than once from its friends who, like your correspondent of the day before, are usually colored persons of Virgin Island origin, habituated to a method of expression derived from the local journalism, and apt to be unconvincing when presented before American readers. May I venture to add a word to your admirable editorial?

The chief trouble with the Virgin Islands is lack of water. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that there would be no more beautiful spot in this world than St. Croix if the United States Government would supply it with a central water-catching plant. The rule there, agriculturally, is "two good years and five bad years." Such a plant as I have indicated would stabilize the agricultural output, and one needs only to remember that St. Croix sugar is generally regarded in the sugar industry as the finest in quality in the world to see that such an undertaking should be practicable.

One of the other troubles which your correspondent, perhaps wisely, omits is the labor troubles. For several years an exasperating demagoguery has flourished among the black laborers on the sugar estates, a demagoguery of the most blantant type, the operation of which has impoverished planters and laborers alike to the sole advantage of a handful of labor leaders and their entourage, all persons of color, and, it is supposed, with the backing of a group of financiers in Copenhagen which has always been opposed to the sale of these islands by their Government to the United States.

I do not think that the writer of the editorial to which I have referred has quite done justice to one aspect of the islands' decline in prosperity. I refer to the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment in the V. I. The original act did not include the Virgin Islands, nor the Hawaiians. A special act was passed affecting the Virgin Islands, which went into effect July 10, 1922. Down to that time Santa Cruz rum had been a staple of Virgin Island manufacture, along with the bay rum which is made in St. Thomas from bay obtained on the island of St. John. When the price of sugar happened to be low, the sugar growers made their raw product into rum. This found a ready market in the Scandinavian countries. Most of the larger sugar estates were, and still are, equipped with distilleries for the rum. The special act enforcing prohibition virtually ruined the planters at a stroke of the pen. Even the bay rum has suffered. It may not be made and shipped save with the addition of ingredients rendering it impossible to drink. It is thus largely ruined as an export to the South and Central American countries. Today similar products, not denatured, emanating from Messrs. Houbigant et al. of France may be purchased freely in the United States while our own product, the best bay rum ever produced, may not in its natural state.

I submit further that there is a wide difference between the effect of prohibition in the V. I. and in the continental United States. Rum and bay rum have never been our mainstay at home as manufactured articles. In the Virgin Islands they have been, along with raw sugar, the staples for centuries, and the entire economic situation there has been adjusted upon the basis of their manufacture. One other complaint might well have been specifically noted: The destruction of income derived locally from the port dues and commerce in the harbor of St. Thomas. This harbor had been for centuries the "clearing house port" of the entire West Indies. Since the special act making prohibition operative these foreign ships have not been able to touch there, and this fine harbor and the relatively large commerce which went with it and to which life in St. Thomas had for long been adjusted were ruined.

President Wilson's policy of handing over the Governorship and most of the responsible offices to officers of the United States Navy, while admirable for obvious reasons to any one who, like myself, has nothing but admiration for the United States Navy, has yet this one insuperable drawback in practice: That, as the people of the islands express it, "no sooner does an official get accustomed to the ways of the islands and we to know and like him than he is moved elsewhere and a stranger comes in, and it all has to be done over again." This is a true and just criticism. The present admirable Governor, Captain H. H. Hough, U. S. N., is the fourth American Governor, and we have owned the Virgin Islands only since March 31, 1917.

It seems to me both pathetic and unnecessary that the really splendid people of the Virgin Islands, transferred as they have been from Danish to American rule, should have had the process of West Indian decadence, to which you have referred editorially, hastened rather than reversed by the change. It would take very little outlay to make these islands beyond comparison the most delightful and, relatively speaking, the most prosperous of our colonial possessions. Reasonable sums have been spent on education, sanitation and other necessary details of administration; the Government is all that could be desired from the administration of the Governor down through the personnel of the various officials. If permanent artificial means of conserving the water supply could be added, the entire set of conditions could be changed and the characteristic West Indian decadence, as it has affected these islands of ours, reversed, even though (for what sane reason it might be hard to discover) the absurdity of prohibition in such a place were allowed to continue indefinitely, and the Scandinavian countries constrained to buy their rum from Barbados.

HENRY S. WHITEHEAD,
Rector, Trinity Church, Bridgeport, Conn.

North Weymouth, Mass., Aug. 7, 1923.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Having recently visited St. Thomas, in the Virgin Islands, and heard at first hand from the inhabitants thereof a recital of their hardships, of which there was self-evident proof, I am firmly of the conviction that they are the losers by having been transferred without their consent to American rule by virtue of sale by Denmark, their previous overlord. I agree with the view of one of your correspondents, recently expressed, that the application of the Volstead act to these far-away, isolated islands is one of the principal causes, as foreign vessels, which formerly put in there, are omitting St. Thomas as a port of call or for refitting, and thus this to them important business is lost. One of the principal storekeepers told me his sales for the previous fortnight had amounted to but 8 cents! I purchased from one of the French colony for a dollar—and this made him happy—two beautifully plaited large hats, which the parish priest said had taken two days each to make!

CHARLES H. AULT.

Newark, N. J., Aug. 6, 1923.

Race Problem — 1923.
West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

UNREST AMONG PEOPLE OF UNCLE SAM'S

Jackson Successful Candidate in St. Croix—"Silent Parade" to Lift Prohibition Impressive But Governor Gives Advice—Only Naval Negro Bandmaster Writes on Conditions

NEW POSSESSIONS IN VIRGIN ISLANDS

(Concluded From Last Week.)

While acknwledging the harm done by Prohibition and the Coast Wise Laws to whatever little shipping has been left us is our struggles against hopeless odds, we must, to be truthful, also admit that they have only made the blows more painful, though less prolonged. Experience has taught us that to remain in one place in this busy world of daily expansion is to retrograde, and the community, like the individual, has to aspire and to achieve or to take a back seat in the kaleidoscopic movement of events. One glance is sufficient to suffice even the casual observer that St. Thomas has not improved one iota in the last two decades. In her best days she was simply an emporium. Her boasted resources were purely external, the loss of which has made her today an easy prey to a larger and wealthier competitor having the same facilities to offer as she has. While the island of St. Thomas was dreaming and resting on past laurels, content to remain quietly praying and hoping for future glories and for manna from on high, Porto Rico, just seventy miles from us, now made new by American initiative and industrial genius, was making itself felt in the commercial world. Education and sanitation was the slogan. These were the tools with which she developed herself, and with her comparative vastness, rising industries, practically unlimiited sources made useful by skilled hands and active brains, the result is today evident. The doom of St. Thomas as a commercial center was vividly seen from then by those who have eyes to see.

Porto Rico is today very rich and her outlook is as rosy as ours is dark and gloomy. To get anything worth while in exchange one must have something worth while to offer. What have we to offer the commercial world? This is the chief of our problems. We show no hesitancy in broadcasting to the world that prohibition has crippled St. Thomas. But are we ready to prove this statement with figures and facts? Up to now we have only made sweeping generalizations and have not, with figures, made good our contention. We may be called upon to do so at any moment.

In the public demonstration against the application of the Eighteenth Amendment to these islands, what happened to several observers as quite singular was a placard on which was written these words: "Save our children and our dear wives." St. Thomas is in a pitiable condition when a woman, presumabily a mother, would so pitifully ask for rum to come back in order to save her young children and her husband, and a community must certainly be on its last throes of despair and desperation to trade on its morals for means of sustenance.

Drunkennes lowers the standard of citizenship and breeds innumerable vices that menace and destroy any community. We cite this as a matter of form, for we are fully well aware of the fact that the demonstration against prohibition was not for the sake of wanting to indulge freely in alcoholic drinks, but because of the effect of the law on the local shipping. Secretary Denby said to us just some weeks ago that we need water instead of rum. If the Honorable Secretary had remained just a little longer he would have realized that there is one thing we are in need of more than anything else, the one need that we are constantly failing to secure, and that is real men. We do not hesitate to attribute to a great extent the present decadent state of this island to lack of men. The older one gets the more this truth comes home to him, that we need today more than ever men of courage, of brain, of sincerity and of honest of purpose. How many opportunities have slipped us because of the lack of men of brain enough and energy enough to take advantage of them, heaven only knows.

Many of our worthy citizens heretofore, hopeful and sympathetic to all things American, are today being inveigled by an insidious, subtle propaganda to a reverse feeling. It is inconsistent with common sense to tyrannize and to educate at the same time. The attitude of the American government showed itself from the beginning as interested in the educational development of the people. The schools have been given every consideration, and turn it or twist it how we may, the salvation of the island rests in the hands of those school children who today make up the grades. It is they who have to build on the ruins it seems evident we are leaving them.

Though St. Thomas appears to be in its last throes, taking things at their worst, it is not dead as yet and there is no valid reason why, because of present conditions, all efforts should not be made to put in new life. It is a crucial moment for us all, a moment which demands the concentrated efforts of every able individual who is not in dire despair. We do not pretend a solution of the condition, but we are offering our columns for any suggestions and hints from those more competent than we. We, however, do know that it is as silly as it is malicious to antagonize a sympathetic government, expecting to get results that way. To co-operate with the government doesn't necessarily mean to agree or endorse everything that the government says or does, but to give an unbiased, frank and free opinion with a constructive rather than a destructive view, and above all it is nothing short of a crime for any newspaper, society or individual, cunningly claiming to be patriots or citizens, to be filling the hearts of the people with dirt and meanness, or seeking the individual conscience and intelligence even of school children and inflicting them with their bad temper.

If we prize highly the privilege of living in our home, let us estimate it in an expression of deed and kindly service. The foregoing is not written with a view of controversy. We have used just a little of the much-boasted liberty of expression and will let our statements stand for whatever worth or truth that may be in them. The fact is, the miserable economic condition of the island is a problem, the solution of which demands all our learning, our courage and our devotion, and if in our poor way we have warmed a single thought or revealed responsibilities before unrecognized, we are thankful for the occassion."

In directing the attention of readers of this paper to the above article by this brilliant young writer who has attracted so much atttention as a writer and musician, we feel that it is not out of keeping with the times and the trend of things to compare the loftiness of thought and the triumph of truth which runs through every line of this contribution. The superior mind from whence it came stands so far above the mudslingers and dungheap patriots we are not at all surprised to learn that some of those attempting to fight this young man were thrown out bag and baggage from government employ when the Americans came and demanded merit instead of bluffing. Some of them tried to bluff in music and his superiority routed them to the insecure confines of political dissatisfaction from whence they use a simpleton too ignorant to recognize ability and stamp around where even angels fear to tread.

(THE END.)

VIRGIN ISLANDERS VICTIMS U. S. RULE; ASK LABOR TO HELP

The Federated Press.

SERFS GET TEN CENTS PER DAY

CHICAGO.—"We are serfs who work for wages ranging from 10 cents to a dollar a day. Politically we are peons, governed by the U. S. navy." With this statement of the workers' status in the Virgin Islands under U. S. rule, Rothschild Francis, organizer federal labor union 17361 and editor The Emancipator, writes from St. Thomas, V. I., appealing to American labor for help. The appeal, which is addressed to the labor press of the United States, follows:

"Right here in these Virgin Islands are a group of human beings that are members of the working class. They, too, can tell tales of oppression, of misrepresentation, and of exploitation that will cause your blood to circulate above normal rapidity, but the purpose of writing this letter is to point out that they are at present without any visible means of support. The men go idle from month to month. Children are undernourished and the economic condition of these islands is something deplorable.

"Federal (U. S.) laws have worked havoc upon these islands. They have closed the harbor of St. Thomas from outside commerce and have chased away the intellectual and commercial element from the island of St. Croix, and have done more things too numerous to mention here. These islands are directly under the control of the navy department. Thinking natives hold in high regard the personnel of the navy who are sent down here to govern, but they are irreconcilably opposed to the form of government that is neither Danish nor American. We want you to understand that our people are industrial serfs who work for wages ranging from 10 cents to one dollar a day. They live in one-room houses; eat scanty meals; and are forced to move about in a manner unbecoming civilized people at this age.

"We Are Peons"

"Politically, we are peons without any form of government patterned on the American conception. Illiterates may vote but woman may not. The governor appoints and discharges the judges. The police judge and government attorney are one and the same person and in short, there are sadder things than these.

"We want you to say a word editorially about a group of people who, like cows, have no status, are forced to accept federal (U. S.) laws, are governed by the navy and at present have no means of ekeing out a livelihood. Tell the congressmen and senators of your state about the conditions and ask them to say something on our behalf in the coming congress that will give us a civil form of government and grant us opportunities to improve our economic condition."

Misery in the Virgin Islands

1923
NATION Aug 15,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We write with the hope that your readers, who, we believe, form a majority of the American people, will realize that down in the Virgin Islands—a new possession of Uncle Sam—the economic conditions may safely be termed *deplorable*, bordering on total economic destruction, ruinous on account of the application of Federal laws, viz.: quarantine and coastwise laws; the Eighteenth Amendment, and the Federal income-tax law.

Eventual wholesale starvation threatens the entire population if relief be not forthcoming in the immediate future.

Our merchants, in a large majority of cases, are unable to pay their taxes; our children are undernourished and their fathers move about in an undecided manner, desirous of working but unable to procure employment. Life is something miserable in these islands. Surely it is not the thought of this Great American Nation to keep our people in a state of semi-starvation.

We believe, and that implicitly, that they know very little of our condition and, therefore, we propose to tell them of it so that they may realize that in these Virgin Islands they have adopted children who need, in these trying days, their special attention so as to improve their deplorable economic condition.

We request that your paper make direct inquiries about our statements and, after investigation, give publication to the findings, so as to quicken the leaders of this nation's interest in these islands that "they acquired and then forgot."

We plead for immediate consideration and relief. We are not asking charity, but we certainly do believe that we ought to be given a chance to live as decent a life as we have been accustomed to.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE
ROTHSCHILD FRANCIS, Chairman

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, July 23

Our Rule in the Virgin Islands

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The intelligent Virgin Islanders of New York have followed the articles which have been appearing in *The Nation* on the naval rule now in vogue in the Virgin Islands with considerable interest. It heartens us in our fight for a democratic status to know that such an internationally respected journal as *The Nation* is on our side. Mr. Arthur Warner's article on Political Peonage in the Virgin Islands in your issue of June 6 was especially valuable. It sums up succinctly the chief evils from which the people of the islands suffer under American rule as administered by the Navy Department.

The Virgin Islands Congressional Council was organized more than a year ago to get the searchlight of publicity turned on the dark corners of this naval rule. We have found the naval mind a rather queer piece of furniture. In the Negro newspapers amenable to its manipulation (two in the Virgin Islands and one in New York) all our citations of fact—official orders, rulings, and records—are cavalierly condemned as "propaganda," while the naval regime, in the method made familiar by propagandists during the war, seems to think that, like Humpty Dumpty, words can be made to mean anything that we want them to mean. Thus to call an administration selected exclusively from the Navy and by the Navy for the people a "civil" administration evidently makes it civil.

Mr. Warner has done a conscientious piece of reporting. He has entered sympathetically into the problems of the people, and does not stand Olympian-like upon that high mount of supercilious condescension upon which most white Americans stand when discussing darker people of the West Indies. It is the earlier humanism which you have preserved for us almost alone in America and renamed liberalism that must serve as the solvent of our inter-racial problems. For only in that manner can they be solved with mutual good-will and respect.

CASPER HOLSTEIN,
President, Virgin Islands Congressional Council

New York, June 13

WANTS AID FOR VIRGIN ISLANDERS

Chicago Defender
9-22-23

New York City.

Editor of the Chicago Defender.

Dear Sir: The writer of this letter is desirous of your aid, with which to summon the interests of the American nation in order to bring about thorough measures of relief from the terrible economic depression in the three Virgin islands, bought by the United States about six years ago.

In order to fully understand the situation by which these unfortunate people are made to suffer, your readers must disregard the fact that there are a large number of expatriates here who are peculiarly divided in their opinions about approaching the American public, because of their failure in the past to group themselves with American people, and be identified as a part and parcel of the things that concern the American Negro.

Intolerant Leaders

Though there exists a desire on the part of a certain few to work for the future welfare of their kindred and others, yet there remains, to my mind, a doubt as to whether they will even be able to accomplish much, because of the selfishness and intolerance to be found in their leaders. Prhaps the greatest mistake lies in the fact that the American Negro is not asked to be taken into their confidence, and foolishly try to secure relief only from among themselves, which would be far too inadequate when we have to consider the enormity of the conditions that demand it. A great deal of time has been wasted by agitators in the islands and in New York, who seem to be of the opinion that they could alleviate the sufferings of the needy by criticizing and abusing the present insular form of government.

U. S. Responsible

A careful study of the situation reveals the fact that the federal government of the United States is directly responsible for the economic collapse in the Virgin Islands Granting that Uncle Sam was late in discovering that in purchasing these islands he was outwitted by the Danes, this should not indicate that the native inhabitants are to be made martyrs of a great political or wartime blunder. The stupendous folly of ruining every industry in the islands to see its workers starve is nearer to criminal ignorance on the part of certain representatives, who evidently know nothing about colonization and do not seem to care.

The islands have seen at least 47 United States congressmen, inclusive of the secretary of the navy, and the greatest authorities on economics who have admitted conditions to be far worse than they realized. Three months ago they visited the islands by request and saw the natives crying for food and for water to drink. They saw then cattle die for lack of nutriment, and they visited the schools where children are made to attend daily with empty stomachs. They inquired of Governor Hough why he did not advise Washington before, and they made eloquent speeches full of fat promise to take the matter in hand immediately. Yet nothing, absolutely nothing, has been started, upon which there offers some signs of progress.

Parade of Protest

On the 18th of May last, a silent protest parade was held in the island of St. Thomas, where thousands knelt in the streets and prayed as the church bells tolled. This so alarmed the governor that he immediately sent a radiogram to Washington, with no results. There are insufficient accommodations to be had in the few steamships calling there weekly to remove the large exodus, and those who can't leave by fair means are using foul methods to do so.

In commenting on this matter, the St. Croix Tribune, a daily paper published there, states that it won't be very many months when depopulation will be complete. Despite all the arguments advanced about the failure to transfer, and the spirit of discontent and disloyalty aggravated among certain groups of Virgin Islanders, I am still of the opinion that these islands will eventually thrive under the present form of government.

Duty of Nation

But it devolves a duty, incumbent on the part of the American nation for their own pride, to harass the federal government into speedy action in this matter and this can best be done by making it a political issue. The natives of the Virgin Islands, who are in no wise responsible for their condition, are prepared to man the fields, cultivate the land and start up some other industries in addition to the sugar cane, or in place of the well-known bay rum, which the Volstead act has ruined.

Money is needed to conserve water for man and beast, and to irrigate the land during the months of drought. They do not want charity in the form of foodstuffs and clothing, but if the American nation would create the sum needed for water supply, I am sure of their ability to work and be happy.

Before the federal laws affecting the manufacture of liquor was instituted, and with their harbors free ports, the natives never worried about the inadequate supply of rainfall to till the soil. The British islands are now reaping a great harvest as all ships are calling there for coal and it is very doubtful if there are any inducements which may be made for them to return to the Virgin Islands. The few capitalists who sapped the vitality of the land are gone back to Denmark and the Danish banks, which, by agreement made in the sale treaty, cannot be removed until the year of 1935, now refuse to loan any money. So there stand the Virgin Islands of the great United States of America, parched and dry, with starvation everywhere — a beautiful example of the wisdom of United States statesmanship. It is therefore that I appeal to you, conscious of the fact that the Race is capable of doing great things.

Through you, sir, I am sending the pleas of 23,000 inhabitants, asking the assistance of the 12,000,000 Negroes of America, and to the entire American nation.

I saw millions of dollars raised on the very streets to help the starving hordes of far-off Russia and Albania. Does it not mean more to the pride of America that the Star-Spangled Banner, trailing in the dust in her own possessions, is waving a signal of distress there?

I am, sir, respectfully yours,
ASHLEY L. TOTTEN.

Race Problem — 1923
West Indies

SPEAKERS CLAIM THAT U. S. RULE IN VIRGIN ISLANDS MAKES LIFE A LIVING HELL FOR THE NATIVES

Pittsburg American - Pittsburg Pa.

"Devil Dog" Marines in Command—Duplication of Haitian Scandal Predicted—Free Speech and Free Press Suppressed

3-2-23.

(Crusader Service)

NEW YORK, Mar. 2.—Citing many brutalities alleged to have been committed by American marines, Virgin Islanders in a mass meeting at Lafayette Hall, last Sunday afternoon declared that the Navy Department, by its high-handedness and misrule, was driving the peaceable, law-abiding people of the Virgin Islands, to the point of revolt and that unless the American people took the matter in hand they would be faced with another Haitian scandal. The meeting was held by the Congressional Council, an organization of Virgin Islanders, agitating for justice on behalf of their fellow-islanders at home.

Casper Holstein, the principal speaker and president of the Council, declared that the Navy Department had read its own interpretation into the laws of the islands, and were enforcing the same discipline that prevailed in the Navy. The beating up of men and women by the marines for no other reason than the color of their skin was, he said, a common occurrence.

"The laws," said Mr. Holstein, "are being administered by judicial tyrants acting under the Navy Department. Appeal is useless as the two courts—the Police Court and the District Court—practically function as one and an appeal from the first is but another appeal to itself."

Magistrate Payne, of St. Croix, a Negro, was mentioned by the speakers as the chief enforcer of the Navy Department's orders. "If records of cases could be had and a comparison drawn between them and the criminal statutes of the islands you would find that in the majority of cases Magistrate Payne has overstepped the bounds. This Negro has all the instincts of his overlords. As in all oppressed groups there are always those who are used as slave-drivers. Payne serves out injustice in large doses and there seems to be no cessation of his criminal acts."

Other speakers declared that free speech was forbidden. "It is impossible," said Thomas Fawcett," for the islanders to protest without causing reprisals by the judiciary. Free speech is forbidden. Editors who tell the truth are subject to the wrath of the officials. It is a deplorable condition and we are asking the American people to give us their moral support in this struggle for justice."

Progressive Fight in Jamaican Assembly

Pittsburg American 3/30/23

(Crusader Service)

KINGSTON, Jamaica, March 30.—A crisis has arisen in the political life of the people of this large and beautiful island. The Legislative Council which has limited Constitutional powers and is made up of nominated ex-officio and elected members, is discussing the recommendations of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Major Wood, for a change in the Constitution. Alone of all the members, Barrister J. A. G. Smith, a colored man, expresses advanced views, demanding the substance of representative government, and not its shadow. Mr. Smith, whose viewpoint on the subject has the approval of the widely read and influential Herald, stood alone in his demand that the governor shall be deprived of any power to nominate members to the Council. Although not very advanced in political ideals all the elected and many nominated members are opposed to the present anomalous and undemocratic system.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS APPEAL TO U. S. CONGRESS TO SETTLE CIVIC STATUS

In Concise Bill of Particulars Congressional Council Puts the Whole Matter Squarely Up to the People's Representatives at Washington

Negro World - N. Y.

In an open letter to the United States Congress on behalf of the Negro inhabitants of the Virgin Islands of the United States, the V. I. Congressional Council of New York, Casper Holstein president, reviews the whole situation, past and present, of the Negro in the V. I. The letter follows: 3/31/23

"Gentlemen of the Congress—Honorable Senators and Representatives:

"We, the people of your recently-acquired colony, beg to lay before you, in accordance with the provisions of your own Constitution, our complaints and grievances, to the end that in your own interest you may take steps either to remove such of these grievances as shall have been established, or to convince your petitioners and loyal subjects that they have only an imaginary existence.

"In the first place, we invite your attention to a curious anomaly. We do not know whether any portion of the people of a republic can very well be subjects; but we do know that the form of American government which we now have in the Virgin Islands does not exist anywhere else in the United States. Its like is to be found only in Haiti or Santo Domingo, as it was to be found some years ago in those parts of the Philippine Islands which were in a state of military insurrection against the United States. But we have never been in insurrection against the United States; we were peaceably and peacefully acquired by treaty of sale negotiated between the government of Denmark and that of the United States and ratified by your honorable body. It should seem then that by the transfer we should have become American citizens. But American citizens are those who enjoy the rights and privileges defined in the United States Constitution as pertaining to American citizenship. And it should be known to you that not only do we not enjoy these rights and privileges in the Virgin Islands, but they have been explicitly denied to us; as in the following instances:

A Naval Governor

"1. The American people have had at their head many able, great and good men, like Washington, Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt. But they have withheld from all of them the right to combine in their own proper persons at one time, executive, legislative and judicial powers. This right, which by the Constitution is denied to the President of the United States, is the chief distinguishing feature of the Governor of the Virgin Islands, who is a captain in the department of the Navy. He exercises these combined powers in such a way that he is directly responsible not to the people of the Virgin Islands, not even to your august body—but to the Navy Department. His aides and the larger portion of the personnel of his government are subordinate officials of that department. We submit that American citizens are not in any other case ruled in this autocratic manner, or by the Navy Department in any manner; and we naturally feel civic bewilderment and political uncertainty as to our status. Are we American citizens or American subjects? The officials of the Navy Department have answered by word and deed that we are the latter. We demur to this and feel that we are entitled to an authoritative decision by the Congress of the United States until which time we remain mere subjects, suffering from the same civic disabilities as the subjects of Europe's kings and Asia's emperors, a status not at all creditable to the democratic integrity of the republic which rules our destinies.

Muzzling the Native Press

"2. The people of these islands have been told over the signatures of Mr. Washington Williams, the vice-governor de facto, and Mr. J. J. Gaffney that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press do not apply to them, and in accordance with this rather startling view of American government they have already effected several executive deportations from the islands and have established a reign of terror among those native editors who have published their protests against executive and judicial excesses. Under this head we invite your attention specifically to the deportation of the Rev. Barrow by Governor Kittell; the deportation of Mr. F. H. Morenga-Bonaparte by Governor Hough; the harassing of Mr. D. Hamilton Jackson, editor of 'The Herald' of Christiansted in St. Croix, and Mr. Rothschild Francis, editor of 'The Emancipator'; of Charlotte Amalia in St. Thomas; and we refer your honorable body to an article in 'The Nation' of March 7, 1923, entitled 'Bayonet Rules for Our Colonial Press,' by Arthur Warner, 'The Nation's' special correspondent in the Caribbean, which article contains a dependable presentation of some illustrative facts bearing on this point.

The Right of Suffrage

"3. We are denied the right of manhood suffrage because American officials, paid from the taxes of the American people, are administering the laws of a foreign country, to wit: Denmark—a situation which cannot be paralleled on the earth today. And it is a notorious fact that whereas the 18th Amendment is rigidly enforced by the officials of the Navy Department as against the natives, the 14th, 15th and 16th (?) receive no recognition from them.

"4. As a consequence we are denied the right to even a voice in the selection of those who administer our affairs and are at present plagued with an excessive number of place-hunting holders of superfluous sinecures whose elimination would be a decided economic gain to the taxpayers of the United States.

"We could easily cite many more specific grievances, but we believe that those already cited will suffice. Because of these things, we respectfully urge:

Citizens or Subjects

"That the Congress of the United States resume its organic prerogative to legislate for the better goverance of the Virgin Islands; that you make it clear whether they are a portion of the United States or a subject-colony; that your honorable body abolish government by the Navy Department and give us instead that civil government which alone benefits a civil status.

"That you look into the economic conditions of the islands, which are appalling. Labor gets two days work

a week at 35 cents a day, while grim hunger takes its toll of the children of the poor. Even on no higher ground that the gospel of Mammon, the present economic state of these islands must be denounced as an appalling and senseless wastage of wealth and of wealth-producing powers.

"That your honorable body give to the people of these islands enough of your official attention as will enable you to discover that the population is self-respecting, law-abiding, and industrious, whereby you may be led to 'grapple them to your soul' with the steel bonds of patriotic affection by giving them the chance to feel proud of being Americans. Respectfully yours,

V. I. CONG. COUNCIL,
C. Holstein, Pres.
V. I. CIVIL RIGHTS ASS'N,
H. Dickerson, Acting Pres
V. ISLANDERS (Collectively).

MARINES TO LEAVE INTERIOR OF HAITI

Associated Press Report.

WASHINGTON, March 30.—As a further step in the gradual removal of American marines from Haiti, the state department advices received today said orders had been issued for their withdrawal from interior posts. By April 15 only one marine guard will be left in the interior, that at St. Michael, where a quantity of marine corps equipment is stored.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS OF NEW YORK SEND RADIOGRAM TO SECRETARY OF THE NAVY DENBY

The Virgin Islanders of New York city and vicinity, who have prepared and forwarded a summary (published elsewhere in these columns) of their case against navalism to the Congress of the United States, are determined to carry on their fight in the court of public opinion until they secure the needed redress. For several years dissatisfaction has been smoldering in their hearts. They keenly feel the present situation. Britain is a monarchy, not a republic; yet, the black dependents of Britain in the West Indies receive better treatment at the hands of their monarchists than the Virgin Islanders receive from the autocratic underlings of the Navy Department, and Virgin Islanders want to know the reason for the difference.

One of the outstanding explanations is supported by American experience elsewhere in the Caribbean. It is that the United States of America should never intrust its relations with any Negro people to Southern white men. Southern white men notoriously hate Negroes, despise and detest them and always seize every opportunity to harass, humiliate and injure them. Since the government of the United States is aware of this, it should seem the part of plain common sense to keep Southern white men away from any new group of Negroes unaccustomed to being treated like the slaves of Dixie. Unless, indeed, the government's best intentions toward these Negroes are far from beneficial, a conclusion which must rest on the evidence of its acts.

As we said before, the Virgin Islanders on the mainland are prepared to carry on the fight for a square deal for their brethren at home. For more than a year the fight has waxed warm and as it increases in intensity the patriots throw themselves into it in larger and larger numbers. The Virgin Islands Congressional Council, which is leading the fight, finds its hall packed to overflowing every Sunday, so that there isn't even standing room inside. This organization is drawing the other and older groups of islanders into confraternal bonds and showing them by example how to sink individual selfishness in the larger claims of the people.

Recently they have prepared for joint transmission to Mr. Denby, the Secretary of the Navy, who is now on tour in the Caribbean and who is expected in the Virgin Islands early in April, the following radiogram:

Secretary of the Navy Denby,

"U. S. S. 'Henderson,' at Sea.

"Urge you investigate thoroughly case of Morenga Bonaparte deportation and other deportations while in Virgin Islands. Widespread belief here activities of Naval Governor, and of Lieutenant Gaffney in particular, unnecessary, oppressive, un-American and dishonorable to administration and navy. Can you not do something about it?

"Virgin Islands Civil Rights Association,

"Virgin Islands Congressional Council,

"Virgin Islanders Collectively."

It is hoped that the Secretary of the Navy may be accessible to the larger responsibilities of imperial rule and give such consideration as the present situation warrants to the plea of the Virgin Islanders for a chance to love the government of the United States.

JAMAICA THE PEACEFUL.

Racial Problems Present No Difficulties—Business Conditions.

America can take a lesson from the little island of Jamaica in her method of handling racial problems, according to Captain W. D. List, a shipping man of Kingston, Jamaica, who is at the Hotel Pennsylvania. He has been in business in Jamaica for the last twenty years.

"With a population that is 95 per cent. black, but with a white Government, Jamaica is the most peaceful island of the West Indies," said Captain List. "I attribute this to the fact that the British Government and its administrators are intent upon giving its subjects a square deal with discrimination. The local Government is stable and reliable, and in return the negroes like and respect their Governors, and are, indeed among the most patriotic of colonials. Whereas the laboring classes are lazy and given to gambling, the upper strata are well able to hold their own in friendly competition with the whites. Some of the most enterprising business men of Kingston are colored.

"There are very few illiterates on the island, and the business men send their sons to North American universities. The high price of sugar is only partially due to speculation. It is impossible for growers to produce sugar at as low a rate as was done before the war. Operating expenses are 50 per cent. higher, and labor costs the grower from 25 to 50 per cent. more than in prewar days. Moreover, the shortage in the crop resulting from last year's drought must also be taken into account. The American duty on incoming sugar is prohibitive to Jamaican shippers. The cent a pound duty on oranges and grapefruit, while not prohibitive, is sufficiently high to lessen considerably the quantity of these fruits imported from America.

"However, there is no duty on bananas, and it is in the growth and export of this fruit that we are chiefly interested now. We believe that there will be 14,000,000 'stems' or bunches of bananas grown in Jamaica this year. The most of these will be shipped to the States, only a few going to England. There will also be 30,000,000 cocoanuts. Jamaican growers are seriously handicapped by the American customs, which give the preference to products of Porto Rico, Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands. This setback, however, is made up for by the preference given Jamaican products in Canadian markets."

Life in the Virgin Islands

THE following is from the *Emancipator* (St. Thomas, Virgin Islands) of May 23:

Natives may not use fire-arms without a license, but on Sunday last a marine, in the uniform of this Great Republic, fired a shot at a boy (native). We cannot say whether it was done with intent to scare, kill, or wound. Rumor says the boy pitched a few pebbles at a cat, which to our mind was no business of this warrior. An altercation followed and while the boy ran off the sentry fired the shot which lodged into the walls of the Council's office. The hole is about one inch.

This brave feat was done not in the land of the Huns but under the Stars and Stripes in the sunny Virgin Isles which form a part of the rich, energetic, and progressive domain of Uncle Sam.